Soviet Writer Sees Conference As Helping to Shorten War

By YAKOV VIKTOROV,
Foreign News Writer for Pravda, Communist Party Organ written for the Associated Press.

MOSCOW, Nov. 6.—Maximum shortening of the war by the joint efforts of the Allied countries, a stable, durable peace and universal security based on the fruitful co-operation of the Allied great powers—such is a general formula in which the results of the recently concluded Moscow conference of the Foreign Secretaries of the United States, United Kingdom and Soviet Union may be summed up.

This general formula describes, as it were, the general trend of the work done. But if we go into it in detail we get an impressive and inspiring picture of a big job well done, embracing a whole gamut of problems from the most urgently vital—namely, those covering prosecution of the war—to long-term problems of postwar co-operation based on a practical solution of questions arising in the course of the war.

The agenda of the conference, which included all questions submitted by the governments represented, was dictated by realities. Naturally, the activities of the conference were organically connected with the situations which have arisen in the course of the war.

Shortening War First Aim.

The brilliant victories of the Red Army, which has forced the Dnieper, bottled up the Hitlerite bandits in the Crimea and is driving the Germans westward; the successful operations of the Allies in the land, sea and air; the already observable disintegration of the Hitlerite coalition; the growth of anti-Hitler and national liberation movements in occupied countries; and at the same time the incredible piling up of brutal terrorism, bloody atrocities and savage crimes which the Hitlerite ruffians are perpetrating as they retreat before the armies of the liberating powers—these are the factors which make the problem of hastening the termination of the war so urgently essential.

It is no wonder, therefore, that the conference considered shortening the war as its first aim. It is no wonder this question headed the agenda. And the practical decisions adopted undoubtedly will soon make their effects felt.

Postwar problems were widely discussed. The result, as we know, was a declaration by four states, (America, Britain, Russia, China) of universal security. The significance of this declaration lies in the fact that the biggest powers in the world, inspired by a lofty desire to ensure peace and security for all nations and countries, are assuming responsibility for all necessary measures to achieve this aim.

The declaration of the four powers lays the foundation for durable postwar collaboration, with the object of maintaining peace and universal security.

Provisions For Consultation.

But there are problems arising in the course of the war which call for quick settlement. This necessitates permanent consultation between the Allied powers. The conference met this need by setting up a European advisory commission.

Another and very striking instance of the settlement of problems arising in the course of the war is the decision to form an advisory council for Italy and the declaration of a common policy toward Italy.

The decision in regard to this question was very interesting because, in the case of Italy, the Allies were confronted with the necessity of giving practical effect to the principles which animate the freedom-loving nations in their fight against Hitler tyranny.

Italy was the first country to capitulate to the anti-Hitler coalition and the first wherein it became necessary to eliminate the consequences of a Fascist regime and restore democracy.

Measures for Restoring Liberties.

The decisions of the conference in relation to Italy testify that hopes of the nations longing for liberation from Hitlerism are well founded.

The declaration of the powers formulates not only fundamental principles but also a number of practical measures making for complete restoration of the democratic liberties of the Italians and equally complete elimination of the disastrous consequences and influences of the Fascist regime.

At the same time, the decision on Italy is a valid demonstration of the developing co-operation between the Allied great powers in settlement of the most complex problems arising out of the war.

Noteworthy, too, is the decision in regard to Austria, which Hitler in 1938 forcibly annexed to his Reich.

The Allies made it their purpose to liberate Austria and restore her sovereignty, it being naturally specified that what the Austrians themselves do to contribute to their liberation will be taken into account.

Telling Blow to Nazis.

The solemn declaration by President Roosevelt, Prime Minister Churchill and Premier Stalin is a stern warning to Hitlerites that will be called to account for their crimes. It will make it impossible for Hitlerites to escape responsibility for their misdeeds and provides they be brought to trial at the scenes of their crimes under the laws of the country where they were perpetrated.

The Moscow conference has done a big job and the results are a telling blow at the plans and calculations of the Hitlerites who prophesied insuperable differences and dissensions would arise among the Allied powers.

It is a blow at the Hitlerites and their satellites who, like Hitler, are banking on a protracted war in the hope of postponing their own doom.

The Moscow conference demonstrates the growing strength of the comrades in arms of the Anglo-Soviet-American alliance and fruitful co-operation of the Allied powers aiming at a stable and durable peace and essential security after victory is won.

The Soviet public greeted the announcement of the results of the conference with the liveliest satisfaction. There can be no doubt it will be greeted with equal satisfaction by all freedom-loving nations and in the first place by our friends of the great American nation.

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Question of Small Nations Unsolved by Moscow Pact

By Constantine Brown.

The agreements reached at Moscow are satisfactory despite the inevitable holes which remain and which are considered by many of the interested smaller European nations as likely to jeopardize their future independence and territorial integrity.

It is only natural that the representatives of Poland, Yugoslavia and the Baltic states should feel somewhat dejected. The future of their countries has not even been mentioned, while the independence of Austria, which all participants of the Moscow conference had recognized—somewhat unwillingly, it is true—as a part of the Reich, has been fully recognized.

Establishment of the "Big Three" Committee in London to discuss the political problems which may arise during and after the war is considered by the representatives of the Eastern and Southeastern European states, two of which are active and fighting members of the United Nations, as a potential menace to their independence.

How well founded their fears are is difficult to say. It all depends on the attitude of the United States and Britain and how far the two governments intend to go to oppose the admitted "special interests" of Russia in that area.

Optimism Held Warranted.

From the point of view of winning the war in Europe as quickly as possible, there is no question that unless some unexpected military developments occur soon, we may look with a reasonable degree of optimism to the defeat of the Nazis through a continued collaboration among the enemies of the Reich in the east and the west.

If we are interested only in winning the war, it should matter little what the size of Poland will be after the war, what form of government Yugoslavia will have and whether the three Baltic states which were deprived of their sovereignty first by the Russians in 1940, later by the Nazis in 1941, are a part of the Soviet Union.

Even the question as to whether Europe will be completely within the Russian sphere of influence has become a secondary question. Certainly we are not going to oppose by force a change in the pattern of governments from France to the borders of Russia should their new leaders so decide, even if the change is caused directly by the machination of the Moscow agents.

Like ourselves, Europe must be looking to security and peace. If it can be achieved by Russia's getting the growling and fighting European countries under its wing and compelling them to be quiet by her own methods, there can be no opposition on our part.

A new map of Europe based on some claim the Russians have made openly may be contrary to some of our ideologies and in contradiction to some of our pledges to these countries. But in the long run it may suit the people of Europe better than the present system, which has brought two major and exhausting wars in 30 years.

No Discussion Wanted.

Nothing has been mentioned in Moscow, so far as the public knows, about the future of those states which border the Soviet or offer Russia the best access to the warm waters of the Mediterranean. It is likely that the American and British representatives, realizing it was a touchy subject and being chiefly interested in clinching a definite pledge from Russia to fight on our side until victory is won, never raised these issues.

It is certain that the Soviet leaders do not want to discuss them. But the fears of representatives of the Polish, Yugoslav and Greek governments in exile that they are headed for the political slaughter house appear well founded.

The Soviet government last summer felt offended because the Polish government took seriously the German story that 10,000 Polish officers and prisoners of war had been executed in Russia. Whether the anger of the Russians was genuine or a mere political pretext is hard to say. In any event, diplomatic relations between the two countries were broken off and a new Polish government was established in Moscow and under its banner Polish units are said to be fighting with Red armies against the Nazis.

The Polish government in London is willing to discuss some frontier readjustments in favor of Russia after the war. But, above all, it does not want to re-enter the country on anybody's coattail. It is jealous of its sovereignty and does not wish to be confronted after the war with another government made to order in Moscow. There is every indication that the Polish Committee in Russia has the good will of the Soviet government. And since it is apparent that the Russians will have the dominant voice in the settlement of postwar Europe the Poles fear that their country will become a unit of the Soviet Union in one shape or another.

The situation in Yugoslavia is even more tense. The Partisans, commanded by Gen. Josip Broz (Tito), a Croatian Communist who has been trained in Russia, is openly fighting the forces of King Peter's Minister of War and leader of the Chetniks, Gen. Draja Mihailovich.

The communiques we are receiving daily about the activities of the Partisan armies may or may not be correct as far as their successes against the Nazis are concerned. The Partisan radio station gives the world the news from Tiflis, the capital of Caucasia and is situated farther from the scene of operations than London.

But while the successes of the Partisans are somewhat discounted in military quarters their battles against the Chetniks are fully confirmed. Moreover, in recent weeks the Partisans are said to have accepted as partners units of the famous Ustachis, a pro-Nazi Croatian organization which was responsible for the massacre of at least 300,000 Serbs after Yugoslavia was defeated by the Germans.

There were two divisions of Ustachis at Stalingrad and they fought so bravely against the Russians that Herr Goebbels ordered the Croat national anthem played when the news of the Stalingrad disaster was announced.

King Peter, who is now with his government in Cairo, believed that because he unhesitatingly joined the Allied cause at the particular bidding of President Roosevelt he would be reinstated in his country after the war.

But in view of the activities of the Soviet-supported Partisans, who appear more determined to destroy the "Fascist" forces commanded by Gen. Mihailovich, he begins to have his doubts about his future. There is no question that the people of Yugoslavia should have the right to decide their future form of government. It would be just for them to decide whether they want to live together as one nation or prefer to be separated. It would be right that they should decide whether they want a monarchy or a republic.

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Similar Situation in Greece.

But the Yugoslav government in exile feels that the form of government should be left to the people themselves and not rammed down their throat by a minority representing a government with definite political tendencies. But it is hardly probable that the United States and Britain will press the point, particularly if in future fighting the forces of Gen. Tito contribute largely to the defeat of the Nazis.

A similar situation exists in Occupied Greece, where two groups of patriots, one opposed to King George and his government and the other in favor of the King, are fighting each other.

It is also obvious that Russia is keenly interested in the Eastern Mediterranean because it now offers to the Soviet the best exit to a warm sea.

Premier Stalin has sent his best diplomats, not to London and Washington, but to Algiers, Sofia and to the mountains of Yugoslavia. Former Deputy Foreign Commissar Vyshinsky, who is said to have been chiefly responsible for the drafting of the documents which were signed last week in Moscow, is going to represent Russia on the Mediterranean council.

This extremely able and astute Russian statesman will have the general supervision of all affairs pertaining to the Eastern Mediterranean. The United States is represented on the council by a routine career diplomat, Edwin Wilson, who was until recently Ambassador to Panama. Mr. Vyshinsky, who is one of Russia's ablest jurists, was sent to Latvia and Estonia in 1940 to organize the plebiscites which brought those two Baltic states into the Soviet Union.

Government in Exile Uneasy.

Russia's trouble-shooter, Vaidimir Dekanozov, has just been appointed Minister to Bulgaria. He also is a star Soviet diplomat. As Ambassador to Berlin he brought the Russian-Japanese nonaggression pact which still is in effect. Later he went to Kaunas in Lithuania and engineered the plebiscite which completed the annexation of the three Baltic states to the Soviet Union.

This is the picture of the situation in Eastern Europe and the Balkans. Naturally representatives in exile of the nations involved are uneasy. They feel that the agreements just signed in Moscow and which we hail as a milestone in history will in effect make them a part and parcel of the Russian Empire.

They might be right. But to those responsible for the successful ending of the war in Europe the fact that Russia has pledged itself not to abandon ship and continue to fight the Nazis on our side, these are relatively minor questions.

Moscow Conference Routed Nazi 'Strategists'--Pravda

(By Wireless to Inter-Continent News)

MOSCOW, Nov. 5.—Joint "essential decisions" were reached for the first time by the three leading Allied governments when their foreign ministers met in Moscow last week, **Pravda** states editorially.

"The fruitful results of the work of the conference are a big and valuable contribution to the common cause of the struggle against Hitler; to the common cause of the struggle of the freedom-loving peoples," the paper begins.

"Close cooperation between the Allied and United Nations in their common struggle against Hitlerite tyranny has been further developed and its consequences will not be slow in coming to the fore.

"The nature of the conference's work naturally was indissolubly linked with the general situation that has arisen in the course of the war. The Red Army, foiling the summer offensive of the Germans, and itself launching an offensive, is steadily driving the Hitlerite hordes westward. All the territory between the Volga and the Dnieper has already been cleared, the Dnieper which the Germans tried to convert into a buttress of their defense has been forced. Soviet troops are inflicting blow upon blow at the Germans.

"The African continent, Sicily and Corsica have been cleared of the Hitlerites as a result of the successful military operations of the Anglo-American Allies. The battles are in progress to sweep Italy clear of the Germans.

"The successful air offensive of our Allies over Germany continues. The Hitlerite bloc has begun to crumble, as is eloquently witnessed by the capitulation of Italy and her entry into the war against Hitlerite Germany. The anti-Hitlerite movement, and the national liberation struggle in the occupied countries is developing on an ever wider scale. Germany is passing through a grave crisis.

"During the last few months particularly favorable conditions have been created for the rapid destruction of Hitlerite Germany and her allies in Europe by the united efforts of the Allied countries.

"The conference recognized that the paramount aim is to hasten the end of the war, an aim to which the Soviet people attached and continue to attach especially great significance.

"The conference decisions are a heavy blow to the plans of the Hitlerite 'strategists' who have now staked all on prolonging the war—a heavy blow at Hitlerite Germany.

"The conference was most unanimous not only on the essential question of hastening the end of the war but also on the question of the further promotion of the cooperation established in the conduct of the war in the post-war period. The task is to shorten the war and ensure lasting peace and security for all peoples after victory.

"Of great fundamental importance is the conference's declaration on Italy, the first of the Axis countries to capitulate to the anti-Hitlerite coalition. Capitulation of Italy confronted the Allied powers with the vitally important concrete question of utterly destroying all influences and consequences of the Fascist regime and of restoring democracy on the territories liberated from the enemy. This policy naturally should be imbued with the common spirit that inspires the freedom loving peoples in the struggle against Hitlerite Germany so that the peoples may see for themselves that the liberation powers bring them liberation from the Fascist regime and the restoration of democracy.

"The struggle for lasting peace and to prevent a repetition of new aggression cannot be effective unless the present criminals of the war are made to suffer their deserved stern punishment for the bloody crimes of which they are guilty before the freedom loving peoples and before mankind. These Hitlerite criminals will not escape retribution. This was made clear by the declaration of Roosevelt, Churchill and Stalin on the responsibility of the Nazis for the atrocities committed by them.

"The Moscow conference demonstrated the further strengthening of the Anglo-Soviet American fighting alliance directed at the speedy destruction of Hitlerite Germany and her satellites in Europe, at securing a stable and lasting peace and general security after the victorious end of this war, unleashed by the German Fascist barbarians against the democratic freedom loving countries."

Pravda

Daily Worker Nov. 6, 1943 p. 6

"An important aspect of the Moscow conference is that for the first time it enabled the three leading Allied governments to reach common essential decisions. The conference was successful in solving a number of important and pressing questions relating to the prosecution of the war and at the same time elaborated the general principles for preparing post-war cooperation of the large and small states interested in ensuring national security and universal peace.

"The results of the conferences will be met with the satisfaction not only by the people's of the Soviet Union, Great Britain, the United States and China but also by all the large and small peace loving countries.

"The Moscow conference is a new mighty blow at Hitlerite Germany and her satellites. The positive results of its work are indissolubly linked with the military successes of the Red Army and the troops of the Allies. The conference fulfilled its task in the matter of the further consolidation of the forces of the Allies in the interest of all the freedom loving people."

The Moscow Declaration

Preface to Peace

THE accord reached at Moscow by Hull, Eden, and Molotov will speed the day of victory. It is a defeat to the Axis equal to any battle their troops have lost. Accepting the declarations at their face value, the threat of a separate peace is ruled out; Russia approves unconditional surrender as a war aim; coalition warfare will be jointly waged (except against Japan?); the Allies pledge themselves not "to employ their military forces within the territories of other states except for the purposes envisaged in this declaration and after joint consultation," which, we hope, means no territorial grabs; the minimal basis is created for continued collaboration during and after the war; the four powers agree to maintain peace through collective security and to establish the machinery of international cooperation in which all nations, large and small, may join.

If the conference accomplished nothing more than to shorten the war through joint action, it would be a success. Its military value alone justifies applause. It also clears away a few at least of the initial obstacles to post-war cooperation between nations. And while an alliance between the four victors is far less than a world federation, that alliance is the only practicable nucleus at present for any sort of internationalism. A tripartite alliance endorsed by China is better than an alliance between any two powers against the third.

The American and British press hailed the pact of Moscow with nearly universal hosannas, most editors terming it a triumphant success. Their extravagance, however, is hardly justified by facts. A just and stable peace is far from realization. Events, not diplomatic phrases, will determine whether or not the accord means a new triple alliance to dominate the globe, freeze the status quo ante bellum (with territorial acquisitions), a continuation of the old imperialist game of power under new f

It would have been unrea... to expect more from the conference than was achieved, but it is likewise unrealistic to hail it as a triumph of democratic internationalism. There is as yet no solid evidence

that the peace will be any better than the peace of Versailles, or the new world federation any improvement over the old impotent League of Nations, as a means of outlawing war and maintaining collective security. The final verdict on the pact of Moscow, its historic significance, depends on whether or not America and Russia repudiate their traditional isolationism, and all three powers abandon balance-of-power politics and imperialist aggrandizement. These evils cannot be purged by words alone.

The Kremlin won a diplomatic victory—whether it is a victory for humanity remains to be seen. Many liberals are under the illusion that Russian participation is a guarantee that the alliance and the projected federation will have a different character than all previous pacts and the ill-fated League of Nations. Actually it is Moscow more than London or Washington that threatens the first violation of the principles of the Atlantic Charter and the promises of the joint declarations. This danger is not allayed by the eloquent silence about plans for the Baltic States, Poland, Finland, the Balkans.

The joint statement on the restoration of democracy to Italy, the liquidation of fascism, is a splendid formula that should be applied to *all* subjugated countries. Whether these fine pledges are translated into progressive action, or whether they will meet the fate of the equally fine promises of Wilson's Fourteen Points, depends on factors so numerous and complex that prophesy of success or failure is premature and dangerous. The acid test will be the treatment of the Central European states.

The British and American Governments cannot, of course, demand that the principles of democracy be applied also to Russia, any more than Russia can legitimately demand the independence of India. But until the high principles of democratic freedom are universally applied, the seeds of future war remain.

The work of the Italian Advisory Council will be the first test of

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the new machinery of international cooperation. To what extent will the Italian people freely decide their own destiny, and to what degree will their government, their economy, be restricted and influenced by the national interests, political policies and programs of Russia, England, and America?

Bitter disappointments have made us suspicious of glittering generalities. Bright terms like "sovereign" and "equality" and "democratic, peace-loving peoples," are susceptible of varying definitions. The phrases of the joint declarations can be interpreted differently by diplomats with conflicting national interests. The very fact that journals so far apart as are the *Daily Worker*, the *Times*, the *Sun*, *PM*, the *Herald-Tribune*, the *Post*, can all join in a paen of praise is itself cause for suspicion that clarification is necessary—as well as a basis for hope that conflicts which jeopardize true internationalism can be resolved without recourse to force.

But let us not take ringing words for accomplished facts.

An example of the utopian paeans that greeted the successful completion of the Moscow conference, is the reaction of the New York *Post*: "Hull, Eden, and Molotov have changed the world. They ended the mistrust and fear . . . between England and the United States, and Russia. . . ." That is a fair description of what the conference didn't and couldn't do. Nor is it true that we have, as yet, "walked out of the fog into the light."

One step forward, yes. Falteringly we move toward war aims that mean more than mere survival and the defeat of fascist aggression. But to write that "this is a new world," is to create new illusions. The real battle for democracy is still ahead. The new world is yet to be created, and not by fiat of diplomats.

Humanity's hopes were raised to new heights by the promise of a free democratic world outlined in Wilson's Fourteen Points, and later with the launching of the League of Nations, and again by the Russian revolution which overthrew Czarist tyranny, and the German revolution which established the Weimar Republic. Those hopes were blasted. Desperately we must hope once again that the pledges of the pact of Moscow will be fulfilled—justice in the post-war settlements, the reconstruction of Europe on democratic principles, a federation of nations to maintain collective security.

Capital Comment

By JONATHAN STOUT

WASHINGTON, D. C.—The disparagers of Mr. Hull must feel pretty silly every time they look at a newspaper these days.

It was said by these, as Frank Kent summed up so well in the Washington *Star* last Wednesday, that "Mr. Hull could not go to the Moscow conference because he was afraid to travel by air; second, that he was much too old to make the trip; third, that he was too feeble and in too bad health.

"Then it was declared that he is practically senile and, anyhow, has no conception of foreign policy and no knowledge of foreign affairs. Also that he was bitterly anti-Russian and that Premier Stalin was bitterly anti-Hull and that, under the circumstances, for Mr. Hull to go to Moscow would be to insult the Russians and insure complete futility for the conference before it convened. The dreadful allegation was also made that Mr. Hull was not a 'true liberal'."

The results as made public this week, therefore, take on the nature of a personal triumph for Mr. Hull. The whole American press and nearly all shades of opinion joined in paying tribute to him.

Cordell Hull

The Secretary of State left a deep personal imprint on the Moscow Pact. To be sure, so far as is known there is much left unsaid as yet. The world is still waiting to hear whether Russia will return the territory it seized from Poland at the time of the Nazi invasion, whether Stalin will agree to restoration of the sovereignty of the Baltic states he invaded, whether he will give up his ideas of a Russian hegemony over the Balkans, and, most important, whether he is ready to repudiate in word and in action all connection between Russia and the Communist parties in other nations.

But on the wholly good side, Secretary Hull turned out to be among the more influential architects of a formula by which a successful and unified war strategy will lead to Germany's "unconditional surrender," and a basis for international peace organization that brings real hope to a war-sickened world.

There are many things in the Pact which are strikingly reminiscent of things Mr. Hull has consistently stood for and which he has said many times. A world peace organization is one of them. The recognition of the sovereign equality of small nations as well as large nations is another. The rights of all nations to

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decide for themselves the kind of government they shall have is one more. The declaration that nations must conduct themselves with adult responsibility and that the people of a nation must bear the responsibility for what their leaders do in their name is still another.

One could have wished that the Pact went further than it does. But as far as it goes, it contains nothing that goes counter to Mr. Hull's oft-expressed principles and it contains a great many of the things he has worked for so long.

But before joy can be unrestrained, certain apparent contradictions want explanation and settlement.

For instance, on its face the Moscow Pact signifies Russia's desire for a post-war world in which it will live at peace and in friendship in the world community. The Molotoff signature denoted recognition of "the principle of sovereign equality" of all nations, large and small, entering the post-war world organization.

To be sure, Russia several times before has spoken, principally through the Litvinoff mouth piece, of such desires. But always in the past, such expressed ideals were negated by the hard fact that Stalin kept dealing with both hands from two different packs of cards. No nation in the past was willing to consider amity with the man who was so brazenly interfering in their internal affairs by the maintenance, support and encouragement of Communist parties primarily loyal to the Soviet Union and dedicated to its service.

The Moscow Pact, therefore, seems to mean that Stalin has agreed to discard "that other pack of cards." If that is so, Stalin finally is on the right track to friendship with the other nations of the world.

For, whatever the American people may or may not think of Communism, the Communists, Red totalitarian dictatorship, etc., the basic fact remains that the American people are not concerned so much by what Stalin does inside his borders as what he does inside our borders. And another basic fact is that, no matter what anybody thinks about it, the American people hold Stalin strictly responsible for whatever the American Communists do and say.

For these reasons, the prudent-minded here are going slow on hooplas until there is forthcoming some explanation or settlement of the apparent contradition between the fact that even at the moment that Molotov was signing the Moscow Pact, Stalin's other hand was dealing from a different pack of cards in Jugoslavia, Greece and Albania.

NEW LEADER

Russian interference in the internal affairs of the Balkan nations continues to cry a warning to the rest of the world. It continues to undermine faith in that "brave new world" envisaged by the architects of the Moscow Pact. Stalinists and Soviet apologists may save their hysterics over this bluntly-phrased elemental truth. If the canny-minded do not go overboard in emotional frenzy over Mr. Molotov's penmanship, it is because of the precedent of Nov. 16, 1933, and the lesson it taught many.

On that date, Maxim Litvinoff, at that time "People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs" of the Soviet Union, signed a solemn undertaking addressed to the President of the United States by which, in return for diplomatic recognition, the Soviet Union declared it to be its "fixed policy":

"To respect scrupulously the indisputable right of the United States to order its own life within its own jurisdiction in its own way and to refrain from interfering in any manner in the internal affairs of the United States, its territories or possessions."

Well . . .

The Washington Merry-Go-Round

By Drew Pearson

HARD-BOILED MEMBERS of the Diplomatic Corps, whose countries' lives hung in the balance at Moscow, have microscopically examined the texts and come to certain definite conclusions. These are:

1. Moscow achieved more than the diplomats expected, but less than the window-dressing has now led the public to believe.

2. The word "finis" was written under the Baltic states—Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia. Though not mentioned in the texts, they will be taken over by Russia.

3. Poland's future will depend entirely upon how far it is willing to cooperate with Russia. If it plays ball, Poland can live peacefully beside Russia as a cooperating Slav state. If it doesn't play ball, it will be largely gobbled up.

4. Although no definite agreements were reached on many things, machinery was organized for future agreement. This may be most important of all.

Difficult problems have to be threshed out gradually and the proof of the pudding is in the eating.

Baltic States Disappear

READING BETWEEN THE LINES and piecing together the diplomatic grapevine reports leaking back from Moscow, diplomats have arrived at the conclusion that Stalin took exactly the same stand regarding the Baltic states at Moscow as he has in the past—that the Baltics were no more up for discussion than is the return of Texas, Arizona, New Mexico and California to Mexico. The Baltic states, according to the Soviet view, were carved out of the old Russian Empire when she was prostrate and helpless during the last war, and were deliberately constructed by British imperialists in order to shut Leningrad off from the sea.

Stalin has made it clear that he would no more permit foreign states along the Gulf of Finland than we would permit small independent republics to be set up in Connecticut and Long Island guarding the entrance to New York Harbor.

As reported in this column in the spring of 1942, Molotoff secured an agreement from the British at that time for the return of the Baltic states and one-half of Poland to Russia. But the United States objected. Diplomats now conclude that at Moscow Secretary Hull withdrew that objection and fell back on the United States declaration at Riga of April 6, 1922, when the Baltic states were first recognized. It was then said:

"It is entirely possible or even probable that some time in the indefinite future these so-called states may once again become an integral part of Russia."

Poland's Position

MOST SIGNIFICANT PORTION of the Moscow pacts, and the only one signed by Stalin, Roosevelt and Churchill, was regarding punishment for atrocities.

Buried in the text of this agreement is an insignificant-appearing, but nevertheless most important statement that "Germans who take part in wholesale shootings of Polish officers . . . will be brought back to the scene of their crimes," etc.

This settles once and for all the question which has bitterly disturbed Russian-Polish relations, namely the massacre of 10,000 Polish officers at Smolensk, and the Polish-German claim that actually they were massacred by Russians. Roosevelt and Churchill now have signed their names to a declaration which puts the blame squarely on the Nazis and leaves no more room for argument.

The fact that this one pact was singled out above all the others for the signature of Stalin, Roosevelt and Churchill indicates the importance the Russians attached to it. This, plus the fact that the British had already agreed in 1942 to restore Russian Poland to Poland, is viewed by diplomats to mean that Poland's future is largely up to her ability to keep on friendly terms with Russia.

It is believed that Stalin consented to hold up any partition of Poland, as originally agreed with the British, and to wait and see how things worked out. This was in return for American promises of security guarantees. But he did insist that the main sore-spot between the Poles and Russia, the alleged massacre of Polish officers at Smolensk, be settled for all time.

Thus the future of Poland probably rests largely in the hands of the Polish people themselves and their ability to get along with their fellow Slavs.

Russia

WASH. POST Nov. 5, 1943

Allied Decisions Will Shorten War, Lay Foundations for Future Peace--Izvestia

(By Wireless to Inter-Continent News)

MOSCOW. — The three-power conference of foreign ministers of Britain, the United States and the Soviet Union was described by Izvestia editorially as a "major success" in the growth of the anti-fascist coalition.

Izvestia noted that every question received full and frank discussion, and that all conferees agreed that "their prime aim was to hasten the end of the war."

"The Moscow Conference of the Foreign Ministers of the United States, Great Britain and the USSR has successfully completed its work," the editorial began.

"The attention of world public opinion was centered on the forthcoming Conference long before the ministers of the three Allied Powers met. This attention, which did not lag during the Conference itself, speaks of the significance attached by the peoples to the steadily growing cooperation between the great states which head the Anti-Hitler coalition on the questions of the conduct of the war and the establishment of future peace. The decisions of the Conference and the important political documents drawn up as a result of the parley leave no doubts whatsoever that a new major success was achieved in the development of cooperation between the Allied countries.

"The Conference met at a time when in the course of military operations splendid victories of the Red Army and the successes of Anglo-American arms made it possible to determine the hastening of the end of the war, and to elaborate principles for organizing the peace after victory over Hitlerite Germany and her accomplices in Europe.

"The importance of the Conference also lay in the fact that for the first time the Foreign Secretaries of three States—the U. S. S. R., Great Britain and the United States—were able to meet together in a conference at which all questions advanced by the three governments were subjected to exhaustive and frank discussion. A vast number of problems of military, strategic and political nature had arisen in the course of the joint struggle against the common enemy, some of which called for special consideration and immediate decision. The inclusion of experts in the delegations, and the participation in the work of the Conference of military advisers representing the respective Chiefs of Staffs, greatly helped solve the questions demanding special competence.

SHORTENING THE WAR

"The first point on which the representatives of the three Governments unanimously agreed was recognition of the fact that their prime aim was to hasten the end of the war. Undoubtedly this important avowal is in keeping with the interests of all peoples of the world.

"Since striving to prolong the war constitutes the present strategy of Hitlerite Germany, the question of shortening the war which is harrowing the world is not only a humanitarian problem of Allies but also a most important political and strategic task. That precisely is why at the Conference, as the Communique states, "In the first place there was a frank and exhaustive discussion of measures to be taken to shorten the war against Germany and her satellites in Europe. Shortening the war means hastening victory. At the Conference there was discussed definite military operations with regard to which decisions had been taken and which are already being prepared. . . .

"The unanimous recognition of the fact that it was essential to immediately take measures for joint blows fro mthe East and West to bring Hitlerite Germany to her knees, to hasten the hour of her final destruction—this is an important indication of the confidence of the Allies in their strength, in the victorious end of this war into which the Hitlerite barbarians have hurled the world.

POST-WAR COLLABORATION

"The second important political outcome of the Conference is the recognition of the common striving to continue the present close collaboration and cooperation in the conduct of the war into the period following the end of hostilities. The conviction that the Anglo-Soviet-American coalition, formed to conduct the war, should jointly ensure the winning of the war and the peace is expressed in one of the main documents of the Conference—the declaration on general security.

"The Chinese Government also joined this declaration. Hence it

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expresses the will and determination of four great Powers of the world who have taken upon themselves responsibility for the future organization of peace. The Governments of the United States, Great Britain, U. S. S. R. and China declare that their joint efforts will be continued for the organization and maintenance of peace and security and that they recognize the necessity of establishing "a general international organization based on the principle of the sovereign equality of peace-loving states and open to membership by all such states, large and small, for the maintenance of international peace and security."

"This declaration lays the corner stone for the foundation for the post-war future. The vigorously and clearly formulated principles which constitute the basis for the post-war international cooperation, form the bridge stretching into the future years, doing the work for all the large and small states, for full promotions of political, economic and social welfare of their peoples."

COMRADES IN ARMS

"The great democratic powers are today comrades in arms and will tomorrow be comrades in the struggle for the security of the people. Having established and strengthened a firm cooperation among themselves in the years of struggle against the common enemy, they will together embark on an organization of international cooperation in the post-war period.

"Naturally when the cooperation between the allied countries has such wide prospects and is developing so significantly, the necessity arose for more regular consultations of the representatives of the three governments and the establishment of a permanent organ of contact—machinery ensuring the further promotion of cooperation between the governments of Britain, the USSR, and the U.S.A.

"The conference of the three ministers agreed to set up machinery to examine European questions arising as the war develops and to establish in London a European advisory commission.

"This commission which will make joint recommendations to the three allied governments will be in addition to the existing diplomatic channels, a new form of continuous cooperation.

"Apart from the European advisory commission it was also agreed upon to establish an advisory council for matters relating to Italy. The need for such a council was dictated by two essential circumstances.

COMMISSION ON ITALY

"Firstly, it should be composed of in addition to the representatives of the U.S.A., Britain and the USSR, of representatives of Greece and Yugoslavia, in view of the aggressions of Fascist Italy against them.

"Secondly, the outstanding feature of the council for matters relating to Italy is that it will have to deal with the day-to-day questions of coordination of the policy of the allies on the territory where this policy is already being carried out in practice.

"Italy is the first country where the Fascist system is already being liquidated and which in principle is important for all peoples.

"That is why the conference in particular drew up a special 'Declaration on Italy' in which the ministers of the three allied countries announced the main principles of the joint policy of their governments. These principles are that Fascism and all its evil influences and emanations shall be utterly destroyed and that the Italian people shall be given every opportunity to establish governmental and other institutions based upon democratic principles.

"From this arises the practical tasks of a democratic national Italian government, full restoration of democratic liberties, suppression of all Fascist institutions and organizations, the removal of the Fascist and pro-Fascist elements from public institutions, full amnesty for the victims of the Fascist regime, creation of democratic organs, a local government, trial of the fascist chiefs, etc.

"Such a declaration which is extremely important and necessary in present conditions in the development of events in Italy will point out also to other peoples—victims of Fascist tyranny—their morrow when they with the help of the USSR, Britain and the U.S.A. will overthrow the Fascist oppressors.

LIBERATION IN AUSTRIA

"In this respect, the most significant is the declaration on Austria, which was adopted at the conference. Austria was the first free country to fall victim to the Hitlerite aggression and the governments of Britain, the USSR and the U.S.A. declare that they regard the so-called Anschluss, that is, the forcible annexation of Austria to Germany in 1938 as null and void.

"Austria must be liberated from German domination. While declaring her restoration and independence, the Allied governments at the same time remind Austria that she bears responsibility for participation in the war on the side of Hitlerite Germany and that an internal settlement and account will be taken of the efforts that the Austrian people may make towards their own liberation.

"The joint declaration of the three governments—Roosevelt, Churchill and Stalin 'on the German atrocities' issued during the Moscow conference will be received with particular feeling of satisfaction by the Soviet people and all the other peoples who have suffered from the Fascist brigandage.

"The Conference made decisions on present and future problems, on questions of the prosecution of the war and the organization of the peace. It made these decisions, taking into account a new factor in the international situation, namely, that many territories are already being liberated from the enemy by the armies of the Allied states, the the Red Army is striking unprecedented blows at the Hitler machine, that a crisis of discord in the Hitlerite camp and the growing isolation of Germany create favorable possibilities for shortening the war and completing the destruction of the fascist armies. For the first time, the future of certain countries of Europe is taking concrete shape—not as the subject of discussion but as the general decision of the Allies.

"The very nature and trend of the declarations show along what lines and how the joint actions of the three states heading the anti-Hitlerite coalition will be carried out. The developing Anglo-Soviet-American cooperation is already felt as a liberating and creative force for future peace.

SMASHING BLOW TO FOE

"When the Conference was in session the peoples of the world awaited its decisions with hope and confidence. The confidence that Anglo - Soviet - American cooperation should and would develop in the interests of all nations was the leit motif of the comments of the democratic press. Only in the camp of the enemies and their hirelings was hope fanned as a means of consolation that the different narrow interests of the individual countries would dominate the general common interest and would stand in the way of further rapprochement of the Allied states. These hopes of the enemy have been struck a heavy blow by the success of the Moscow Conference. The national interests of the

lines of the anti-Hitlerite coalition dictate to the governments of these countries the necessity, and make it their obligation to move together, to cooperate together both in war and in the preparations for the post-war world.

"The conference demonstrated the determination and the will of the peoples of the three great countries the conduct of the struggle against the German fascist robbers.

"To end, to hasten the destruction of the enemy and to bring closer the hour of victory of our common cause.

"It strikes a new and telling blow at the Hitler camp whose military might is already sapped and deeply shaken by the hammer blows of the Soviet troops and also by the major military success of the Anglo-American troops in the west.

"The significance of the Moscow Conference lies in the fact that it definitely expressed the strivings of the peoples of the Allied countries for further consolidation of the forces against the common enemy and to cooperate in the post-war period in the interest of peace and victory for the people."

Nazi Criminals to Pay, Say Soviet Scientists

(By Wireless to Intercontinent News)

MOSCOW, Nov. 2.—The current meeting of the Soviet Academy of Sciences heard Academician Trainin, eminent authority on law, read a paper on "The Responsibility of Hitler Germany for Crimes and Damage Caused by Her Aggression."

Academician Eugene Tarle in an outline of the history of Germany shed light on all of her predatory policy. "The first thing the Germans destroy in their retreat," said Academician Alexei Tolstoy in his report at the session, "are schools, scientific institutions, theatres, museums and architectural monuments."

Papers read by Academicians N. Burdenko, surgeon, and B. V. Vedeneyev, engineer, were devoted to the same subject.

The general meeting of the Academy unanimously adopted a resolution which reads: "Shocked at the horror of the fascist crimes, the scientists of the Academy of Sciences of the U.S.S.R., together with the entire Soviet people, express confidence that the Hitler government and its agents and organizers of the crimes of plunder and destruction will suffer severe punishment for their monstrous crimes. Together with the entire Soviet people, the scientists of the Soviet Union demand indemnification for the damage caused by the German fascist aggressors."

The Soviet Academy of Sciences was reinforced by a new group of outstanding physicians, mathematicians, geologists, biologists, economists, historians and prominent representatives of technology, architecture and the arts, elected to membership at the general meeting of the Academy.

In all 224 candidates were proposed for membership and 467 for corresponding members. They were all thoroughly discussed at sessions of various departments of the Academy and lastly at the general meeting. Voting by secret ballot, the general meeting of the Academy elected as members 38 scientists of world-wide renown and recognition, among them Abram Alikhanov, prominent for his investigations in cosmic radiation.

OTHERS SELECTED

Noteworthy is the inclusion for the first time of authorities on the history and theory of the arts. Four representatives from this field are the painter Igor Gravar, the architects Alexei Shusev and Victoria Vesnin and the composer Boris Asafyev.

Historians elected include Doctor Vladimir Potemkin, People's Commissar of Education.

Nikolai Voznesensky, vice-chairman of the All-Union Council of People's Commissars, leading Soviet economist and author of a number of fundamental theoretical works on economics, is one of the two new members elected from this field, the other being Ivanov, expert in world economics.

The two philologists and two writers chosen for membership in the literature and language section include the prominent Ukrainian playwright Alexander Korneichuk and S. Sergeyev-Tsensky, Soviet writer of the older generation.

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Soviet Press Hails Parley Decisions

(Daily Worker Foreign Department)

The Soviet press yesterday hailed the Moscow conference with special editions and unusually prominent displays, while **Pravda**, newspaper of the Soviet Communist Party, declared that the "consequences of the close solidarity established between the Allied and United Nations will soon be felt . . . decisions reached will deal a heavy blow to the plans of Hitlerite strategists whose principal hope is based on prolonging the war."

United Press dispatches from Moscow said that the special edition for **Pravda** was unusual in view of the paper scarcity. **Izvestia**, the government paper, as well as **Red Star**, the army paper, played the news in extraordinary fashion. **Izvestia**, said the UP correspondent, gave its whole first page, half its second page in a four page edition to news of the conference, editorials and photos.

MAJOR SUCCESS

In a long editorial, as wirelessed by Intercontinent News, **Izvestia** declared that the "decisions of the conference . . . leave no doubts whatsoever that a new major success was achieved in the development of cooperation between the Allied countries."

The editorial places first emphasis on the "exhaustive and frank discussions" which took place over the military situation and said that the aim of shortening the war was "in keeping with the interests of all peoples of the world."

The second achievement of the conference says **Izvestia**, "is the recognition of the common striving to continue the present close collaboration and cooperation . . . into the period following the end of hostilities." It notes the participation of China in the declaration on general security.

"The will and determination of the four great powers of the world who have taken upon themselves the responsibility for the future organization of peace," says the newspaper, "lays the cornerstone for the foundation of a post-war future."

ITALY DECISIONS

In summarizing the declaration on Italy, and the two commissions established by the conference, **Izvestia** declares that the seven points for Italy are "extremely important" since they point out "also to other peoples—victims of fascist tyranny—their morrow when they, with the help of the USSR, Great Britain, and the U.S.A. will overthrow the Fascist oppressors."

Terming the declaration on Austria most significant, **Izvestia** observes that the declaration on atrocities will "be received with particular feelings of satisfaction by the Soviet people and all other peoples who have suffered from fascist brigandage."

"For the first time," says **Izvestia**, "the future of certain countries of Europe is taking concrete shape—not as the subject of discussion but as the general decision of the Allies."

The hopes of the enemy that the "narrow interests of individual countries would dominate the general common interest, and would stand in the way of further rapprochement of the Allies states" was struck a heavy blow, **Izvestia** declares.

It concludes that the "national interests of the countries of the anti-Hitlerite coalition dictate to the governments of these countries the necessity, and make it their obligation, to move together, to cooperate together both in war and in the preparations for the postwar world."

(Continued on Page 6)

Soviet Press Hails Parley Decisions

(Continued from Page 1)

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Parley Ignored Small States, Swedes Say

French Disappointed At Absence of Invitation to Advisory Committee

Amid the general jubilation which greeted the announcement of the result of the Moscow conference today are being heard a few minor, discordant notes.

The Swedish press, while reacting favorably, expressed disappointment at the absence of any provisions for the role of smaller states in the postwar period. The *Stockholm Tidningen* foresaw a "foundation for a stable peace," but declared that the Allied agreements would mean a "new league of nations" with "a world power council in which the small states shall not have anything to say, provided they are not asked."

The *Social Demokraten* wanted to know what the conferees decided about "Finland's freedom."

France Is Needed

Reuters correspondent Stanley Burch reported from Algiers that a spokesman for the French Liberation Committee had told him "there will be sharp disappointment that France was not invited to sit at the London European Advisory Commission announced after the conference. We believe the problems of Europe cannot satisfactorily be settled without France."

CBS correspondent Bill Downs broadcast from Moscow that while the Russian people felt a sense of gratification for the "far seeing plan for the postwar world," they still feel that Hitler must be defeated first. "Consequently, the editorials in *Pravda* and *Izvestia* spend quite some time explaining that the Moscow conference did deal with military questions."

Cairo dispatches to the United Press revealed that reactionary officials in the Greek and Yugoslav governments in exile were worried because of the apparent encouragement by ~~the Allies~~ of the "leftist" guerilla factions.

Small Nations Happy

On the other hand, Polish, Czechoslovak, Belgian and Austrian quarters in London expressed happiness. Belgian Foreign Minister Paul Spaak, who just arrived in New York for the Conference on Rehabilitation to be held in Atlantic City, N. J., said: "Stalingrad sealed the fate of the German hopes on the military front. The Moscow conference is Germany's Waterloo on the political front."

UP said a Budapest dispatch to the *Zurich Neue Zuricher Zeitung* reported the agreements had caused a sensation in Danubian countries. The Swiss press believed the results offered Germany no peg on which to hang its customary propaganda of friction and lack of understanding among the United Nations.

This view was given substance by Nazi comment. A Berlin spokesman, Dr. Otto Krieg, in the first official Nazi reaction could deliver only bare opinion that the Anglo-Americans have sold themselves in Europe to "the will of Bolshevism."

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ACCORD ACCLAIMED BY MOSCOW PRESS

Pravda and Izvestia Unite in Enthusiastic Comment on Outcome of Conference

By W. H. LAWRENCE

By Wireless to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

MOSCOW, Nov. 2 — The Soviet press today hailed the Moscow conference's success as insuring the speedier defeat of Adolf Hitler and welcomed the Anglo-Soviet-American-Chinese post-war collaboration declaration with the enthusiastic comment that "the great democratic powers, comrades in arms today, tomorrow will become comrades in the struggle for the security of all peace-loving nations."

Izvestia, the Government's organ, and Pravda, the Communist party paper, editorialized most favorably and devoted the entire front page and one-fourth of the second page to publication of the text of the conference's communiqué. Accompanying the documents was an eight-column picture of the Foreign Ministers in session.

Red Star, the Army organ; Red Fleet, the Navy newspaper, and Komsomol Pravda, spokesman of the Young Communists, front-paged the text of all the documents without comment. Since the papers have only four pages, the use of this much space clearly indicates the importance attached here to the conference.

There was no statement from Vyacheslaff M. Molotoff, Soviet Foreign Commissar, or from Premier Marshal Joseph Stalin, but it is not doubted that the newspaper editorials reflect the Government's attitude on general gratification over the conference's success.

Izvestia and Pravda emphasized that the Foreign Ministers had reached initial unanimity, that the "first aim was to speed up the war's end" and that that fact alone "inflicts a new and serious blow at the Hitlerite camp" since German strategy was now based on prolonging the war.

"The Moscow conference has completed its work," said Pravda. "It demonstrated the increasing strength of the Anglo-Soviet-American military alliance directed toward a speedier smashing of Hitlerite Germany and her European satellites and toward insuring a stable and prolonged peace and general security after the victorious conclusion of the war imposed by the German Fascist barbarians on democratic and freedom-loving countries."

Izvestia commented that it was the determination of the Foreign Ministers to insure the winning of the peace as well as the war, and that, since China joined the post-war collaboration declaration as an original signatory, that document "consequently expresses the will and decision of the four greatest powers on the globe, who adopt responsibility for future world organization."

"The great democratic powers, comrades in arms today, tomorrow will become comrades in the struggle for the security of all peace-loving nations," declared Izvestia.

That was said to be the most enthusiastic comment for Allied cooperation that has yet appeared in the Soviet press.

There was emphasis given to the Foreign Ministers' decision that the occupied countries must earn a place at the peace table. That was pointed up in two ways. The declaration expressing a desire for a free, independent Austria warned Austrians that they were held responsible for collaboration in Hitler's war and added that account would be taken, in the final settlement, of any contribution the Austrians made to their own liberation.

The other instance was the fail-

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ure to give a place to the Albanians on the Italian Commission, where representation was provided for the Greeks and Yugoslavs, who fought hard but vainly against the invaders.

It was believed that the Italian Commission would be a model for similar set-ups in other liberated areas if the initial experiment proved successful.

Satisfaction was expressed with the establishment of the permanent European Advisory Commission in London. The papers said it was natural that there should be need for more frequent consultations as the Allies worked closer together.

Izvestia remarked that for the first time the future of various European countries was being lined out in concrete terms, "not as an object for discussion but as a common Allied decision."

"The Anglo-Soviet-American coalition is already being felt as a liberative and creative force in the world of the future," said Izvestia.

That paper also made the point that Hitler and his lackeys were bitterly disappointed in their hope that the three countries would allow narrow interests to override the general, common interest.

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Moscow Conference Cements Unity; Explodes Myth of Separate Peace

Five Documents Stating Major Accords Imply Close Military as Well as Political Cooperation

By Alexander H. Uhl
PM's Foreign Editor

WASHINGTON, Nov. 2.—Agreement and co-operation—not mutual suspicion and distrust. That is the one cardinal factor that emerges from the Moscow conference, the results of which were announced yesterday.

There were no terrifically startling decisions reached and there were many omissions, but the conference did produce a body of agreement on some of the fundamental problems of the war and charted a course that should leave no room now for the political sniping that has been going on.

And it is a striking commentary on the kind of propaganda that has been flying about to find such universal satisfaction and relief at a joint declaration of intent by the U. S. A., Britain and Russia on things that would appear obvious.

The conference results were announced in five statements by the three powers which should go far to answer charges that the Soviet Union wants to communize Europe and which outlined a course of democratic policy in conquered countries designed really to eradicate fascism.

One highly significant development was the fact that China was included in a joint declaration promising complete co-operation among the four powers both during and after the war.

Broadly speaking this is what was agreed upon:

¶ No separate peace by any of the countries involved.

¶ Establishment of "a general international organization" to maintain peace after the war.

¶ Punishment of Nazi war criminals.

¶ An independent Austria.

¶ A free and democratic Italy.

That is the pattern followed in the announcements, but if you rearrange them in terms of the questions that people have been asking themselves, this is how they break down:

Will Russia make a separate peace with Germany?

The U. S. A., Britain, the Soviet Union and China reiterate the declaration of the United Nations of Jan. 1, 1942, "to continue hostilities against those Axis powers with which they respectively are at war until such powers have laid down their arms on the basis of unconditional surrender." (See Page 5.)

Clearly this is an answer to German propaganda and U. S. isolationist charges that Russia would make a separate peace with Germany and leave us in the lurch. It also reiterates what Churchill has said a dozen times—that Britain will carry on the war against Japan after Hitler is licked.

For the first time, however, Stalin has associated himself with the "unconditional surrender" terms of Churchill and Roosevelt, formulated at the Casablanca conference. This fact answers anti-Soviet charges that Stalin would be willing to accept a "soft peace" with Germany so as to maintain a strong buffer state between Russia and the rest of Europe.

What about a second front?

The words *second front* do not appear in any of the five state-

Hull, Eden, Molotov—They made collective security into history.

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for Nov. 2, 1943
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ments. but a joint communique summarizing the work of the three Foreign Secretaries, Hull, Eden and Molotov, said:

"In the first place there were frank and exhaustive discussions of the measures to be taken to shorten the war against Germany and her satellites in Europe. Advantage was taken of the presence of military advisers representing the respective chiefs of staffs in order to discuss definite military operations with regard to which decisions had been taken and which are already being prepared in order to create a basis for the closest military co-operation in the future between the three countries."

It is clear that this does not constitute a promise to open the kind of a second front that the Russians have been demanding, but it does indicate that the problem was threshed out. The phase *to shorten the war* is obviously the key to what was decided. (*See Max Werner, page* 12.)

For the first time, too, definite measures were taken for close military co-operation. Hitherto, there have been many complaints that neither we nor the Russians knew what the other was up to.

What about Japan?

Japan is not specifically mentioned in the five statements and it is clear that care was taken to use such terms as *common enemy* and *the Axis powers with which they are respectively at war.* Russia's intentions regarding the Far Eastern war, consequently, are still unknown.

But highly significant was the fact that for the first time Moscow was willing to enter into a four-way agreement involving China and which specifically mentioned the Axis powers. While this declaration was chiefly concerned with postwar problems it can hardly be received with pleasure by Tokyo since it presumes the destruction of Japanese military power. Moscow's willingness to join in this declaration with China certainly would indicate that Stalin is not too deeply concerned with what the Japanese think and apparently cares less.

The four-way declaration also shows real progress in getting away from the purely Anglo-American aspect that the war has been taking for many months. The Quebec conference was a two-way affair with China drawn in a secondary status. The Moscow conference grew to a three-way affair with Russia a major participant and China in a somewhat more important role than at Quebec.

What about the postwar world?

The four-power declaration pledges that the united action of the powers in the prosecution of the war "will be continued for the organization and maintenance of peace and security." It agrees that all at war with a common enemy "will act together in all matters re- MORE

lating to the surrender and disarmament of that enemy."

Then after the war is over, the four powers "recognize the necessity of establishing at the earliest practicable date a general international organization, based on the principles of the sovereign equality of all peace loving states, and open to membership by all such states, large and small, for the maintenance of international peace and security."

What such an international body would be called is of minor importance, but there can be no doubt that it carries with it all the implications of some kind of new league of nations. FDR, consequently, has put the Senate squarely up against the problem of whether it will ratify a League this time and not kill it as it did after the last war. All indications now are that the Connally resolution will have to be strengthened to meet this new situation. (*For Senate debate see Page* 6.)

What about war criminals?

The conference took a strong stand on the punishment of Nazi war criminals. While its statement was signed by FDR, Stalin and Churchill to give it more effect, it had all the earmarks of having been written hot off the griddle in Moscow, for it is full of *Hitlerites* and *Huns* which are favorite Russian expressions.

The statement promises that when Germany is licked "those German officers and men and members of the Nazi party who have

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been responsible for or have taken a consenting part in atrocities, massacres and executions will be sent back to the countries in which their abominable deeds were done in order that they may be judged and punished according to the laws of the liberated countries and of the free governments which will be erected therein."

This really gives meaning to the threat of punishment. After the last war criminals were tried in Germany itself and for the most part got off scot free. This time the Russians, the Poles, the Greeks, the Norwegians and all the other invaded countries will do the trying and the punishing. Those German criminals "whose offenses have no particular geographical localization"—Hitler, Goering, Goebbels belong to that class—will be punished by joint decisions of the governments of the Allies.

What about a democratic Italy?

Hull, Eden and Molotov agreed that their governments "are in complete agreement that Allied policy toward Italy must be based upon the fundamental principle that fascism shall be completely destroyed and all its evil influence and configuration shall be completely destroyed and that the Italian people shall be given every opportunity to establish governmental and other institutions based upon democratic principles."

Then certain fundamentals are laid down including, representation of anti-Fascist groups in the Government, freedom of speech, of religious worship, of political belief, of press and of public meeting. It declares that all fascist or pro-fascist elements shall be removed from the administration and from institutions and organizations of a public character. It calls for the release and amnesty of all political prisoners.

Fascist chiefs and army generals known or suspected to be war criminals will be arrested and handed over to justice. What justice is not specified, but it is obvious that Italian war criminals are not regarded in the same light as the Nazis. Apparently the Greeks and Yugoslavs and the Ethiopians are not to be the judges and the executioners. Which should be a relief to Badoglio and Victor Emmanuel.

There is one hedge on the above policy for Italy and that is that it may not be put into full operation until military operations make it feasible. The rules announced are far stricter than have existed thus far and indicate that Hull has not been entirely deaf to the demands of American liberals for complete eradication of fascism in Italy.

What about Austria?

A joint declaration simply states that the three powers wish to see re-established a free and independent Austria, thereby opening "the way for the Austrian people themselves as well as those neighboring states which will be faced with similar problems, to find that political and economic security which is the only basis for lasting peace."

The Austrians are reminded, however, that the more they do themselves to overthrow the Nazis the better treatment they can expect.

The Austrian decision has some ramifications. In some ways it strengthens the hands of Austrian Communists who have always opposed *Anschluss* while the Social Democrats were for it until Hitler came to power. At the same time it refutes arguments that Russia didn't want an independent Austria but preferred a strong Pan-German state—not strong enough to be a menace to her but strong enough to stand between her and the rest of Europe.

What about the French?

The French Committee of National Liberation is still a step-child. It has no representation on a tripartite advisory commission which is to be set up in London to give advice on European political developments. It does, however, have representation, together with Yugoslavia and Greece, on an advisory council for matters relating to Italy.

This means, of course, that the Committee is being held rigidly to its non-governmental status to which de Gaulle has long objected.

What about Poland and the Baltic states?

Here you have the one glaring omission in the five statements. There is reliable information in Washington that the Russians have

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claims on the Baltic states, part of Poland and Bessarabia. The fact that these states were not even mentioned is taken as tacit consent although there is one clause in the joint Four-Power declaration that may some day play a role in whatever is done. It reads:

"That after the termination of hostilities they (the four powers) will not employ their military forces within the territories of other states except for the purposes envisaged in this declaration and after joint consultation."

If you consider Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia as "other states," then there will be argument over Russian occupation of them. But if you accept the Russian thesis that they have never been independent states but always a constitutional part of the Soviet Union, then they are not covered by this clause. Actually, the Russians gave notice before the conference that they would not discuss the status of these territories, including eastern Poland. If we and the British have made any reservations regarding this notice, yesterday's statements do not reveal them.

One diplomatic commentator close to the Russians last night said:

"These agreements represent great and important diplomatic progress. There are now two questions: Will American and British military leaders stop thinking in terms of an inevitable war with Russia? Will the United States Senate kill the idea of a world organization with American participation as it did after the last war?"

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Summary of Conference Communiques

Here are the published decisions of the Moscow Foreign Ministers' Conference as told in key paragraphs from the texts of the five final communiques:

General Statement

"Second only to the importance of hastening the end of the war was the recognition by the three governments that it was essential in their own national interests and in the interests of all peace-loving nations to continue the present close collaboration and co-operation in the conduct of the war into the period following the end of hostilities, and that only in this way could peace be maintained and the political, economic and social welfare of their peoples fully promoted.

"This conviction is expressed in a declaration which the Chinese government joined during the conference and which was signed by the foreign secretaries and the Chinese ambassador . . ."

Four-Power Declaration

"The U. S. A., Britain, Russia and China declare: That their united action, pledged for the prosecution of the war against their respective enemies, will be continued for the organization and maintenance of peace and security . . .

"That they recognize the necessity of establishing a general international organization, based on the principle of the sovereign equality of all peace-loving states, and open to membership by all such states, large and small, for the maintenance of peace and security.

"The conference agreed to set up machinery for ensuring the closest co-operation between the three governments in the examination of European questions arising as the war develops. For this purpose the conference decided to establish in London a European advisory commission to study these questions and to make joint recommendants to the three governments . . .

"The conference also agreed to establish an advisory council for matters relating to Italy to be composed in the first instance of representatives of their three governments and of the French Committee of National Liberation. Provision is made for addition to this council of representatives of Greece and Yugoslavia in view of their special interests arising out of aggression of Italy upon their territories during the present war."

Declaration on Italy

". . . Allied policy towards Italy must be based upon the fundamental principle that Fascism and all its evil influence and configuration shall be completely destroyed and that the Italian people shall be given every opportunity to establish governmental and other institutions based upon democratic principles . . .

"In furtherance of this policy . . . it is essential that the (present) Italian government should be made more democratic by inclusion of representatives of those sections of the Italian people who have always opposed Fascism."

Declaration on Austria

The American, British and Russian governments "are agreed that Austria, the first free country to fall a victim to Hitlerite aggression, shall be liberated from German domination. . . . They declare that they wish to see re-established a free and independent Austria and thereby to open the way for the Austrian people themselves, as well as those neighboring states which will be faced with similar problems, to find that political and economic security which is the only basis for lasting peace.

"Austria is reminded, however, that she has a responsibility, which she cannot evade, for participation in the war at the side of Hitlerite Germany, and that in the final settlement account will inevitably be taken of her own contribution to her liberation."

On War Criminals

"At the time of granting an armistice to any government which may be set up in Germany, those German officers and men and members of the Nazi Party who have been responsible for or have taken a consenting part in . . . atrocities, massacres and executions will be sent back to the countries in which their abominable deeds were done in order that they may be judged and punished according to the laws of these liberated countries and of the free governments which will be erected therein."

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Texts of Three-Power Conference Documents

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

WASHINGTON, Nov. 1—The following are the texts of the joint communiqué issued by the three-power conference at Moscow and of four documents issued in connection with the conference:

Joint Communique of Tripartite Conference

The conference of Foreign Secretaries of the United States of America, Mr. Cordell Hull; of the United Kingdom, Mr. Anthony Eden; and of the Soviet Union, Mr. V. M. Molotoff, took place at Moscow from the nineteenth to the thirtieth of October, 1943. There were twelve meetings. In addition to the Foreign Secretaries, the following took part in the conference:

For the United States of America: Mr. W. Averell Harriman, Ambassador of the United States; Maj. Gen. John R. Deane, United States Army; Mr. H. Hackworth, Mr. James C. Dunn and experts.

For the United Kingdom: Sir Archibald Clark Kerr, Ambassador; Mr. William Strang, Lieut. Gen. Sir Hastings Ismay and experts.

For the Soviet Union: Marshal K. E. Voroshiloff, Marshal of the Soviet Union; Mr. A. Y. Vyshinski and Mr. M. Litvinoff, Deputy People's Commissars for Foreign Affairs; Mr. V. A. Sergeyeff, Deputy People's Commissar for Foreign Trade; Maj. Gen. A. A. Gryzloff of the General Staff, Mr. G. F. Saksin, senior official for People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs, and experts.

Some Decisions Taken

The agenda included all questions submitted for discussion by the three Governments. Some of the questions called for final decisions, and these were taken. On other questions, after discussion, decisions of principle were taken. These questions were referred for detailed consideration to commissions specially set up for the purpose, or reserved for treatment through diplomatic channels. Other questions again were disposed of by an exchange of views. The Governments of the United States, the United Kingdom and the Soviet Union have been in close cooperation in all matters concerning the common war effort, but this is the first time that the Foreign Secretaries of the three Governments have been able to meet together in conference.

In the first place there were frank and exhaustive discussions of the measures to be taken to shorten the war against Germany and her satellites in Europe. Advantage was taken of the presence of military advisers representing the respective Chiefs of Staff in order to discuss definite military operations with regard to which decisions had been taken and which are already being prepared in order to create a basis for the closest military cooperation in the future between the three countries.

Second only to the importance of hastening the end of the war was the recognition by the three Governments that it was essential in their own national interests and in the interests of all peace-loving nations to continue the present close collaboration and cooperation in the conduct of the war into the period following the end of hostilities, and that only in this way could peace be maintained and the political, economic and social welfare of their peoples fully promoted.

China Is Joint Signer

This conviction is expressed in a declaration in which the Chinese Government joined during the conference and which was signed by the three Foreign Secretaries and the Chinese Ambassador at Moscow on behalf of their Governments. This declaration published today provides for even closer collaboration in the prosecution of the war and in all matters pertaining to the surrender and disarmament of the enemies with which the four countries are, respectively, at war. It set forth the principles upon which the four Governments agree that a broad system of international cooperation and security should be based. Provision is made for the inclusion of all other peace-loving nations, great and small, in this system.

The conference agreed to set up machinery for ensuring the closest cooperation between the three Governments in the examination of European questions arising as the war develops. For this purpose the conference decided to establish in London a European advisory commission to study these questions and to make joint recommendations to the three Governments.

Provision was made for continuing, when necessary, the tripartite consultations of representatives of the three Governments in the respective capitals through the exising diplomatic channels.

The conference also agreed to establish an advisory council for matters relating to Italy, to be composed in the first instance of representatives of their three Governments and of the French Committee of National Liberation. Provision is made for addition to this council of representatives of Greece and Yugoslavia in view of their special interests arising out of aggressions of Fascist Italy upon their territory during the present war. This council will deal with day-to-day questions other than military preparations and will make recommendations designed to coordinate Allied policy with regard to Italy.

Affirm Stand on Italy

The three Foreign Secretaries considered it appropriate to reaffirm, by a declaration published today, the attitude of the Allied Governments in favor of the restoration of democracy in Italy.

The three Foreign Secretaries declared it to be the purpose of their Governments to restore the independence of Austria. At the same time they reminded Austria that in the final settlement account will be taken of efforts that Austria may make toward its own liberation. The declaration on Austria is published today.

The Foreign Secretaries issued at the conference a declaration by President Roosevelt, Prime Minister Churchill and Premier Stalin containing a solemn warning that at the time of granting any armistice to any German Government, those German officers and men and members of the Nazi party who have had any connection with atrocities and executions in countries overrun by German forces will be taken back to the countries in which their abominable crimes were committed to be charged and punished according to the laws of those countries.

In an atmosphere of mutual confidence and understanding which characterized all the work of the conference, consideration was also given to other important questions. These included not only questions of a current nature but also questions concerning treatment of Hitlerite Germany and its satellites, economic cooperation and assurance of general peace.

Joint Four-Nation Declaration

The governments of the United States of America, the United Kingdom, the Soviet Union and China:

United in their determination, in accordance with the declaration by the United Nations of Jan. 1, 1942, and subsequent declarations, to continue hostilities against those Axis powers with which they respectively are at war until such powers have laid down their arms on the basis of unconditional surrender;

Conscious of their responsibility to secure the liberation of themselves and the peoples allied with them from the menace of aggrssion;

Recognizing the necessity of ensuring a rapid and orderly

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Moscow

transition from war to peace and of establishing and maintaining international peace and security with the least diversion of the world's human and economic resources for armaments.

Jointly declare:

1—That their united action, pledged for the prosecution of the war against their respective enemies, will be continued for the organization and maintenance of peace and security.

2—That those of them at war with a common enemy will act together in all matters relating to the surrender and disarmament of that enemy.

3—That they will take all measures deemed by them to be necessary to provide against any violation of the terms imposed upon the enemy.

4—That they recognize the necessity of establishing at the earliest practicable date a general international organization, based on the principle of the sovereign equality of all peace-loving States, and open to membership by all such States, large and small, for the maintenance of international peace and security.

5—That for the purpose of maintaining international peace and security pending the re-establishment of law and order and the inauguration of a system of general security, they will consult with one another and as occasion requires with other members of the United Nations with a view to joint action on behalf of the community of nations.

6—That after the termination of hostilities they will not employ their military forces within the territories of other States except for the purposes envisaged in this declaration and after joint consultation.

7—That they will confer and cooperate with one another and with other members of the United Nations to bring about a practicable general agreement with respect to the regulation of armaments in the post-war period.

Declaration Regarding Italy

The Foreign Secretaries of the United States, the United Kingdom and the Soviet Union have established that their three governments are in complete agreement that Allied policy toward Italy must be based upon the fundamental principle that fascism and all its evil influence and configuration shall be completely destroyed and that the Italian people shall be given every opportunity to establish governmental and other institutions based upon democratic principles.

The Foreign Secretaries of the United States and United Kingdom declare that the action of their governments from the inception of the invasion of Italian territory, in so far as paramount military requirements have permitted, has been based upon this policy.

In furtherance of this policy in the future the Foreign Secretaries of the three governments are agreed that the following measures are important and should be put into effect:

1—It is essential that the Italian Government should be made more democratic by inclusion of representatives of those sections of the Italian people who have always opposed fascism.

2—Freedom of speech, of religious worship, of political belief, of press and of public meeting shall be restored in full measure to the Italian people, who shall also be entitled to form anti-Fascist political groups.

3—All institutions and organizations created by the Fascist regime shall be suppressed.

4—All Fascist or pro-Fascist elemnets shall be removed from the administration and from institutions and organizations of a public character.

5—All political prisoners of the Fascist regime shall be released and accorded full amnesty.

6—Democratic organs of local government shall be created.

7—Fascist chiefs and army generals known or suspected to be war criminals shall be arrested and handed over to justice.

In making this declaration the three Foreign Secretaries recognize that so long as active military operations continue in Italy the time at which it is possible to give full effect to the principles stated above will be determined by the Commander-in-Chief on the basis of instructions received through the combined chiefs of staff.

The three governments, parties to this declaration, will, at the request of any one of them, consult on this matter. It is further understood that nothing in this resolution is to operate against the right of the Italian people ultimately to choose their own form of government.

Declaration on Austria

The governments of the United Kingdom, the Soviet Union and the United States of America are agreed that Austria, the first free country to fall a victim to Hitlerite aggression, shall be liberated from German domination.

They regard the annexation imposed on Austria by Germany on March 15, 1938, as null and void. They consider themselves as in no way bound by any changes effected in Austria since that date. They declare that they wish to see re-established a free and independent Austria and thereby to open the way for the Austrian people themselves, as well as those neighboring States which will be faced with similar problems, to find that political and economic security which is the only basis for lasting peace.

Austria is reminded, however, that she has a responsibility, which she cannot evade, for participation in the war at the side of Hitlerite Germany, and that in the final settlement account will inevitably be taken of her own contribution to her liberation.

Statement on Atrocities

Signed by President Roosevelt, Prime Minister Churchill and Premier Stalin.

The United Kingdom, the United States and the Soviet Union have received from many quarters evidence of atrocities, massacres and cold-blooded mass executions which are being perpetrated by Hitlerite forces in many of the countries they have overrun and from which they are now being steadily expelled. The brutalities of Nazi domination are no new thing, and all peoples or territories in their grip have suffered from the worst form of government by terror. What is new is that many of these territories are now being redeemed by the advancing armies of the liberating powers and that in their desperation the recoiling Hitlerites and Huns are redoubling their ruthless cruelties. This is now evidenced with particular clearness by monstrous crimes on the territory of the Soviet Union which is being liberated from Hitlerites and on French and Italian territory.

Accordingly, the aforesaid three Allied powers, speaking in the interests of the thirty-two United Nations, hereby solemnly declare and give full warning of their declaration as follows:

At the time of granting of any armistice to any government which may be set up in Germany, those German officers and men and members of the Nazi party who have been responsible for or have taken a consenting part in the above atrocities, massacres and executions will be sent back to the countries in which their abominable deeds were done in order that they may be judged and punished according to the laws of these liberated countries and of the free governments which will be erected therein. Lists will be compiled in all possible detail from all these countries, having regard especially to invaded parts of the Soviet Union, to Poland and Czechoslovakia, to Yugoslavia and Greece, including Crete and other islands, to Norway, Denmark, the Netherlands, Belgium, Luxembourg, France and Italy.

Thus, Germans who take part in wholesale shooting of Polish officers or in the execution of French, Dutch, Belgian or Norwegian hostages or of Cretan peasants, or who have shared in slaughters inflicted on the people of Poland or in territories of the Soviet Union which are now being swept clear of the enemy, will know they will be brought back to the scene of their crimes and judged on the spot by the peoples whom they have outraged. Let those who have hitherto not imbued their hands with innocent blood beware lest they join the ranks of the guilty, for most assuredly the three Allied powers will pursue them to the uttermost ends of the earth and will deliver them to their accusers in order that justice may be done.

The above declaration is without prejudice to the case of German criminals whose offenses have no particular geographical localization and who will be punished by joint decision of the governments of the Allies.

PACT STIRS RUSSIA TO STEP UP OUTPUT

Workers' Elation Finds Voice in Pledge to Achieve New Production Goal

PRESS IS ENTHUSIASTIC

Editorials Stress the Historical Significance of Teheran—Peace Held Nearer

By W. H. LAWRENCE

By Cable to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

MOSCOW, Dec. 7—The best Soviet reaction to the Stalin-Churchill-Roosevelt declaration came today from the workers, already working at top speed, who pledged further to speed up war production so as to provide sufficient arms for the final assault on Germany, the time and place of which were settled at the Teheran conference.

All the Moscow newspapers editorialized most favorably and devoted their entire front pages and one-half of the second to publishing the various conference declarations. Two conference pictures occupied the entire bottom of the front page.

The Pravda editorial said it regarded the three-power declaration as heralding "to the world, tortured by ruthless and devastating war, the approach of the desired hour of victory" and a stable and prolonged peace.

Red Star, the Army newspaper, said: "In the history of modern war there has never been an event of such historical and military significance, the results of which, to such an extent, determine the further fate of humanity."

Recounting German efforts to dismiss the Teheran conference as propaganda designed to intensify "war nerves," Red Star said: "The hour is not far off when they will feel what is behind the historical decisions of the Teheran conference."

General Offensive Hailed

Izvestia, the official Government organ, declared:

"The time of the decisive battles has been fixed," with a general offensive coming from east, west and south, carrying out the principle of the coordinated strategy of the coalition against the common enemy.

More impressive than the press editorials, enthusiastic as they were, were the comments of the Russian rank and file which Pravda reported at some length.

The paper told of many factory meetings at which the Moscow radio announcement was heard at 8 P. M., during meal hour and where animated discussions followed, with the workers pledging to increase production.

Here are several examples. Comrade Boldyreva, a woman worker at the Red Proletarian lathe manufacturing plant, said:

"Let our government and our dear Stalin know that Soviet workers, men and women, will do everything to insure complete victory over Hitler. We must increase still more our help to the front and we must fulfill our obligations ahead of time.

At an unidentified factory Makarenkova, who is a Stakhanovite, said he was already "fulfilling my task 180 per cent daily but now I undertake the obligation to fulfill 220 per cent and I call upon all of you to follow my example."

Yefremoff, a copper worker, said he would undertake to produce not less than three norms per day, a norm being the Soviet measurement for a reasonable day's production.

Workers at a motor building factory pledged that they would daily produce, in addition to their schedule, parts for a flight of Stormoviks, an important Soviet plane for countering tank attacks.

There were many of these examples printed under the heading "Toilers of Moscow Express Their Profound Satisfaction."

Military News Paramount

There is no doubt that it was the military news of the declaration that most interested the Soviet citizen who is entering his third winter of war. At the factory meetings, Pravda said, the words of the declaration: "We reached complete agreement on the scope and timing of operations which will be undertaken from east, west and south" were repeated many times.

There was considerable interest also in declaration regarding Iran's independence and territorial integrity. Red Star said that the declaration "made a great impression on all the peoples of the Middle East countries who realized that Hitlerite Germany was their enemy and that their welfare and prosperity were tied up with the victory of the United Nations."

Pravda thought the Teheran declaration was "a convincing example of the attitude of the three great powers toward small states."

This is a clipping from page 4 of the New York Times for Dec. 8, 1943

Clipped at the Seat of Government.

Communique on Turkey

CAIRO, Egypt, Dec. 7 (AP)—Following is the communiqué issued here tonight:

Mr. Roosevelt, President of the United States of America; M. Ismet Inonu, President of the Turkish Republic, and Mr. Winston Churchill, Prime Minister of the United Kingdom, met in Cairo on Dec. 4, 5 and 6, 1943.

Mr. Anthony Eden, His Majesty's principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs; M. Numan Menemencioglu, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Turkey, and Mr. Harry Hopkins took part in their deliberations.

Participation in this conference of the head of the Turkish state, in response to the cordial invitation addressed to him by the United States, British and Soviet Governments, bears striking testimony to the strength of the alliance which unites Great Britain and Turkey, and to the firm friendship existing between the Turkish people and the United States of America and the Soviet Union.

Presidents Roosevelt and Inonu and Prime Minister Churchill reviewed the general political situation and examined at length the policy to be followed, taking into account the joint and several interests of the three countries.

The study of all problems in a spirit of understanding and loyalty showed that the closest unity existed between the United States of America, Turkey and Great Britain in their attitude to the world situation.

The conversations in Cairo have consequently been most useful and most fruitful for future relations between the four countries concerned.

The identity of interests and of views of the great American and British democracies with those of the Soviet Union, as also the traditional relations of friendship existing between these powers and Turkey, have been reaffirmed throughout the proceedings of the Cairo conference.

This is a clipping from page 3 of the New York Times for Dec. 8, 1943
Clipped at the Seat of Government.

IRAN AS A SYMBOL

The Teheran statement on Iran will interest other small nations. This is not because its principles are new, for they are not. Nearly two years ago, in January, 1942, Britain and Russia signed a treaty with the present Shah, in which they agreed to "respect the territorial integrity, sovereignty and political independence of Iran," to withdraw their forces not later than six months after the end of hostilities, and to "use their best endeavors to safeguard the economic existence of the Iranian people against the privations and difficulties arising as a result of the present war." The latest statement is more explicit only in that it includes Iran in the scope of "international agencies" of an economic nature that did not exist in January, 1942.

Iran has been of critical importance, first as a possible route for German aggression; second, as an Allied supply line to Russia; third, as a source of petroleum. The Anglo-Russian occupation of the country in 1941 was an inevitable move if the horde of Nazi spies were to be driven out and the Nazi armies kept out. It was also inevitable that there should be a certain amount of embarrassment at the point of contact between the British and Russian troops. The oil wells, whose output may be increased several times over after the war, are a natural prize. If the old diplomatic and economic game were to be resumed they might cause trouble. The entrance of America into the picture, through her soldiers and technicians along the transport lines and in the person of her President, is a tranquillizing influence. We have money in Iran oil, but we certainly have no political ambitions in that quarter. We are in a position to be friends of all concerned.

So far as reiterated words insure it, Iran will remain an independent state. Her continued freedom from intrusion, however, will rest on relationships among states. In another war she would again be a highway. She can be free and prosperous only within a system designed for that purpose. Similarly, if she can be free and prosperous other small nations, of all kinds, in all stages of development, can be.

This is a clipping from page 22 of the New York Times for Dec. 8, 1943
Clipped at the Seat of Government.

Text of Statement on Iran

TEHERAN, Iran, Dec. 1 (UP)—The text of an Anglo-American-Russian statement concerning Iran:

The President of the United States of America, the Premier of the U.S.S.R., and the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom, having consulted with each other and with the Prime Minister of Iran, desire to declare the mutual agreement of their three Governments regarding relations with Iran.

The Governments of the United States of America, the U.S.S.R. and the United Kingdom recognize the assistance which Iran has given in the prosecution of the war against the common enemy, particularly by facilitating the transportation of supplies from overseas to the Soviet Union. The three Governments realize that the war has caused special economic difficulties for Iran and they agreed that they will continue to make available to the Iran Government such economic assistance as may be possible, having regard to the heavy demands made upon them by their world-wide military operations and to the world-wide shortage of transport, raw materials and supplies for civilian consumption.

With respect to the post-war period, the Governments of the United States of America, the U.S.S.R. and the United Kingdom are in accord with the Government of Iran that any economic problem confronting Iran at the close of hostilities should receive full consideration along with those of other members of the United Nations by conferences or international agencies held or created to deal with international economic matters.

The Governments of the United States of America, the U.S.S.R. and the United Kingdom are at one with the Government of Iran in their desire for the maintenance of the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Iran. They count upon the participation of Iran, together with all other peace-loving nations, in the establishment of international peace, security and prosperity after the war, in accordance with the principles of the Atlantic Charter, to which all four Governments have continued to subscribe.

This is a clipping from page 4 of the New York Times for Dec. 2, 1943

Clipped at the Seat of Government.

RUSSIANS HAIL END OF 2D FRONT ISSUE

They Interpret Agreement on Timing of Blows as Major Military Achievement

STRESS MORALE EFFECTS

Teheran Declaration Viewed as Blow to Foe—Polish London Regime Denounced

By W. H. LAWRENCE
By Cable to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

MOSCOW, Dec. 6—Official Moscow received with undisguised pleasure tonight the news that the "second front" issue is resolved and that Anglo-American-Soviet relations will be on the firmest and friendliest basis in history.

For the Russians the most important sence in the Stalin-Roosevelt-Churchill declaration was: "We have reached complete agreement as to the scope and timing of operations which will be undertaken from east west an dsouth."

The key word in the agreement is "timing," of course, for while there has never been any doubt of the Anglo-American intention to defeat Adolf Hitler decisively, there have been, in the past, differences over when and where Allied land powr would be applied to inflict major blows on Germany and simultaneously to divert German strength from the Soviet front. These differences have been reflected in many editorials in the Soviet press and also in British and American newspapers.

Major Morale Effects

Now that Premier Stalin, President Roosevelt and Prime Minister Churchill have affixed their signatures to a declaration of agreement regarding future military plans there can no longer be any arguments on this issue.

The announcement following the Stalin-Roosevelt-Churchill session is regarded here as having three major moral effects—an immense strengthening of the fighting spirit of the peoples of the three countries, increasing the spirit of revolt among the peoples of the occupied lands who know that deliverance is not far off, and destroying the morale of Axis satellite countries who have been bolstered partially in the past by belief in the German propaganda line that the Americans British and Russians could not work and fight together.

The Teheran conference carried a step farther the good results of the Moscow meeting of the three Foreign Ministers whose decisions already have "created confusion among the collaborators of Hitler," according to the current issue of War and the Working Class, outspoken Soviet journal of international relations.

Pattern of Policy

There is special interest here in the declaration of Iran for it is regarded as the possible pattern for Allied future policy toward other countries which their armies are forced to occupy as a necessary step in the war's prosecution but on which they have no territorial aspirations and no desire to undermine the existing governments' independence. As the Allies move in on Germany, that is a problem that will arise again and again. It is a souce of satisfaction among diplomats here that the issues have been settled in accord with the high principles of the Atlantic Charter.

Premier Stalin's top rahking advisers were Vyacheslaff M. Molotoff, Foreign Commissar, and Marshal Klementy E. Voroshiloff.

W. Averell Harriman, United States Ambassador to Russia, and Sir Archibald Clark Kerr, British Ambassador, left here by plane on Oct. 19 and attended both the Cairo and Teheran conferences.

It is understood here from travelers returning from Teheran that Mr. Roosevelt liked Mr. Stalin immensely, and vice versa. The good relations existing between Mr. Churchill and Mr. Stalin were evident in their respective toasts.

'At Mr. Stalin's invitation, Mr. Roosevelt was the guest of the Soviest Embassy where most of the conference meetings were held nightly. This served to minimize travel about Teheran. Mr. Churchill stayed at the British Legation which is just across the stree from the Soviet Embassy.

This is a clipping from page 10 of the New York Times for Dec. 7, 1943
Clipped at the Seat of Government.

WASHINGTON HAILS MEETING OF MINDS

Hull Stresses 'Concerting' of Plans at Teheran and Cairo to Destroy Axis Forces

By BERTRAM D. HULEN
Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

WASHINGTON, Dec. 6—Opinion in the Executive branch of the Government concerning both the Teheran and the Cairo conferences was set forth by Secretary of State Cordell Hull today in a statement declaring that the concerted plans adopted "will undoubtedly result in making effective to the fullest extent the fighting strength of all of the United Nations."

Opinion in general in the capital was that the communiqué issued on the Teheran conference showed that the three Chiefs of Government, President Roosevelt, Prime Minister Churchill and Premier Stalin, had had a meeting of minds and had reached detailed decisions for destroying the German Army, even though the declaration, perhaps significantly, did not use the phrase "unconditional surrender."

All in all, the announcement gave grounds for encouragement at a time when America is entering the third year of the war.

Way Open for Small Nations

It was of first importance that the three leaders had met, it was felt. And in meeting they had agreed to cooperate in the war and in the peace, and to invite the collaboration of small nations.

There were conjectures as to whether this collaboration might include the German people, if they sought it as a chastened people free of nazism and militarism.

Military details, obviously, could not be revealed, it was realized, but

Continued on Page Eleven.

WASHINGTON HAILS MEETING OF MINDS

Continued from Page One

the announcement seemed to point to the opening of a "second front" and even a "third front" in western Europe and possibly in the Balkans.

In his statement Secretary Hull said:

"The conferences of the Chiefs of Government at Cairo and Teheran have naturally attracted keen and universal attention because of the widespread importance and significance of the discussions and decisions.

"At both of these conferences military plans were concerted for the destruction of Axis forces on all fronts.

"It should be welcome news to all the United Nations that in the European theatre complete agreement has been reached as to the scope and timing of the operations to be undertaken from the east, west and south. These concerted plans will undoubtedly result in making effective to the fullest extent the fighting strength of all of the United Nations.

"The meetings of the Chiefs of State have further cemented the friendship and cooperation between our respective countries and assure their fullest possible collaboration."

Rayburn Halts House for News

Opinion in Congress was for the most part marked by approval. The Senate was not in session, but in the House Speaker Sam Rayburn brought his gavel down promptly at 1 P. M., when the Teheran communiqué was released for publication, and had the clerk read the announcement. It was received with applause.

While members of Congress were pleased that Messrs. Roosevelt and Churchill had at last met with Premier Stalin, some were disappointed that the Teheran communiqué was not more specific about the political future of Europe. There were others who had hoped for an ultimatum to the German people to surrender.

Speaker Rayburn said he was pleased that the three chiefs of government were "so much in accord" and said he was now looking forward "to a better world for all people."

Representative Joseph W. Martin Jr. of Massachusetts, the House Republican leader, said that, while he had hoped for more details, "we all devoutly hope the meeting will hasten the day of the decisive victory for the Allies."

Senator Tom Connally of Texas, chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations, described the Teheran communiqué as "one of the most important documents of this world-wide conflict." He added that, "should the German people continue to follow their leaders, they will suffer an unprecedented catastrophe."

Brig. Gen. Patrick J. Hurley.
Associated Press, 1942.

Representative Sol Bloom of New York, chairman of the House Committee on Foreign Affairs, said the communiqué "sounds the doom of German power" and that "victory will sound the beginning of a long and prosperous peace."

Nye and Taft Critical

Of those who accepted the announcement with reserve, Senator Gerald P. Nye, Republican of North Dakota, was the most critical. He declared the Teheran communiqué was "significantly short of the kind of direct language" employed in the announcement of the preceding Cairo conference between President Roosevelt, Prime Minister Churchill and Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek that pronounced the doom of the Japanese Empire.

Senator Robert A. Taft, Republican of Ohio, said the Teheran communiqué was "more general" than either the Connally foreign policy resolution of Congress or the declaration of the Foreign Ministers at the recent Moscow conference.

Senator Warren R. Austin, Republican of Vermont, remarked that the Teheran declaration "ought to close the debate about a second front."

Among those who favor all-out American collaboration in the postwar world, Senator Joseph H. Ball, Republican of Minnesota, believed the Teheran announcement would "help to win the war and the peace."

Representative J. William Fulbright, Democrat of Arkansas, was confident that it "demonstrates that this time we have the leadership to organize a peaceful world."

Representative Clare Boothe Luce, Republican, of Connecticut, looked upon the communiqué as "a hopeful document."

Representative Hamilton Fish, Republican, of New York, described it as "a beautiful, high-sounding declaration of purposes."

Senator John A. Danaher, Republican, of Connecticut, considered the communiqué "the most succint and positive of any of the declarations made thus far."

Representative Charles A. Eaton, Republican, of New Jersey, looked upon it as "one of the most momentous documents ever penned."

Marshall's Command Seen Soon

Military observers here believed that the projected invasions would be under the immediate direction of General George C. Marshall, United States Army Chief of Staff, who is expected to establish his headquarters in Britain. General Marshall accompanied President Roosevelt to the Middle East.

It was remarked in many quarters that chief emphasis seemed to have been put upon crushing the German Armies.

But much interest was manifested in whether the questions of European boundaries and of obtaining eventually from Russia the use of her Siberian bases against Japan had been broached to Premier Stalin by President Roosevelt.

It was assumed that information on these points would not be revealed for the present, but the success of the Middle East meetings led to renewed hopes that in due time Russia would be found to be an active belligerent in the war against Japan.

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N. Y. Times
Dec. 7, 1943 p. 1

ATTACK PLANS SET

Dates Fixed for Land Drives From East, West and South

IRAN TO BE FREED

Allied Leaders Say 'No Power on Earth' Can Balk Our Victory

Texts of the three-power declarations are on Page 4.

By C. L. SULZBERGER
By Cable to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

CAIRO, Egypt, Dec. 6—Final concord on a campaign to destroy the German Empire by land, sea and air and to erect an enduring peace in which all nations, both great and small, shall participate, was agreed upon in the momentous Teheran meeting between President Roosevelt, Premier Stalin and Prime Minister Churchill.

Simultaneously, the three leaders, as a sign of their faith in each other and as proof of the validity of their intentions toward little nations, guaranteed the post-war independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Iran.

These Allied agreements were announced to the world yesterday in two joint declarations signed in order by President Roosevelt [the only actual Chief of State among the three], Premier Stalin and Prime Minister Churchill. They were issued in Teheran Dec. 1 after a long final sitting of the leaders and their innermost circles of advisers in the magnificent Soviet Embassy where President Roosevelt lived as a guest.

3-Pronged Attack Pledged

Their military promises can be summed up accordingly: the three powers will work together throughout the war; their military staffs have concerted plans for the destruction of German forces; these staffs have reached a "complete agreement as to the scope and timing of operations which will be undertaken from the east, west and south."

Guarantees satisfactory to the three chiefs now exist that the final victory will rest with the United Nations. "No power on earth can prevent our destroying the German armies by land, their U-boats by sea and their warplants from the air," says one of the joint declarations. "Our attacks will be relentless and increasing."

Seal Doom of Hitler

Thus in four days of deliberation in the romantic Iranian capital the "Big Three" laid the second half of the plans for ending the global war and establishing lasting peace for the benefit all in its ruins. The Asiatic talks in North Africa between Mr. Roosevelt, Mr. Churchill and Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek already had laid the program for accelerating the defeat of Japan and for building up a new Asia.

Now European talks of exactly the same length rounded off the final plans for smashing Hitler which obviously must precede the destruction of Japan in the overall scheme of the Allied grand planners. Britain and America have clearly coordinated their ultimate schedule for the invasion of Europe from several points from the west and south with a program for new Russian offensives against the Reich.

It may be assumed that once the fulfillment of these plans comes about and Moscow's long pleas for a second front are entirely answered that the Soviet Union might conceivably alter its present neutral attitude toward Japan. This certainly was discussed at Teheran but the outcome of these discussions is not known.

It would seem a fair assumption from a complete survey of both the present wartime and future post-war problems indicated in the latest declarations that the three powers must now have agreed on specific terms within the frame-

Continued on Page Five

Continued From Page One

work of unconditional surrender on which Germany can and must eventually sue for surrender. In this sense, the Teheran meeting may have proved to hold the same historical significance against Germany as the Quebec conference held against Italy.

Lasting Peace Foreseen

Concrete guarantees of world peace, prefaced by the flat promise the powers will work together, insure their efficacity. The peace envisioned will be enduring, will eliminate the dangers of war and will be based on a popular desire for good-will. And its mechanism will be the responsibility of the United States, Britain, Russia and all the United Nations.

Cooperation and active participation by both large and small nations will be encouraged to eliminate tyranny, slavery, oppression and intolerance in a democratic world based on the architectural plan of the Atlantic Charter.

In conclusion, the friendly conferences summed up:

"We look iwth confidence to the day when all people of the world may live free lives untouched by tyranny and according to their varying desires and their own consciences.

"We came here with hope and determination. We leave here friends in fact, in spirit and in purpose.

That spirit of friendly peacetime cooperation was revealed in their pledge to Iran, which was based on the broad principles of the Atlantic Charter.

Iran [the only nation jointly and severally occupied by the "Big Three"] is of vital importance to the present and future welfare of the United States, Britain and Russia. Lying athwart the lifelines of Britain's eastern empire, Iran also controls many of the most important mid-Asian air bases in which the United States is so interested and blocks any access to the Indian Ocean toward which the Soviet Union might gradually be tending in traditional search for a permanent open seaport.

Red Army troops already are in control of the northern portions of Iran into which they marched in August, 1941, in consort with Britain, which took over the southern section. America's Persian Gulf service command, with thousands of troops, operates the present supply lines to Russia. Thus all three nations have agreed in the Teheran declaration to recall their troops when the war ends, restoring to Shah Mohammed Riza Pahlevi that which is his.

The so-called Iranian problem, though little mentioned in censored press these days, thus is eliminated by the pledge of the United Nations leaders. This is urgently important, first in its obvious elimination of a possible point of friction between themselves and, secondly, as an example of the great powers' honesty in their promises to respect the territorial claims of small lands and, furthermore, to assist them in recovering from the scourge of war.

Invite All to Join Peace

Encouraging as such straightforward pledges may be to the conquered peoples of Europe, still greater hope can be injected into their presently heavy hearts by those other promises of freedom and happiness in a "world family of democratic nations" resolved on by the statesmen and their political staffs.

These forthright announcements should be calculated finally to knock the stuffings out of Hitler's frantic efforts to assemble his weird collection of satellites, puppets and shadow allies into a flimsy new order, which would fight to the death against the United Nations on Propaganda Minister Joseph Goebbels's warning that otherwise they would be destroyed.

It is hard to see how the desperate governments of Finland, Rumania and Bulgaria can instill much fighting spirit into their bewildered armies now in the face of the cocky Allied assumption of their imminent defeat and the deliberate Allied planning for the future, which any European peasant can see will be for his own good.

Regarding the post-war future of Europe, nothing specific was

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said, Iran being the only absolutely concrete subject published in the statements. However, within the general lines of the declaration the obvious entire question of Eastern Europe, including Finland, Poland and the Balkans must have been reviewed.

Both the Polish question and the Balkans were discussed at the previous Moscow conference of Foreign Ministers and one result of those talks, it would seem, was obvious alteration of the line of Allied propaganda toward Yugoslavia, showing an increasing tendency to support the partisan movement there.

Poland Remains Question

Poland, however, remains a question. Moscow always has been adamant that part of Finland, the Baltic States and Bessarabia rightfully belong to the U.S.S.R. It is this correspondent's guess that there has been absolutely no alteration of that view, which means ultimate agreement to it by Washington and London, especially in view of what was clearly a Soviet concession in agreeing to the postwar evacuation of Northern Iran.

The Iranian matter was agreed upon during the Foreign Minister's conference at Moscow and Premier Stalin stuck by his guns in signing the Teheran declaration. Moscow is clearly sticking by a consistent and steady policy she has had since the earlier days of the war, in which it has been constantly announced that the U.S.S.R. has no territorial ambitions. It was within this framework, one can assume, that Britain and America promised to give China Manchuria after the defeat of Japan since Russia has never proclaimed an interest in that rich territory since giving over to Japan her share of the Chinese Eastern Railway.

However, the question of Manchuria was not discussed at the Moscow meeting and it may be assumed the firs time it could have been brought up between the "Big Three" powers was at Teheran.

On the assumption that Moscow's policy remains the same as it has been consistently since the last territorial acquisition before the German attack—and there is every indication this is a safe ground on which to work—one may draw the following conclusions:

That the U.S.S.R has no desires to expand at Turkey's expense and that on the one hand the Caucasian frontier with Turkish possession of Kars and Ardahan will remain unchanged and on the other hand there is no territorial menace to Turkish possession of the Straits and Dardanelles, despite German propaganda to the contrary.

2. That Moscow, while not admitting in any sense her policy of seeking gain, will seek expansion to her pre-1939 borders in Eastern Europe. She has always openly stated the need of a small portion of Finland in order to protect Leningrad as well as certain strategic Baltic bases. She also desires a portion of East Poland, roughly according to the Curzon line. From Rumania she desires North Bukovina and Bessarabia and possibly a small strip acros sthe Danube delta controlling the mouth of that river. She may also, desire some bases in Bulgaria, although the latter is quite uncertain.

Moscow continually insists that all territory mentioned above, saving speculation regarding the area south of the Danube, was once and for a long time Russian and the U. S. S. R. has every right to have it back.

Beyond that in Europe it is evident that Moscow wants closest ties with eastern lands, based on the formula of the imminent Czecho-Russian treaty, but aside from preventing the formation of any "cordon sanitaire" under the guise of an Eastern European Federation led by the Poles and inspired from the west, Russia apparently wishes no other territorial gains.

This correspondent can only say on the basis of the above statements that these are the impressions of the Anglo-American delegates to the Teheran conferences and there is every reason to believe they are the most accurate statement of fact available at present.

This is a clipping from page ____ of the New York Times for

Clipped at the Seat of Government.

First Quarter of 1944 Likely to See Fruition of the Teheran Strategy

By DREW MIDDLETON
By Cable to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

Military plans for the defeat of the Wehrmacht drawn at Teheran, Iran, by President Roosevelt, Prime Minister Churchill and Premier Stalin, will probably be fully activated in the first three months of 1944.

During that period the strategic aerial offensive against Germany will assume its maximum proportions, the winter offensive of the Red Army should have brought it to the Denister in the south and into Poland in the north and the Anglo-American invasion of northern Europe from Britain will be ready to start, with the tactical air forces already operating against the defenses in eastern Europe and the lateral communications which those defenses rely.

One of the first tangible results of the Teheran conference should be the arrival of General George C. Marshall, United States Army Chief of Staff, in Britain to take up his position as Commander in Chief of all Allied invasion forces.

Once the invasion leader is settled into his job it is considered likely that the long awaited announcement of the formation of an Allied Tactical Air Force and the names of its commanders and the appointment of American and British commanders to lead Allied Army groups involved in the invasion, will follow.

It may well be that the southern Europe front now represented by slow painful advance in Italy may

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This is a clipping from page 1 of the New York Times for

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Clipped at the Seat of Government.

Continued From Page One

by that time be augmented by a Balkan campaign. This campaign may take one of three forms.

Allied preoccupation with Turkey's status is a hint that this activity may be a full-scale assault on southeastern Europe. This would men Anglo-American troops crossing the Adriatic, now almost an Allied lake, into Yugoslavia to aid the Partisans, plus the entrance of Turkey into the war and a full-scale attack on the eastern Balkans through Thrace, thus bypassing Crete, Rhodes and Scarpanto which today block the entrance into the Aegean from Egypt or the Levant.

Alternative Campaigns

Two alterntaives are less ambitious but, considering Allied resources, more probable. One is a smash across the Adriatic and the second is a series of combined operations against the three Aegean strongholds. A good start on, either of these two operations may, of course, be one of the conditions on which Turkey's entrance into the war is based.

Of the three main assaults on Germany, however, one, the aerial offensive, is already underway, while the second, the Soviet winter campaign, should begin within the next two weeks.

A Balkan campaign is frequently offered as "an" alternative" to the third great offensive which the Western Allies are at present capable—the invasion of Western Europe. Thus it is quite probable that a single operation or a series of them is planned for Southeastern Europe but no one in Britain in possession of the facts could be convinced that a campaign in the Balkans could be offered as an alternative for what used to be called a second front.

President Roosevelt and Prime Minister Churchill were able to give Premier Stalin an inventory of Allied military might in Britain is so great and the planning so far advanced that any major operation elsewhere is out of the question. The Russians, it is known, are satisfied with the Allied plans for invasion from the west and understand the impossibility of suddenly transferring this effort to thee ast. The time when those plans were put into operation was a more important question to the Allied leaders in Iran.

It is quite probable that the Russian Premier and his general staff asked the President and Prime Minister to move up the invasion date so as to bring maximum pressure to bear upon Germany at the climax of the Red Army's offensive. Some time in April the Russian progress in the south must slow down because of rains and it is known here that the Soviet General Staff hopes to see Allied troops in western Europe before this occurs, in other words, before the end of March.

Weather Is Big Factor

However, Russians, who have had to consider the weather in every campaign they have planned, probably were fully acquainted with the weather conditions off the northern European coasts in January, February and March.

An invasion can be launched in those months but the tides and the belt of fogs which shroud the coastline then make it an infinitely more hazardous an dcoastly operation.

It is unlikely that the Russian soldiers are extremely worried about the cost of the operation but as military as well as political realists they realize that an invasion of Western Europe is one operation that must not fail.

This is a clipping from page _____ of the New York Times for

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Clipped at the Seat of Government.

RUSSIANS FOR GOLD BASIS

Soviet Journal Makes Point in Urging Stabilized Currencies

MOSCOW, Dec. 5 (AP)—Soviet Russia's desire for stabilized currencies in the post-war world was expressed today by an article in the magazine War and the Working Class.

The possibility of participation by international banks or the use of stabilization funds is ruled out by the fact that Russia has State-controlled currency, the article said.

"As as country which participates in foreign trade the Soviet Union, like England and the United States, is interested in the stability of currencies in those countries with which it carries on trade relations," the article went on.

"If Soviet trade with other countries could be conducted in gold currency, undoubtedly this circumstance would facilitate trade operations."

This is a clipping from page 5 of the New York Times for Dec. 7, 1943
Clipped at the Seat of Government.

Text of 3-Power Statement

TEHERAN, Iran, Dec. 1 (UP)—The text of a declaration by President Roosevelt, Prime Minister Churchill and Premier Stalin:

A DECLARATION OF THE THREE POWERS

We, the President of the United States of America, the Prime Minister of Great Britain, and the Premier of the Soviet Union, have met in these four days past in this the capital of our ally, Teheran, and have shaped and confirmed our common policy.

We express our determination that our nations shall work together in the war and in the peace that will follow.

As to the war, our military staffs have joined in our round-table discussions and we have concerted our plans for the destruction of the German forces. We have reached complete agreement as to the scope and timing of operations which will be undertaken from the east, west and south. The common understanding which we have here reached guarantees that victory will be ours.

And as to the peace, we are sure that our concord will make it an enduring peace. We recognize fully the supreme responsibility resting upon us and all the nations to make a peace which will command good will from the overwhelming masses of the peoples of the world and banish the scourge and terror of war for many generations.

With our diplomatic advisers we have surveyed the problems of the future. We shall seek the cooperation and active participation of all nations, large and small, whose peoples in heart and in mind are dedicated, as are our own peoples, to the elimination of tyranny and slavery, oppression and intolerance. We will welcome them as they may choose to come into the world family of democratic nations.

No power on earth can prevent our destroying the German armies by land, their U-boats by sea, and their war plants from the air. Our attacks will be relentless and increasing.

Emerging from these friendly conferences we look with confidence to the day when all the peoples of the world may live free lives untouched by tyranny and according to their varying desires and their own consciences.

We came here with hope and determination. We leave here friends in fact, in spirit, and in purpose.

Signed at Teheran, Dec. 1, 1943.

ROOSEVELT, STALIN, CHURCHILL.

Teheran

This is a clipping from page 4 of the New York Times for Dec. 7, 1943
Clipped at the Seat of Government.

Abroad

Stalin's Record-Breaking Trip to Teheran

By ANNE O'HARE McCORMICK

The announcement over the Moscow radio last Saturday morning which gave the first official news of the Teheran conference stated that the meeting had taken place "a few days ago." This revealed that the talks ended earlier in the week—Thursday is the day now reported in London—and implied that President Roosevelt and Prime Minister Churchill were on their way home. Since Moscow is only a few hours' flying time from the meeting place, it can be assumed, therefore, that Premier Stalin was back in his capital when the announcement was made.

This last circumstance has since been confirmed in dispatches from Moscow. It is interesting because it may help to explain why the news of the Big Three meeting was broadcast in Russia before the publication of the joint communiqué. This is to be issued today, presumably by prearrangement among the conferees, but the premature announcement by the Tass agency has blunted the effect and intensified the irritation caused by the similar mishandling of news of the Cairo meeting, announced before the official release by a British agency.

There is no reason to believe, however, that the purpose of the Moscow announcement was to scoop the world or add fuel to the Anglo-American controversy on the intelligent handling of wartime censorship. Countries accustomed to a free press are highly allergic to censorship. Perhaps in the hope that it will never run smoothly or satisfactorily, they are always ready to make the worst of it, and blow up its mistakes. But in Moscow all this is a matter of more or less academic interest. The likeliest reason for publishing the news ahead of time in Russia was to announce the return of Stalin to the Russians. There are many explanations, some of them impolitic to discuss at this time, for Stalin's reluctance to leave Russia. It was not merely to force the mountain to go to Mahomet that he put off the meeting with the President for so long and finally fixed the rendezvous as near as possible to the Soviet border.

Two Concessions

It was a great concession, and a spectacular bid for Russian friendship, for Mr. Roosevelt to take the long, hard and risky journey, five-sixths of the way to Moscow, to fulfill his desire to meet the Soviet leader face to face. But it was also a great concession for Mr. Stalin to travel even a short distance beyond the bounds of Russia to meet the President of the United States. It was widely predicted that he never would. It is more than he has done for any reason for thirty years. It is more than he did for Mr. Churchill.

Stalin is first of all a revolutionary leader and a dictator, and it takes a long time to stabilize a revolution, especially in an empire as vast as Russia. Since the death of Lenin and his own accession to supremacy he has been completely preoccupied with keeping the revolution in power and giving it direction. This is why he did everything he could to steer clear of war. This is why, even before the war, he seldom left Moscow even to travel inside the Soviet Union. His face is on every wall in Russia, but very few Russians have seen him in the flesh.

Since the war a more powerful motive keeps him at home. Roosevelt and Churchill decide the strategy and timing of the great campaigns, both political and military, but in addition to that Stalin is in actual command of day-by-day operations. His title is not honorary; he is actually the grand marshal of the Russian war. Military decisions wait on his word. In every field power and authority center in him.

In a crisis like this it is so difficult for him to go far or stay long away from Moscow that the most significant thing about the Teheran conference is that Stalin was there. He took his own risks in going, and his presence therefore is the most eloquent sign he has given to date of his will to cooperate with the Western powers. In the main, it is the result of the Moscow meeting. The real success of Mr. Hull's mission was that it convinced Stalin of American sincerity.

Why Stalin Broke the News

The meeting in Persia was a great occasion for Roosevelt and Churchill. It was a historic moment in the war. But for Stalin it was an unprecedented personal and political experience. For the first time since the revolution he attended an international conference outside the Soviet Union. For the first time he discussed decisions of far-reaching consequence for Russia and the rest of the world, not as a dictator with his subordinates and not as the spokesman of a pariah Government, but as an equal with the heads of other great states. The temper and context of the conversations will not be reported. The war plans agreed upon will hardly be specified in the communiqué. But whatever comes out of the meeting, extraordinary things have already happened. In the strange setting of the mountains of Iran, long a disputed frontier between empires, a new grand alliance has begun to work. Stalin has come out of his immurement in Russia, a longer step for him than a 6,800-mile journey is for Mr. Roosevelt. He crossed the border, went "out" as the Russians say when referring to the world beyond—and his absence was so unusual that he broke the news to inform the Russians that he was back.

N.Y. Times Dec. 6, 1943 p. 22

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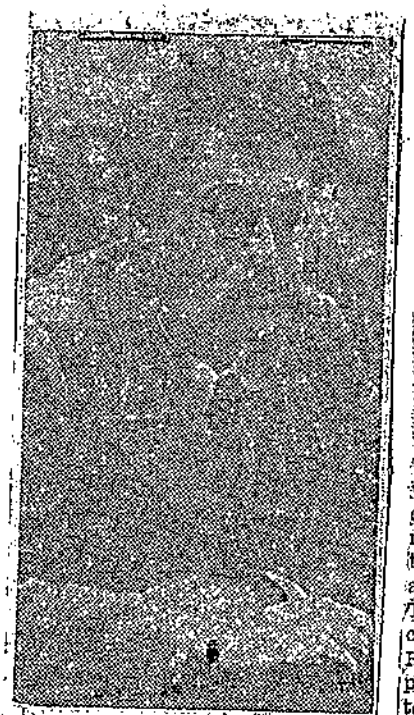
Communist Party of Russia



EMYLAN YAROSLAVSKY

Noted Soviet Historian Dies

Emelyan Yaroslavsky, noted Soviet historian and deputy in the Supreme Soviet, has just died in Moscow after a long illness. The Moscow Radio broadcast announcing the death was picked up by the Federal Communications Commission here in the United States.

Yaroslavsky, who was also a member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the USSR, became known throughout the world for his articles in Pravda, Red Star and other leading Soviet newspapers and periodicals. The call for arms against Nazi Germany in June, 1941, which appeared in Pravda was the work of Yaroslavsky's pen.

Active in the October Revolution, Yaroslavsky was one who learned much of his historical method from association with V. I. Lenin. In the battle to save the Soviet Union from the position of the Trotzkyites, Yaroslavsky was in the van—not only as secretary of the control committee of the Communist Party which determined upon the expulsion of Trotzky in 1927 but also in polemical articles against Trotzkyism published in many countries outside the Soviet Union. He conspicuously supported the position of Joseph Stalin, in regard to industrialization and the other measures which have brought the Soviet Union into such a leading place as a defender of the democratic nations of the world.

In 1937 Yarolavsky was elected to the Soviet Academy of Sciences, in recognition of his historical works.

The death of the distinguished Soviet historian will be mourned by men and women in many lands will be felt as a deep loss by them.

The Daily Worker will publish this week the last article written for the Soviet Press by Yaroslavsky.

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FILE

Mark 9th Anniversary Of Kirov's Murder

(By Wireless to Inter-Continent News)

MOSCOW, Dec. 5.— The Soviet press marks the ninth anniversary of the murder of the great Soviet patriot, Sergei Kirov. All papers carry long articles devoted to his life and activity.

Izvestia writes that Siberia will never forget Kirov; it was in Siberia that he spent the first years of his revolutionary activity.

Kirov will always be remembered by the peoples of the North Caucasus where he laid the foundation for Soviet power and strengthened the ties of friendship between the peoples, Izvestia continues.

He will always be remembered by the Volga people where he stood at the head of the defense of Astrakhan; by Leningrad and the Polar regions, the Kola Peninsula, where Kirov was the heart and soul of all the new undertakings.

In Leningrad, the gateway to the Soviet Union from the sea, Kirov discerned the first signs of the looming war danger.

"This question is of exceptional importance to us Leningraders," he said. "We are but a stone's throw from the border. We all know what a role Leningrad plays in the Soviet Union, its great importance."

Writing in Pravda, one commentator recalls Kirov telling the Baltic sailors in Kronstadt that "the principal gateway to the great city of Lenin must be well-protected, must have strong defenses and must guard the peace of the country so that no force can swing it open."

Kirov's instructions have been carried out; Hitler was unable to force the gates to Leningrad, the Soviet press concludes.

SERGEI KIROV

61-16-A

This is a clipping from page 2 of the DAILY WORKER
Date Dec. 6, 1943
Clipped at the Seat of Government

KIVA

DEC 16 1943

No Prying Eye Saw Handclasp That Sunday

By United Press

TEHERAN, Dec. 6—The moment which President Roosevelt had said would be the realization of his fondest hope — his meeting face to face with Josef Stalin — occurred about 3:15 p. m. Sunday, Nov. 28.

Mr. Roosevelt, who had spent Saturday night at the American legation, had just moved over to the handsome Russian embassy. Stalin strode up the gravel path from his villa inside the compound, wearing the dark blue uniform of a Soviet marshal and a long coat to match. Behind him a few steps was Foreign Commissar Molotov. Behind Molotov were several generals. They vanished thru a portal surmounted by a striking Russian emblem — a blue globe surmounted by hammer and sickle, stacked all around

(Continued on Page 5)

(Continued From Page 3)

with golden sheafs of wheat and tied together with a red ribbon.

* * *

Eyewitnesses to the historic handclasp are not available. It occurred in a building packed with guards. Almost every few feet inside was a Soviet secret service man. They were described as standing for hours without moving, not even conversing greetings among themselves.

There also were many American Secret Service men. In the kitchen were U. S. Army cooks to prepare the President's meals.

Stalin was closeted with the President 90 minutes while Molotov waited in an adjacent room. Churchill arrived about 4:45 p. m. and the initial plenary session began.

Four such meetings were held, one each day. The "Big Three" dined together each night.

Meanwhile the military men of the three nations met almost continuously, referring each military problem which involved politics or higher strategy to the three top men for decision.

* * *

The oak table at which Mr. Roosevelt, Churchill and Stalin conferred was about nine feet in diameter. The Russian Embassy gave a Teheran carpenter an order for the table shortly before the conference. By working around the clock the carpenter was able to deliver it in time.

As the chips flew off this table so did the rumors fly around Teheran. The sleepy city—a blend of the East and the West—was convinced that this betokened a conference and it was not long before the arrival of Russian troops and Secret Service men confirmed these suspicions.

Long before Stalin's arrival Friday in a military plane, accompanied by Foreign Commissar Molotov and War Commissar Voroshilov, the city's streets had been abustle with innocent-looking Russians, American with broad-brimmed hats and raincoated Englishmen. Miles of phone wires were strung by American soldiers among the various United Nations embassies and legations. Indian troops brought so much lumber to the British compound that it was whispered that the minister, Sir Reader Bullard, was expecting a hard winter. Visitors said tents and bungalows were being erected inside the compound.

* * *

U. S. Minister Louis G. Dreyfus got as far as Marrakesh, but hastily returned, explaining he had come back to settle a few important matters before taking home leave. Turkish Ambassador Husnu Taray postponed an overdue trip to Ankara.

By Friday the Russian embassy was a fortress. Huge screens had been put up at each end of the street in which the Soviet embassy and British legation face one another and a four-block area, swarming with guards, was blocked off.

On Saturday guards around the British legation were tripled and the city swarmed with new groups of mysterious foreigners.

Wash. Daily News Dec. 6, 1943 p. 3

Operations From South, East and West Mapped

By OSKAR GUTH
United Press Staff Correspondent

TEHERAN, Iran, Dec. 6—President Roosevelt, Prime Minister Churchill and Premier Stalin have agreed on a master plan to crush Germany by powerful offensives on three fronts—including invasions of western Europe and possibly the Balkans—and have mapped a peace that should endure for "many generations."

The "Big Three" announced their decisions in broad terms in a declaration issued today after 100 hours of unparalleled conferences which embraced military, diplomatic and political questions both of the war and the peace.

After concluding their four-day session last Wednesday, Premier Stalin returned to Moscow and Mr. Roosevelt and Churchill to Cairo to translate their decisions into action.

A United Press dispatch from Cairo said Mr. Roosevelt, Churchill and the combined British-American staff immediately began a new series of military conferences upon their return there.

With the Teheran conference the Allies completed the war blueprint for months to come in both the Atlantic and Pacific. The previous week Mr. Roosevelt and Churchill had conferred

(Continued on Page 42)

WASH. DAILY NEWS DEC. 6, 1943 p. 3.

(Continued From Page 3)

with Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek and laid down the broad strategy calculated to bring Japan to her knees.

The joint declaration of Mr. Roosevelt, Churchill and Stalin specifically proclaimed:

1. "We have reached complete understanding as to the scope and timing of operations which will be undertaken from the east, west and south."

2. "No power on earth can prevent our destroying the German armies by land, their U-boats by sea and their war planes from the air. Our attacks will be relentless and increasing."

3. "We recognize fully the responsibility resting upon us and all the United Nations to make a peace which will command good will from the overwhelming masses of the peoples of the world and banish the scourge and terror of war for many generations."

4. "We will welcome . . . as they may choose to come into the world family of democratic nations . . . all nations, large and small, whose peoples in heart and in mind are dedicated, as are our own peoples, to the elimination of tyranny and slavery, oppression and intolerence."

5. "We came here with hope and determination. We leave here friends in fact, in spirit and in purpose."

NO ULTIMATUM VOICED

Contrary to expectations in many quarters, the declaration contained no ultimatum to the German people to throw out their Nazi leaders and surrender unconditionally to avoid complete devastation of their homeland.

It was believed that the "Big Three" may have decided to delay any such ultimatum until a moment when success is assured. Most Allied authorities agree that German morale has not yet reached the breaking point.

In a subsidiary statement on Iran's part in the war, the three leaders said they counted on the participation of all "peace-loving nations in the establishment of international peace, security and prosperity after the war in accordance with the principles of the Atlantic Charter, to which all four governments (including Iran) have continued to subscribe."

Tho the conference laid the groundwork for an international organization to build and enforce peace, the immediate military decisions overshadowed all else.

2D FRONT PARAMOUNT

Anglo-American plans for the opening of a "second front" by an invasion of Western Europe and how it can be co-ordinated with a mammoth Red Army offensive from the east and new blows from the Mediterranean, presumably dominated the discussions.

Military conferees who accompanied the "Big Three" included Gen. George C. Marshall, U. S. Chief of Staff and likely choice as supreme commander of the assault from the west; and Marshal Klementi E. Voroshilov, hero of Stalingrad, and one of Russia's ablest military leaders.

The statement's reference to "complete agreement" on the three-front war confirmed for the first time that Russia has accepted the date proposed by Mr. Roosevelt and Churchill for a second front. It also indicated that Stalin had informed the United States and Britain of the most secret details of Moscow's plans for blows from the east.

'SOUTH' HINTS BALKANS

Disclosure that operations also will be undertaken "from the south" pointed to a possible Allied thrust into the Balkans, either across the Adriatic from southern Italy or from Africa and the Levant into the Aegean, in addition to a quickening of the campaign in Italy. Turkish participation would be most helpful in any Balkan operation and there has been widespread speculation that Turkey at least will grant bases to the Allies under her mutual assistance pact with Britain.

(The German Transocean News Agency said that President Inonu, Foreign Minister Menemencioglu and Marshal Chakmak of Turkey were in conference with Mr. Roosevelt and Churchill at Cairo.)

MET IN RED EMBASSY

The Teheran conference was held in an old Persian palace which now serves as the Soviet Embassy. All servants, except for some U. S. Army cooks, were Russian secret police. British soldiers and Indian Sikhs stood guard around the compound wall and armored cars were stationed at each street intersection.

Big screens were placed at either end of the street on which the palace is situated. Other elaborate precautions also were taken because the Germans still have many agents in Iran seeking to stir up the natives.

Stalin, making his first trip outside Russia since he went to Cracow, Austria, in 1912 to meet Lenin, arrived at Teheran Nov. 26, and Mr. Roosevelt and Churchill on Nov. 27.

'Understanding Here Reached Guarantees Victory Will Be Ours'

'Our Concord Will Make It an Enduring Peace'

A DECLARATION OF THE THREE POWERS

By United Press

TEHERAN, Dec. 1 — (Delayed)—Text of a declaration by President Roosevelt, Prime Minister Churchill and Premier Stalin:

We, the President of the United States of America, the Prime Minister of Great Britain and the Premier of the Soviet Union, have met in these four days past in this the capital of our Ally, Teheran, and have shaped and confirmed our common policy.

We express our determination that our nations shall work together in the war and in the peace that will follow.

As to the war, our military staffs have joined in our round-table discussions and we have concerted our plans for the destruction of the German forces. We have reached complete agreement as to the scope and timing of operations which will be undertaken from the east, west and south. The common understanding which we have here reached guarantees that victory will be ours.

And as to the peace we are sure that our concord will make it an enduring peace. We recognize fully the supreme responsibility resting upon us and all the nations to make a peace which will command good will from the overwhelming masses of the peoples of the world and banish the scourge and terror of war for many generations.

With our diplomatic advisers we have surveyed the problems of the future. We shall seek the co-operation and active participation of all nations, large and small, whose peoples in heart and in mind are dedicated, as our own peoples, to the elimination of tyranny and slavery, oppression and intolerance. We will welcome them as they may choose to come into the world family of democratic nations.

No power on earth can prevent our destroying the German armies by land, their U-boats by sea and their war plants from the air. Our attacks will be relentless and increasing.

Emerging from these friendly conferences we look with confidence to

(Continued on Page 42)

(Continued From Page 3)

the day when all the peoples of the world may live free lives untouched by tyranny and according to their varying desires and their own consciences.

We came here with hope and determination. We leave here friends in fact, in spirit and in purpose.

WASH. DAILY NEWS Dec. 6, 1943 p. 3

Economic Assistance to Iran Will Continue

By United Press

TEHERAN, Dec. 1.— (Delayed)—Text of an Anglo-American-Russian statement concerning Iran:

The President of the United States of America, the Premier of the U. S. S. R. and the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom, having consulted with each other and with the Prime Minister of Iran, desire to declare the mutual agreement of their three governments regarding relations with Iran.

The governments of the United States of America, the U. S. S. R. and the United Kingdom recognize the assistance which Iran has given in the prosecution of the war against the common enemy, particularly by facilitating the transportation of supplies from overseas to the Soviet Union. The three governments realize that the war has caused special economic difficulties for Iran and they agreed that they will continue to make available to the Iran government such economic assistance as may be possible, having regard to the heavy demands made upon them by their worldwide military operations and to the worldwide shortage of transport, raw materials and supplies for civilian consumption.

With respect to the post-war period, the governments of the United States of America, the U. S. S. R. and the United Kingdom are in accord with the government of Iran that any economic problem confronting Iran at the close of hostilities should receive full consideration along with those of other members of the United Nations by conferences or international agencies, held or created, to deal with international economic matters.

The governments of the United States of America, the U. S. S. R. and the United Kingdom are at one with the government of Iran in their desire for the maintenance of the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Iran. They count upon the participation of Iran, together with all other peace-loving nations, in the establishment of international peace, security and prosperity after the war in accordance with the principles of the Atlantic Charter, to which all four governments have continued to subscribe.

Wash. Daily News Dec. 6, 1943 p. 3

Russia's Aims

By William Philip Simms

WHILE European envoys here do not doubt that Stalin, Churchill and Roosevelt will march shoulder to shoulder to victory over Germany, not all of them are convinced that the Big Three are equally in accord with regard to what will come after.

Coming on the heels of the Teheran conference as it did, unusual significance is attached to the London pronouncement of South Africa's Prime Minister Jan Christian Smuts, who said, in effect, that unless Britain is careful she may emerge from the conflict to find Russia "mistress of the Continent," and herself a weak sister.

This, the smaller members of the United Nations almost unanimously agree, would be disastrous—not only for them but for the future peace of Europe and the world. Therefore they are hoping that the Big Three reached some definite conclusions with regard to post-war co-operation as well as collaboration now against Hitlerite Germany.

* * *

WITH Japan liquidated, Mr. Smuts said, and with France, Italy and Germany out of the picture, Russia will emerge into a position of power unique in European history. The whole system of checks and balances will have disappeared not only in Asia but in Europe, leaving Russia supreme. Thus, while enjoying probably the greatest prestige, honor and glory of her career, Britain might well find herself a poor third after the Soviet Union and the United States.

This, the great South African went on to say, would be bad. To offset the threat, he suggested Britain should "cease to be an island" and "work intimately with the small democracies of western Europe which, by themselves, may be lost."

After the war, he concluded, America, Britain and Russia must form a trinity leadership in peace. For peace will come very slowly, he warned—perhaps so slowly as never to make possible any general peace conference at all, but only a long armistice during which solutions might be worked out.

What worries the small countries of Europe most is the impression that, instead of following Prime Minister Smuts' advice, Great Britain seems to be moving in the other direction. At least, events seem to be trending toward Soviet supremacy.

Gen. de Gaulle's committee in Algiers appears to be bent on weaning France away from her long attachment to Britain and her traditional liking for the United States. At the same time the committee's aim is frankly the closest possible association with the Soviet Union.

* * *

CZECHOSLOVAKIA likewise is drawing tighter her ties with her powerful neighbor and the chances are better than even that the German regime which succeeds Hitler's will follow the Moscow line closer than it does that of London. The same may be said of post-Franco Spain. The little Scandinavian countries have already been warned against becoming too friendly with one another, let alone Britain, and while Poland is not part of western Europe, Russia has let it be known that she intends this ally of England shall set up a government "friendly" to the Soviets as the price of their future collaboration.

Certainly thruout the Balkans, the trend is increasingly in the direction of Russia, rather than Britain, and the Communist Party in Italy is said to be gaining ground right along.

Thus it seems pretty clear that, if she wants, Russia can absolutely dominate the Continent of Europe. But if she does, she will be riding a tiger. She can get away with it for a time, of course—perhaps for two or three decades—but eventually Europe—and Asia—would revolt and there would be trouble. Her best chance for lasting security, therefore, it is felt here, is to win the friendship of her neighbors and the co-operation of a strong Britain, America and China.

Wash. Daily News Dec. 6, 1943 p. 27

U. S. NAMES WINANT TO ADVISORY GROUP

Ambassador to Britain Will Join European Commission

WASHINGTON, Dec. 4 (AP)—President Roosevelt has appointed John G. Winant, Ambassador to London, as the representative of the United States on the European Advisory Commission.

The State Department made the announcement today without elaboration. This commission was provided for at the recent Moscow Conference of Foreign Secretaries. It will have its seat in London.

LONDON, Dec. 4 (AP)—Two American diplomatic experts on Russia and eastern Europe—George F. Kennan and Charles W. Thayer—have been named aides to the European Advisory Commission, it was announced today.

Mr. Kennan, charge d'affaires at Libson, and Mr. Thayer, secretary of the legation at Kabaul, Afghanistan, have served American Embassies in Berlin and Moscow. Mr. Kennan has also had experience in Vienna and Prague.

This is a clipping from page 38 of the New York Times for Dec. 5, 1943
Clipped at the Seat of Government.

SMUTS' TALK STIRS WAVE OF PROTESTS

His Plan for Britain to Win Equality With U. S. and Russia Brings Swift Reaction

By Cable to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

LONDON, Dec. 3—The brilliant, extemporaneous speech which Field Marshal Jan Christiaan Smuts, Premier of South Africa, delivered privately to the Empire Parliamentary Association last week has been praised in London more for its candor than its discretion.

When he delivered it to 300 M. P.'s and Peers, including over twenty of His Majesty's Ministers, he warned them that it was "explosive." They decided, however, with his consent, to print it yesterday; today a few polite explosions began to be heard and there were indications that these were the mere preliminaries of a louder barrage to come.

His thesis was that the United States, Britain and Russia now form "the trinity at the head of the United Nations," but his complaint was that due to comparative economic decline of Britain it was an unequal trinity which should be bolstered by a closer working agreement between Britain and the smaller democracies of western Europe.

"It is naturally a question for the States of western Europe to settle for themselves," Marshal Smuts said, adding that he was "merely thinking out loud" and mentioning the idea as something to consider and to ponder.

Wants Trinity of Equality

"It is for them to say whether, in the world as they have learned to know it, as history has proved it to be, it is safe for them to continue in the old paths of isolation and neutrality or whether they should not help themselves by helping to create out of a closer union with Great Britain, a great European state, great not only as an empire and a commonwealth stretching over all the continents, but great as a power on the Continent, an equal partner with the other colossi in the leadership of nations.

"I think this trinity will be the stabilizing factor and the wall of power behind which the freedoms and democracies of the world can be built up again. It will be a protecting wall. But I should like to have that trinity a trinity of equals. I should not like to see an unequal partnership."

The other controversial issue which he touched upon concerned the future of France.

"France," he said, "had gone. And if she ever returns it will be a hard and a long pull for her to emerge again. A nation that has one been overtaken by catastrophe such as she has suffered, reaching to the foundation of her nationhood, will not easily resume her old place again. We may talk of her as a great power but talking won't help her much. * * * France has gone and will be gone in our day and perhaps for many a day."

Praised and Blamed

The speech was praised in many quarters in London today because, as often before, Marshal Smuts said in public what a lot of people have been saying in private. First, that Britain was in danger of being, in the post-war world, overwhelmed by her two major partners, the United States and Russia; second, that the United States was elevating China—which he did not include in his trinity and did not even mention—to a position of importance that neither her power nor her record justified; and third, that France could not be a great power for at least a generation.

At the same time, the speech was bitterly criticized by others who contend that Marshal Smuts rebuked China, Russia and France and did so just at a tim when Britain was celebrating a new understanding with China and Russia and counting on the help of France during an invasion.

Balance of Power Bogey

The theme of the speech, in the opinion of these latter critics, seemed to be that the old balance of power should be recreated with Britain, the Netherlands, Belgium, Denmark, Norway and presumably France as a weak power, forming a political and military power bloc in the west to balance the power of Russia in the East.

Such a suggestion coming from so eminent a source and addressed to such a distinguished audience on an off-the-record basis, might, it was feared, look as if Britain were flirting with the idea of creating a new cordon sanitaire in the west and adopting the "spheres-of-influence" doctrine which Britain, the United States and Russia agreed at the Moscow conference to abandon.

Critics of the Smuts' speech have suggested that he was "flying a kite" for Prime Minister Churchill. Already this morning, questions were put down on the Parliamentary book to ascertain whether the South African Prime Minister, who also sits with the British Cabinet, was in fact speaking for the British Government.

There seems to be no basis for believing either that he was kite flying or speaking for the Government. In the first place he said frankly that he was merely thinking out loud. Secondly, he came to the meeting at the invitation of the members with a few notes scribbled on the back of a small sheet of paper and from these notes he delivered one of the most striking speeches of the war. So far as can be discovered the situation was no more complicated than that.

Undoubtedly there is in London, despite the Cairo Declaration, some hesitation about putting China on an equal basis with the United States, Britain and Russia at the top of the United Nations, but there is no reason for believing that the British think France is through or that a British sphere of influence should be created in the west of Europe.

There is certainly a trend here toward Britain taking more active commitments on the Continent after the war, but the last thing she is going to want to do is to follow a policy designed to antagonize Russia, as a British [illegible] in the west almost certainly would.

This is a clipping from page 2 of the New York Times for

Dec. 4, 1943

Clipped at the Seat of Government.

EMBASSY OF THE UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS

Information Bulletin

(Issued Three Times Weekly)

No. 135 Washington, D. C., December 4, 1943 5

THE NATIONAL QUESTION IN THE USSR— AND THE WAR

By Colonel Sergei Rostovsky

In attacking the USSR Hitler counted on a clash between the numerous nationalities of the Soviet Union. His hopes did not materialize. The Soviet Union proved to be a strongly welded family of peoples, notwithstanding their differences in origin, historical development, language, religion and mode of life. The reason for this firm unity of the peoples of the USSR must be sought in the policy of the Soviet Union, which was inspired and directed by Joseph Stalin.

The founders of the Soviet State, Vladimir Lenin and Joseph Stalin, created a deeply thought-out theory of the national question, on which was laid the foundation of the national policy of the Soviet State.

One of the most important positions of this national policy is the watchword proclaiming the right of nationalities to self-determination. This does not by any means signify that Lenin and Stalin stand for the break-up of large states into small ones. "We

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demand the liberty of self-determination, that is, the liberty of oppressed nations to secede, not because we dream of economic dismemberment or the ideal of small states; on the contrary, it is because we want large states and the drawing together and even the fusion of nations only on a genuinely democratic, genuinely international basis, which is unthinkable without the freedom of secession."

After the October Revolution, the theory of Lenin and Stalin was transformed into practice in the construction of the State. *The Declaration of the Rights of the Peoples of Russia*, written by Stalin and published on November 16, 1917, under the signatures of Lenin and Stalin, proclaimed the equality and sovereignty of the peoples of Russia and their right to free self-determination, including the right of secession and the formation of an independent state; the repeal of all national and national-religious privileges and restrictions, and the free development of the national minorities and ethnographic groups inhabiting the territory of the USSR.

Soviet Constitution Guarantees Equality of Rights of All Citizens

The principle of the equality of rights of all races and nationalities and of all citizens of the USSR, irrespective of their nationality or race, is guaranteed in the Constitution of the USSR. Article No. 123 of that Constitution reads: "Equality of rights of citizens of the USSR, irrespective of their nationality or race, in all spheres of economic, state, cultural, social and political life, is an indefeasible law. Any direct or indirect restriction of the rights of, or, conversely, any establishment of direct or indirect privileges for, citizens on account of their race or nationality, as well as any advocacy of racial or national exclusiveness or hatred and contempt, is punishable by law."

But the juridical equality of rights of races and nationalities does not in itself solve the national question. It is necessary to abolish economic and cultural inequality in the backward borderlands. In the USSR the abolition of such inequalities was realized in the course of the rapid economic and cultural transformation of the whole life of the country.

Results of National Policy of USSR

The results were striking. From 1928 to 1937 the volume of industrial production in Byelorussia increased 8.5 times, in Georgia 12.5 times, and in Tajikistan 26 times.

Simultaneously with this economic development a real cultural revolution took place. The peoples of the Soviet Union felt the beneficial results of the national policy of the Soviet Government.

Consequently, when Hitler fell upon the Soviet Union, all the peoples of the USSR, perceiving the grave danger, rose in defense of the Soviet State.

The Baltic Soviet Republics, Karelia, Byelorussia, Moldavia and the Ukraine were the first to be attacked. These Republics suffered and are suffering more than all the others. The peoples of these Republics perceived better than others the essence of the Hitlerite national policy of plunder and oppression of peoples. By brutalities and outrages unparalleled in history, Hitlerite Germany aroused a burning hatred in the peoples of the Soviet Union.

Complete Solidarity of Peoples in War

The result was contrary to the expectations of Hitler: instead of a split in the Soviet Union we had consolidation and the complete unanimity of all the peoples inhabiting the USSR. The war has strengthened the friendship of the peoples of the USSR. Each nationality, large or small, fully realized how dear to it is the Soviet Union, how necessary it is to stand up for this Union and to defend its independence.

All the peoples of the Soviet Union have sent their sons to the Red Army. Russians, Ukrainians, Byelorussians, Tatars, Kazakhs, Kirghizians, Uzbeks, Armenians, Georgians, Azerbaijanians—all are fighting at the front shoulder to shoulder. The fight of the guerrillas against the German invaders in forest and steppe in the Ukraine and Byelorussia is not ceasing for a single minute.

As in peacetime, so in wartime, the peoples of the Soviet Union are on a par in everything. Promotion in the Red Army to the highest posts does not depend upon the nationality of the individual, but exclusively on his ability, knowledge and devotion to the common cause. Every people has its heroes whose names are held in honor. Children in schools are learning of the self-sacrifice and the great deeds of the heroes of the Soviet Union—Russians, Ukrainians, Byelorussians, Georgians, Tadjiks, Uzbeks, Armenians and Kazakhs.

Friendship of Peoples Essence of Soviet State

The USSR is a united family, and the friendship of the peoples constitutes the essence of the Soviet State. The Russian people is only an older brother in the family of the peoples of the USSR—older by its experience, its military knowledge, efforts and exertions, which it brings to the altar of the motherland.

With no less sacrifice do the peoples of the USSR labor in the rear. Central Asia, Kazakhstan, the Far East and the Caucasus have built hundreds of new factories, canals, power stations, dams and railways during the war. Considerable changes have also oc-

curred in the agriculture of these Republics and areas. During the war the sowing in the area of the Eastern districts of the Soviet Union increased by more than two million hectares. Crops which were never before cultivated in the Eastern areas have now made their appearance there—for example, sugar beet in Uzbekistan and Kirghizia. Having extended its cotton area, Uzbekistan is now also growing sufficient grain to supply her needs.

The cultural development of the various Regions of the USSR has not weakened during the war. Many scientific and cultural institutions have been evacuated to the Eastern National Republics. The results of cultural collaboration and exchange of experience between scientific and cultural institutions of the center and the borderlands are already telling on the whole life of the Soviet Union.

Nazism threatens to enslave and exterminate all the freedom-loving peoples of the world. The very life and national existence of the majority of peoples have been placed in deadly peril. The Germans are seizing territories historically belonging to other nations, they are destroying their economy, rooting out the national languages of the enslaved peoples, destroying their culture and turning the masses of these nations into slaves for the German invaders.

That is why in the program of action of the Anglo-Soviet-American coalition such tasks have been put forward as the abolition of national exclusiveness, the establishment of the equal rights of nations and the inviolability of their territory, the liberation of enslaved nations and the restoration of their sovereign rights, the guarantee of the right of each nation to organize its life in accordance with its own desires, economic assistance to the victimized nations, the restoration of democratic liberties and the abolition of the Hitlerite regime.

War Severest Test of National Policy

The national policy of the USSR, declaring equal rights for all nations, has in the years of war stood its most severe test—the test of war. The friendship of its peoples has become still stronger in the joint struggle of the Soviet peoples against the Hitlerite brigands.

The Hitlerites are not only destroying the national independence of peoples, but are also striving to destroy their very national existence and to Germanize them. This is shown primarily in the persecution of native languages and the extermination of the culture of the vanquished countries. The Hitlerites want to reduce the people to a state of ignorance and torpor, and in this way to create for themselves a mass of meek, submissive slaves deprived of any national character of their own and of any consciousness of their national dignity.

SMUTS FEARS LOSS OF BRITISH POWER

Advises London to Set Up Ties in Europe to Match Strength of Russia

CITES DROP IN RESOURCES

Statesman Warns That Empire May Face Inequality With U. S. and Soviet

LONDON, Dec. 2 (AP)—Jan Christian Smuts, Prime Minister of the Union of South Africa and War Cabinet member, has suggested that Britain strengthen her position in western Europe lest she become a weak and unequal partner in the "great trinity of powers"—Britain, the United States and Russia.

In a speech delivered Nov. 25 to the United Kingdom branch of the Empire Parliamentary Association but made public only tonight, the field marshal asserted that at the end of hostilities in which "three of the five great powers in Europe will have disappeared"—meaning France, Italy and Germany—Russia will be "mistress of the Continent."

He declared, moreover, that Soviet Russia would be in a position of power unique in European history because "the Japanese Empire also will have gone the way of all flesh and therefore any check or balance that might have arisen in the East will have disappeared."

Gives 'Explosive' Ideas

Premier Smuts remarked that some of his ideas might be "explosive," but said that these were explosive times, and developed these themes:

That after the war America, Britain and Russia would hold world power and must "retain leadership" in peace—a peace he predicted would come very slowly, perhaps so slowly as never to make possible any general peace conference at all but only a comprehensive armistice that would permit "a long process of working out solutions."

That with Russia in the new triumvirate would be Britain, "with a glory and an honor and a prestige such as perhaps no nation ever enjoyed," but economically poor, as against the vast resources of the Soviet Union and the United States—"an unequal partnership, I am afraid."

In view of this, he continued, "should we not cease as Great Britain to be an island? Should we not work intimately together with these small democracies in Western Europe, which by themselves may be lost, as they are lost today, and as they may become lost again?

"Surely they must feel that their place is with this member of the trinity [Britain]. Their way of life is with Great Britain, their outlook and their future is with Great Britain and the next world-wide British system.

"I think this trinity will be a stabilizing factor, a wall of power behind which freedoms and the democracies of the world can be built up again. It will be the protecting wall.

"But I should like to have that trinity a trinity of equals. I should like to see all three of them equal in power and influence and in every respect. I should not like to see an unequal partnership."

Stresses Value of Power

By Cable to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

LONDON, Dec. 2—The greatest lesson to come out of this war is the value of power," Premier Jan Christiaan Smuts said in a speech here Nov. 25. "Peace unbacked by power remains a dream." Freedom and democracy to be gained and retained in the world must be believed to be supported by leadership and power. This power implies "giving the proper place to the three great powers that are now at the head of our United Nations," he explained.

Justifying his selection, Premier Smuts defined the Soviet Union on its record over the past quarter of a century and its future promise as a new colossus bestriding the continent of Europe and dominating Asia into the bargain.

Britain will, in his own opinion, emerge from the war impoverished. "This country has held nothing back; there is nothing left in the till," he said.

Then he continued, "You have the United States, the other great world power, with enormous assets, with health, resources and potentialities of power beyond measure. The question is, how you are going to deal with that world situation?"

Opposes U. S.-British Axis

He dismissed as impracticable an Anglo-American political Axis. It would be a lopsided world if these two attempted to rule the rest, he said. Opposition and "other lions" would be aroused in the path of such a union of interests, he argued.

Turning to the problem of the British Empire, he offered the idea of consolidating groups of colonies so as to do away with centralized control in London and also to give these areas sufficient magnitude to attract the interest of Dominions and other nations.

The same principle of banding together without political ties, however, might be applied to the smaller democratices of western Europe, he said. "I utter no dogmatic conclusions. I have no set ideas. I am simply giving you the lines of thought that run in my mind when I survey the new situation facing us in the world," he concluded.

It was noted that he omitted mention of China among the pre-eminent powers destined to control the affairs of mankind; indeed, there was no direct reference to that republic anywhere in the course of his remarks.

This is a clipping from page 8 of the New York Times for

DEC. 3, 1943

Clipped at the Seat of Government.

Russia

Washington, Dec. 3 -- President William Green of the American Federation of Labor today called upon President Roosevelt in conference with United Nations leaders overseas to obtain an agreement which would prohibit enslavement of workers in defeated countries after the war.

The statement said in part:

"Disturbing rumors in the press and over the radio attribute to Soviet Russia a plan to enslave 1,000,000 German workers for forced labor in Russia when the Nazis are crushed.

"I cannot believe there is a word of truth in these reports. They bear all the earmarks of Axis propaganda. It seems inconceivable to me that Russia could propose, or that the United Nations could support a plan which by its very nature is completely inconsistent with the post-war objectives of the freedom-loving nations of the world."

President Green served notice that the AFL would oppose with all its power any attempt to enslave the workers of Germany or any other country when victory is won.

"On the contrary," he added, "our message to the workers of Germany is a message of hope. We are determined to free them from the bonds of Nazi oppression and to give them every opportunity to work out democratic solutions of their problems in the post-war periods."

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BRITISH NOW LOOK TO STALIN MEETING

London Views Cairo Parley as Excellent Prelude to Talk With Russian Leader

REMINDER FOR THE PUBLIC

Necessity for Another Difficult Campaign Overseas After German Defeat Stressed

By JAMES B. RESTON
By Cable to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

LONDON, Dec. 1—The Roosevelt-Churchill-Chiang conferences were regarded in London tonight as an excellent prelude to the Stalin-Roosevelt-Churchill meeting that Prime Minister Churchill said he hoped would take place before the first of next year.

A Cairo communiqué released tonight said that President Roosevelt and Mr. Churchill had left "for unknown destinations." At 9:44 P. M. a German Transocean broadcast said that they had gone to Iran "to meet Premier Stalin who was accompanied to Iran by Maxim Litvinoff, Marshal Alexander M. Vasilevsky and other prominent Soviet officials who presumably will take part in the conference."

The Cairo meeting, with its unprecedented gathering of Allied service chiefs, may not have satisfied the British people who had expected Premier Stalin to be the third man instead of Generalissimo Chiang Kai-Shek. But it reminded them of the sober fact that they must prepare for another difficult and perhaps long campaign far from home after they had beaten the Germans.

Lyttelton's Warning Recalled

Mr. Churchill had warned the British people of this before. Oliver Lyttelton disclosed only yesterday that British production was already being overhauled with the Pacific campaign in mind. But the thoughts of the British people are still naturally preoccupied with the European war, and this was the first dramatic event to make them realize the proximity of a large-scale campaign to regain the territory—much of it British—that the Japanese seized in the late winter and early spring of 1942.

Politically the conference also made of clear that the United States and Britain intended to see not only that China was liberated but that she was restored even beyond the position that she held in the Far East before the start of Japanese aggression.

Whatever Mr. Roosevelt, Premier Stalin and Mr. Churchill may eventually do about the future of Germany, it appeared to be clear from the Cairo communiqué that Japan would not only lose her "co-prosperity sphere" but be returned to the narrow sphere in which she moved before the restoration of Emperor Meiji in 1868.

Russia Held Consulted

The Foreign Office did not attempt to interpret the communiqué issued in Cairo, but in diplomatic quarters tonight it was generally assumed that Russia must have been not only informed but consulted before this communiqué was issued. If this assumption is correct, it follows that Premier Stalin approves the return of Manchuria to China and the promise of independence.

Diplomats Hail Decision

LONDON, Dec. 1 (AP)—The Cairo declaration of unshakeable determination to smash Japan and strip her of her stolen empire was warmly welcomed in the embassies and legations of London tonight, particularly by the representatives of countries with interests in the Pacific.

Norwegians, Czechs, Poles and other non-colonial nations, however, unofficially confessed greater interest in any possible further meeting involving European questions. Unofficial British comment reflected a certain disappointment that there was no announcement concerning a meeting of Prime Minister Churchill, President Roosevelt and Premier Stalin. There was also some British disappointment because there had been no specific mention of the status of Hong Kong.

The Chinese Ambassador, V. Wellington Koo, described the conference as "epoch making" and said that it was bound "to have far-reaching effects in Asia as well as Europe. It helps to stress once more that the complete defeat of Japan is as vital to the cause of the United Nations as that of Germany in Europe. The agreements reached at the conference will not only reveal themselves, in successive telling blows upon our common enemy but will go far to insure close cooperation and understanding among the Allies in building peace."

This is a clipping from page 3 of the New York Times for DEC. 2, 1943
Clipped at the Seat of Government

Bid to Soviet Is Discerned In Some of 'Stripping' Terms

By JOHN H. CRIDER
Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

WASHINGTON, Dec. 1—The dramatic meeting of the Pacific Big Three was hailed in Washington as a turning point in the war which timed intensification of the drive against Japan with the faster ticking of Germany's clock of doom.

Aside from the tremendous importance to the conduct of the war and to post-war international collaboration attached to President Roosevelt's first meeting with Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek and his seventh war conference with Prime Minister Churchill, the following points were noted here as of special significance rising out of their ojint communiqué:

1. Agreement to strip Japan's empire down to its original basis before the Sino-Japanese War of 1895, is a statement of war aims

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This is a clipping from page 1 of the New York Times for

DEC. 2, 1943

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BID TO SOVIET SEEN IN PACT AT CAIRO

Continued From Page One

in the Pacific going beyond "unconditional surrender"—it is unconditional surrender, plus.

2. This stripping of the Japanese empire, which means taking from her important territories such as the southern tip of Manchuria with the warm-water ports of Port Arthur and Dairen, long sought and once held by Russia, was regarded as an important preparation step for the meeting with Premier Stalin and a bid for Russian military support in the war against Japan. The conferees could use the offer of such ports as an inducement for Russian aid.

3. The statement will give an immense lift to morale in the areas beyond her original borders now dominated by Japan.

4. Special significance is attached to the promise of eventual independence to Korea, presaging possible military activity in that near-by "stepping stone" area, especially if Russia should join the Pacific coalition. The stress laid on Austrian cooperation by the Moscow conference of Foreign Ministers was recalled as a parallel gesture in the European theatre.

5. Some persons believed that Korea might well become an important "buffer State" in the Orient, backed by the might of the Big Four—a sort of police booth in an area of former territorial freebootery.

Opinion was divided here as to whether the conferees were continuing to Iran to meet Marshal Stalin, as the Reuter story from Lisbon, Portugal, said yesterday. Most observers doubted that the Generalissimo would even be present at the scene of the meeting between the British, Russian and American leaders because of the meticulous regard Marshal Stalin must show toward the treaty between his country and Japan.

The idea that the meeting with Marshal Stalin might already have taken place was not without supporters in the capital.

Dr. Wei Tao-ming, the Chinese Ambassador, said he was very happy to hear the news of the conference of the Pacific Big Three and considered it a great and historical event "that will have tremendous effects upon the present war against the common enemy and on the foundations for future peace in the Pacific."

An important American official experienced in the Orient declared that the clear statement of Allied war aims in the Pacific so far in advance of their realization was a "courageous step which no President other than Mr. Roosevelt would have had the fortitude to take."

Sol Bloom, chairman of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, declared that the communique constituted a "tremendously strong and emphatic statement which gives notice to Japan of exactly what the future has in store for her."

Not Far Enough, George Says

Although most members of Congress expressed extreme satisfaction over the statement, some of them, such as Senator Walter F. George, Georgia Democrat, thought it did not go far enough in view of Japanese treachery at Pearl Harbor.

"This is a minimum requirement," he said. "Whatever we do to Japan beyond that is entirely justified by her treacherous and inhuman conduct."

Speaker Sam Rayburn was pleased with the statement, declaring that "a nation like Japan, with inordinate ambition for world domination, should be pushed back into Japan and kept there."

Opinion differed as to the Japanese reaction to the Big Three statement, but most persons versed in Japanese ways of thinking believed the propaganda agencies there would seize upon it to further frighten the Japanese people to exert themselves for victory. However, the line adopted by the Government internally may be quite different from its reaction for foreign consumption.

It was generally agreed that future fulfillment of the new war aims against Japan would reduce that nation to a second or third-rate power with an area less than that of the State of California.

Japan would be stripped of all of the vast areas she has acquired since the Sino-Japanese war (1894-95) when she seized Formosa and the Pescadores Islands as plums of victory.

Lacking important economic resources within her own island boundaries, Japan would not only be incapable of making the tools of war, but would probably be greatly dependent upon imports if she is to maintain the semblances of western civilization introduced during the last half century.

She would lose the mandated islands of the Pacific which she fortified in controvention of the Versailles Treaty; the Philippines, the Netherlands Indies, Portuguese Timor, certain portions of the New Guinea mandate, Guam, Wake, and the Spratly Islands which lie between the Philippines and French Indo-China.

She will lose territories she has stolen from the Chinese, such as Manchuria, Formosa and the Pescadores, as the announcement of the Tri-partite conference specified. In addition, under this category she will also be deprived of the Kwantung leased territory of Dairen and Port Arthur at the southern tip of Manchuria, which she took over from Russia at the conclusion of the Russo-Japanese war and then illegally extended the lease to run until 1979 instead of the terminal year 1923, as originally specified in the Russia lease.

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Official Version of What Happened at Cairo

By United Press

CAIRO, Dec. 2.—The text of the historic communique announcing the three-power conference on the war against Japan and the plans of the allied United States, British and Chinese governments:

A press communique states that President Roosevelt, Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek and Prime Minister Churchill, together with their respective military and diplomatic advisers, have completed a conference in North Africa.

The following general statement was issued:

The several military missions have agreed upon future military operations against Japan.

The three great Allies expressed their resolve to bring unrelenting pressure against their brutal enemies by sea, land and air. (As issued at Washington the communique said: "This great pressure is already rising.")

The three great Allies are fighting this war to restrain and punish the aggression of Japan.

They covet no gain for themselves and have no thought of territorial expansion.

It is their purpose that Japan shall be stripped of all the islands in the Pacific which she has seized or occupied since the beginning of the first World War in 1914 and that all the territories Japan has stolen from the Chinese, such as Manchuria, Formosa and the Pescadores, shall be restored to the Republic of China.

Japan also will be expelled from all other territories which she has taken by violence and greed.

The aforesaid three great powers, mindful of the enslavement of the people of Korea, are determined that in due course Korea shall become free and independent.

With these objects in view the three great Allies, in harmony with those of the United Nations at war with Japan, will continue to persevere in the serious and prolonged operations necessary to procure the unconditional surrender of Japan.

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Evading the Issue

THE NEW YORK TIMES editorial on the Pravda article estimating the American debate on foreign policy expresses agreement with much of Pravda's comment but seemingly only to evade its full implications. To conceal this evasion the Times gives its editorial a characteristic anti-Communist twist.

Pravda had observed that the essence of American isolationism was a "policy of the so-called appeasement of the aggressors," in reality "a policy of their constant encouragement and support." It was this policy, says Pravda, that resulted in our lack of preparedness, and was responsible for our initial heavy casualties.

Pravda then stresses the great advance which the Connally and Fulbright resolutions signify for the United States. It stresses the "serious changes in wide public circles" which forced both the House and Senate to abandon isolationism.

But Pravda also noted something clear to alert American observers but which the Times ignores—that a good deal of the harmony in Congress is only apparent, that the supporters of isolation are trying to adapt themselves outwardly to the basic change in national policy and popular will without departing from their positions in principle.

The Times cannot deny that our isolationist Republicans and their Democratic friends had, by their policies, left the nation completely unprepared when Hitler and Japan threatened our national interests. The best the Times can do is charge American Communists with equal responsibility—a futile and shameless assertion, which does not stand analysis. First of all, the Communist Party was not strong or influential enough to determine the country's policies. Second, if the foreign policy advocated by the Communists since Hitler's rise to power had been adopted by the nation, the Moscow Declarations, arrived at only recently, could have been the basis for an anti-Hitler coalition long before the war: a coalition to prevent the war or to smash the Nazis long before the Munich agreement strengthened Hitler against the democratic peoples.

The Communist fight to open American eyes to the world's realities did not begin in 1940 or 1941. It has a long history. Was there any other political party whose 1936 platform declared itself "in favor of strengthening all measures for collective security"? Who was it that urged the United States to join with the League of Nations "in effective financial and economic measures" against Hitler Germany, Italian fascism and Japanese imperialism? Who insisted that America could be kept out of war only by keeping war out of the world, and urged for this sake that "the United States should develop an American Peace Policy in close collaboration with the Soviet Union"?

Were the Communists encouraging the aggressors in their fight for Ethiopia, for Republican Spain, and their practically lone stand in this country against the Munich agreement? Would the country have been unprepared if the real purposes of Japan and Germany were exposed before the nation—as the Communists, among other democrats, were doing during the fateful decade?

And in 1940—what jeopardized the American national interest—the anti-Sovieteering over the Finnish war in which all other political forces joined to the point of almost attacking the Soviet Union?—or the Communist insistence that the basic interests of our own country and Russia were harmonious?

The experience of the past two years have proven to all which policy was and is in our national interest. For it is only in closer relations with the USSR, and a more consistent friendship with the peoples of Europe that we have the prospect of victory, and a foundation for a durable and just peace.

To guarantee the continuation of this policy requires not sniping at the Communists, but the exposure of those elements who are not reconciled to the Moscow Conference, and still seek the moment to undermine its decisions.

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The American MERCURY

THE ONLY ROAD TO PEACE

By Dorothy Thompson

Since man has lived with any degree of political consciousness on this earth, his prophets have predicted for him the coming of eternal peace. Actually there are only three known or projected ways of keeping the peace. Two have been tried. One has been dreamed of.

The golden ages of relative peace in the past have been achieved either by the monopolization of power by a single state, or by a Balance of Power. The third way — world organization for mutual protection — has never been tried under conditions that gave it a chance of working.

The outstanding example of the first way of keeping world peace was the *Pax Romana*. The outstanding example of the second way was the *Pax Britannica*. The outstanding attempt of the third — an attempt that failed — was the League of Nations.

Neither of the great ages of the *Pax Romana* and the *Pax Britannica* was without wars. But there was no major war in either epoch that threatened the peace of the greater part of the world. The limited wars in these epochs were of three types: punitive expeditions for maintaining the *status quo;* expeditions for the enlargement of the

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already consolidated world, peaceful within itself; conflicts between minor states inside the general framework. In both eras no one dared to challenge the existing system, although inside the system minor parts of it might challenge each other. The wars were, therefore, comparatively mild, and never a life-and-death threat to the stability of the existing world order.

The *Pax Romana* was based upon the domination of the world of that time by a single power. It began by a series of wars in which all possible rivals were gradually eliminated by Rome. The first and most formidable of these was Carthage, which was utterly destroyed after three long wars. The city-state of Carthage had large colonies, all around the Mediterranean, especially in Sicily and Spain. The colonies were annexed to Rome, and Carthage reduced to rubble. In the lifetime of the Roman Empire — for more than five hundred years — neither Carthage nor anyone else in the Mediterranean caused any trouble to anyone.

Rome's wars with Macedonia were of the same nature, on a lesser scale. They were successful struggles to defeat possible rivals. The wars after those were for expansion either into territories left a political vacuum by the defeat of previous rivals, such as Egypt and Greece, or among tribes not yet consolidated into political unities, as in the wars against the "tribes" in Gaul, Western and Southern Germany, Southern England and the Balkans. At the end of these wars Rome was undisputed master of the known world, and no wars could occur except such as she tolerated because they in no way threatened that mastery.

Brutal as were the means of achieving this peace, the impression left upon mankind was so deep that centuries after the breakdown of the Roman Empire the world, looking backward, has often longed for a revival of the unity and stability it represented. Indeed, this Roman idea is also Hitler's idea. It is the core of his New World Order. In *Mein Kampf* he says, "The pacifist humane idea might be a very good one, if first one man were able to make himself master of the world."

The *Pax Britannica* was based on the principle of a Balance of Power. Britain never accepted the Roman theory, and there were several good reasons for this self-denial.

Beginning with the Sixteenth Century, a unique set of circumstances, rather than consciously directed intention, contributed to making Britain the leading nation

of the world. One was the great age of geographical discovery and exploration, with consequent rivalry between seapowers for colonial opportunities. The three greatest seapowers of those days were Britain, France and Spain. Their rivalry produced a series of wars which ended with Britain as victor and France and Spain driven back into limited spheres of interest. Another factor was the industrial revolution, in which Britain, by reason of her coal and iron resources and an economy free and progressive for those times, and huge mercantile opportunities made possible by her domination of the seas, got a head start over everybody else. The two things tied together. Britain, in those days, was in the position of the United States today — unquestionably the most highly developed industrial nation on earth.

Why, then, did she not achieve the status of the Roman Empire?

First, because the known world was no longer the restricted area of the Mediterranean basin and its hinterlands. Exploration had opened the globe. It took all the strength of Britain to achieve unquestioned *superiority* in this world. She was never strong enough for absolute *mastery*. When the British world started there were already a great many highly organized states. The defeat of Spain did not settle the issue. Austria, Russia and Prussia were on the map. France was finally defeated in the Napoleonic wars, only with the aid of Russia, Prussia and Austria, and they all had something to say in the settlement. At no moment could Britain have taken on the whole known world. She had to confine her expansions to areas where she would be least contested and never contested by strong combinations.

Secondly, the rising tide of nationalism was against world domination by one nation. Nationalism was, from the beginning, synonymous with freedom, in the sense of national independence, and was based on popular desires, not upon dynastic considerations. Britain, therefore, lost North America, not to foreigners of a different breed, but to Englishmen who had ceased to think of themselves as Englishmen, but as Americans.

Incapable of emulating Rome and establishing world dominion, Britain succeeded in establishing her unquestioned superiority and on that seemingly slender basis maintained the *Pax Britannica*. She achieved it through the Balance of Power. It was fragile; it was a work of art; and it took great political finesse. But it endured for

approximately a century. This was the century in which the United States grew up, under the protection of the *Pax Britannica*, and got the idea that peace is a sort of normal law of nature. Other nations likewise developed their forces and resources — and therewith the world moved toward unbalancing the balance.

What is, or was, the Balance of Power?

The British genius — the genius of a world-minded and politically mature people — divided the world into areas. In each of these areas — Europe, East Asia, Africa and the Western Hemisphere — that genius applied special treatments to effect a balance.

The Western Hemisphere was neutralized by the Monroe Doctrine. Its various states lived their own lives under the tacit assumption that in return for this protected isolationism they would strictly confine their interests to their own hemisphere. In North America Britain accepted the predominance of the United States. In South America, a certain equilibrium was maintained to prevent any one state becoming ascendant, and this policy was also backed by the United States. The means used were chiefly diplomatic and financial.

In Africa, the treatment was quite different. The *Pax Britannica* always cut its cloth to fit the situation. Every European power was allowed to carve a piece out of the Black Continent — Portugal, Spain, Germany, Italy — but the balance was maintained by the two big African empires of France and Britain.

In the Far East, Britain reserved for herself an undisputed power area, namely India and the neighborhood of this sub-continent. Otherwise the policy was defined, together with us and other European powers, as the "Open Door" policy. It meant that nobody, including Britain herself and the East Asiatic countries themselves, should ever try to monopolize it.

It was in Europe that Britain faced the most complicated and the most dangerous situation. Before the last war there were four great powers in Europe, namely, France, Germany, Austria, and Russia, and a fifth, Italy, nearing this status. The Balance of Power required that they be so aligned that in any conflict the decision of the British would be decisive. Thus the British occasionally encouraged the rise of a nation — notably that of Italy — and sometimes backed France, sometimes Germany, depending on which seemed

to be getting stronger. The supreme aim was to prevent the hegemony of one power or alliance of powers over the European mainland.

In this whole concept, in the great century of British power, Russia was treated as separate from Europe. The British understood that Russia was both a European and an Asiatic power, and the one power that might some day obtain hegemony over the European continent or over Asia. So whenever Russia tried to expand, the British opposed it. That was true in the Crimean war, when the British and French went to the defense of Sevastopol against the Russians. In the Far East, the British made an alliance with the Japanese against overextension of Russian influence. But on the other side, whenever it was necessary to maintain the balance of power in Europe proper, the British were not afraid to ally themselves with the Russians — neither in the Napoleonic wars nor the First World War, nor in this war.

The Balance of Power has been energetically attacked. It has been unpopular in Europe and throughout the world. The fact of the matter is, however, that it is the second of only two ways that have ever been found for maintaining long periods of peace. It gave Europe and most of the world the highest measure of peace it had had since Roman days, and, because of that peace, the highest degree of prosperity it had ever had. It gave European, or western, coloration to the vital political, social and economic trends throughout the earth.

II

We may take it that nobody likes the first way of maintaining world peace: the domination of the world by one power. This is essentially what our war is against. But before we dismiss the concept of maintaining the peace in the future by a new Balance of Power, let us consider the alternatives. If we rule out both domination and Balance of Power, then, *historically speaking*, we know only one alternative — world anarchy. Each nation goes out for itself and attempts to expand its own power to the natural limits — that is to say until it collides with another power, risking a conflict that may be dissolved by the outcome of a war.

The Balance of Power had ceased to function as an efficient instrument since 1914. It was the knowledge of this that led to the first World War and the Hitlerite ad-

venture. Russia, in 1939, was a huge question-mark and Britain was not strong enough to win the war alone, nor certain enough of sufficient allies. Hence the aggressions, which seemed to offer more than an even chance of success.

The League of Nations had proved itself no adequate substitute for the *Pax Britannica* of the previous epoch. It had no instruments to enforce anything and could only call upon the instruments of its members, without the certainty that they could or would comply. And it was not universal — the strongest industrial and therefore potentially the strongest war-making power, the U.S.A., was not in it.

Tacit acceptance of the fact that the League was not strong enough to protect anybody led to the formation of outside alliances. The states of the Little Entente made alliances against Hungary; France made alliances with non-German Central European states against Germany; France, Russia, and Czechoslovakia made a pact; Britain had an alliance with France. And all these alliances were unstable, as the test showed.

There was no approximate equality of power among the responsible League members. Germany could easily knock out Czechoslovakia and every one of the small states of Central Europe, and it was dubious whether the great states would go to war to oppose this. The fear of Russia was not limited to Germany. American opinion wanted to avoid war at any price. The small nations were pushovers; the large one a question-mark.

The League of Nations did not save the world, nor frustrate the Germans. To return to the old League structure is, therefore, to return to anarchy and the reopening of the lottery of chance. Nor can the Balance of Power be restored by the British Empire. Since the Nineteenth Century two other nations have arisen, either of which separately is the equal or superior of Britain in power: the United States and Russia. Russia has emerged in this war as a strongly consolidated state, able to organize, supply, and equip immense armies largely from her own resources, vigorous, and with an unquestioned sense of power. The United States has demonstrated that this most unmilitary people can be mobilized, trained, and equipped in extraordinary short order for modern warfare.

Both Russia and the United States are in more powerful geographical positions than Britain. Russia is placed in the strategical

land center of the earth, with long borders on western Europe and on China. The United States is placed in the strategic center of the seas, looking out over the Atlantic and Pacific. Both Russia and the United States are continental areas, with the bulk of their resources within contiguous territories. Britain, whether considered as Empire or Commonwealth, is scattered over the world. Either the United States or Russia is, therefore, as a single nation, more capable of keeping the Balance of Power in the future than Britain will be. Yet neither alone is strong enough to guarantee the equilibrium. The world situation, moreover, is complicated by the rise of the Far East to national consciousness.

The combination of Russia plus Britain would be invincible. But Russia and Britain have potentially conflicting interests in both the Far and the Middle East, and a perpetuating combination is dubious. The United States and Russia together would be invincible. But the combination would not be popular in Europe or Britian and would put enormous pressure on all to unite to stage a comeback into history. A combination of Britain and America excluding Russia would have no firm foothold on the Eurasian continent where are most of the resources and peoples of the globe.

A combination of Britain, America, and Russia could keep the peace of the earth as long as they held together. They would represent a coalition of power that no state or group of states would dare to challenge in any foreseeable time. But it is illusory to think that this combination would be easy to maintain. The history of Russian and British activities in Eastern Asia is a history of conflicting diplomacies and viewpoints.

Russia, like Germany, is a highly militarized land power of uncertain frontiers, which for centuries has been spreading by the annexation of contiguous territories. She is not a national state. The Union of Socialist and Soviet Republics is actually a huge confederation of nations, authoritatively centralized in respect of defense, economy, and foreign relations. There are theoretically no limits to possible Soviet expansion, short of the globe. And the Soviet Union also is imbued with the highly dynamic idea of socialist confederationism.

If, after this war, Europe remains weak and divided, more or less under the tutelage in the west of the Anglo-American powers, and in the east of Russia, a combination of Britain-America-Russia to keep

the peace will be subjected to very severe strains. Even in the present moment, when we are fighting a common enemy and are all in extreme hazard, it is obvious that western and Russian political policies toward Europe are far from identical.

The difficulties, therefore, in restoring and maintaining a new balance of power are enormous. It would have to rest on alliances, instead of on the indubitable superiority of a single nation. Alliances work very well for the purpose of waging a common war against a common enemy; they are dubious as instruments to prevent wars.

III

But if no one power can dominate the world after this war, and no permanently reliable balance of power appears possible, what is left? In the human imagination there has always been the concept of organizing the whole world under law for mutual protection. This is the obvious desideratum of international politics. It has been the dream of the greatest minds of all nationalities for centuries. Dante and Leonardo da Vinci, Mazzini and Victor Hugo, Kleist, Kant, and Romain Rolland, are but a few of Europe's greatest spirits who have advocated the creation of larger political unities, transcending the nation.

But the creation of ever greater unities, in which large and small nations will effectively pool their power for mutual protection against war, is hardly likely to come about through the universal conversion of all peoples to the brotherhood of man, nor through legalistic creations. It will only come about through the proper and imaginative exercise of power in the first place, for every new thing is created by power — which is not the same as saying that it is created by force.

The British Empire, for instance, was expanded more by the attraction of its generally benevolent power to protect, than created by brute force, and today is held together only by tradition and considerations of mutual interest. It has no power of compulsion whatever over the sovereign states of the Commonwealth, yet has held them more firmly than the colonies. The United States of America might have developed differently from what it did. The original thirteen states had alternatives. They might, for instance, have accepted the dominant colonial attitude of their times and established themselves as a sovereign power, organizing

the western areas as colonies for exploitation. But by offering equality of citizenship and status to the people of new states, they colonized and expanded, drawing on Europe constantly for new manpower. The enormous attraction of great unities, which promise protection while granting freedom and equality of participation and responsibility to each state in proportion to its actual power, has thus been demonstrated in both the British Commonwealth and the United States of America.

It is not necessary to begin the foundation of a world order for the maintenance of peace, open to all on equal terms, with a finished and blueprinted program. Nor is it necessary to begin with the adherence to it of all the states of the world. It is not only not necessary; it is patently impossible; and it is even undesirable.

All political institutions that endure are the product of organic growth. Given happy auspices at their birth, they create and recreate themselves from vitalities which they themselves generate. For the purpose of waging this war, Great Britain and America have created an effective unity, of both policy and command. This has been created without any legalisms at all, and without the relinquishment of an ounce of national sovereignty by either. There is nothing in our two constitutions or national sovereignties which prevents a coalition of our military staffs and economic plans. It is not against the law that vast numbers of British troops should be under American command or American troops under British command. But it is a very sensational fact and departure from tradition, just the same. It has not come about as the result of a blueprint but as a response to a terrific challenge.

To quote Mr. Churchill's very English phrase, Britain and America are pretty well "mixed up together." We are all but sitting in each other's cabinets. We are using each other's goods, each other's bases, each other's ships. And as a result of this remarkable communism between the two leading private-enterprise nations of the earth, we are fighting a terribly difficult war with remarkable efficiency. When the war is over, there will be many who will want to unmix us, but I venture to predict that the cost of so doing will give pause to any administration that may be at the helm; that the patent rewards for staying mixed will be so much greater than the possible rewards and certain dangers of renewing ruthless national competition with

each other that no serious national leaders or parties will advocate it.

Now the more peoples that are mixed up with us the better. By all means let us keep mixed up with Russia if we can. Let us do everything to keep mixed up short of treating the Russians as a master race from whom reciprocity is unnecessary. Let us keep mixed up with China, active and extremely generous in her rehabilitation. Let us be for the greatest possible strengthening of our European allies, as equals, not as pupils. Unity is not created by pep talks, but by mutual interests, and, above all, by the experience of doing things together.

There is enormous work to be done in the world that can only be done by a great many doing it together in an organized way. There is, for instance, the problem of opening up and colonizing the empty spaces of this earth and creating new opportunities for men and women made homeless by war. There are great challenges, like the challenge of pressure of population — the curse of Europe for decades. Resettlement, in the modern world, cannot be left to chance and haphazard migration. It will require the creation of international commissions, the raising of international capital, the creation of opportunities for re-training, especially for youth and demobilized soldiers. If these instruments adequately perform their tasks, they will increase in authority and become in time "traditional." If they exist in a favorable climate of humanism and common sense, they will exercise enormous attractive power to weak and struggling people everywhere.

In the mutual performance of necessary world tasks lies the hope of the gradual evolution of a world commonwealth. It will never spring full-fledged from the mind of some genius, all drawn up on tables of stone. But if we stay mixed up and go on working together for specific objectives, our children's children may one day look around about them on this earth for peace and, behold, they will find it there.

Reminder—

BY WOODROW WILSON

WHAT we seek is the reign of law, based upon the consent of the governed and sustained by the organized opinion of mankind.

America's Stake in Soviet Friendship

By CLAUDE PEPPER

The United States Senator from Florida underlines our Soviet ally's decisive role for victory and peace

THE outstanding lesson of this war is the extent to which Russia's military cooperation is vital to the defeat of Nazi Germany. More than two years have passed since the German attack on Russia. During that time, most of the armed forces of Germany and of her European allies were engaged in Russia, leaving the United States and Great Britain free to develop a huge armament program and to organize mass armies. It is only in recent times that the United States and Britain were able to free North Africa from the enemy, to land in Italy and the islands of the Mediterranean, and to strike telling blows from the air against Germany's home-front. Even now, the development of our military operations remains predicated on the maiming, or at least on the continued engagement of Germany's main land forces by the Soviet Union. No wonder, therefore, that the Russian war-effort is regarded by the leaders of the United Nations as the greatest single prerequisite of victory over Hitler.

2. To show, on another front, just how important Russian military cooperation has become, it is interesting to note the widespread complaint in the American press, that in our war against Japan we are severely handicapped by Russian non-participation. It is generally conceded that, were it possible for Russia to cooperate actively in this war, or even to let us use bases on her territory, the Pacific war would have been immensely shortened.

It may well be that, in view of the overwhelming contribution made by Russia in the European war, Russian cooperation in the Pacific—involving as it would large-scale fighting on the borders of Siberia—should best be avoided in the interest of all concerned, ourselves, the British, and the Chinese no less than the Russians. But the example suffices to indicate how relatively simple things become wherever we have Russia marching with us, and how difficult they are if circumstances prevent Russian cooperation.

3. However carefully we lay our plans for the peace, it will be necessary to stay on guard against renewed aggression in the future. Here, again, the full cooperation of Russia would be invaluable both in preventing future aggression and in checking it. Russia's participation in a future effort to enforce peace would, more particularly, obviate the need of the United States becoming with Great Britain, the one major "international policeman" and would permit us to play our part in the peace enforcement machinery without too heavy a burden of permanent armed forces.

On the other hand, should the lack of a friendly understanding between us and the Soviet Union result in Russian non-cooperation in our peace-enforcement efforts and should, moreover, there be no certainty as to the identity of views between us and Russia on major international issues, the United States would have to maintain a huge permanent armed establishment—thus burdening our budget and interfering with the return to a peacetime pattern of life so strongly cherished by the people of this country.

4. History as well as recent developments have indicated that Russia exercises a strong pull over an important area outside of her own boundaries. Traditionally, many Slavic peoples tend toward a Russian orientation, whatever the regime prevailing in that largest of all Slav-inhabited areas. Since the establishment of the Soviet regime and Russia's reorganization as a federation of many nationalities and races, all equal in status, Russia has exercised in addition a strong power of attraction over many non-European peoples who see in the Soviet Union a protagonist of racial equality, and over those countries and groups which tend toward socialism.

This circumstance has rendered American-Soviet friendship especially valuable. In promoting this friendship, we would ensure a lasting understanding among all those nations of the West which share many of our ideals and those peoples, and groups within peoples, which look to Russia as their

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OUR STAKES IN SOVIET FRIENDSHIP

(*Continued from page* 10)

example. An understanding between these two groups would in effect unite in harmony all major parts of mankind.

This very same circumstance would also render particularly dangerous the absence of American-Russian friendship. It might promote the division of mankind into rival blocks led by rival Great Powers. It might gradually result into the division of all of humanity into two immense blocks distrustful of one another. And it might tempt imperialistic groups in Germany and Japan to try once more to gain domination over large parts of the world.

5. In the past, the United States and Russia, despite the profound difference which always existed between their forms of government, have mostly stood for the same objectives in the field of international relations. Both of them tried to ensure the freedom of the seas at all times, both of them tried to maintain the integrity of China, both of them tried to circumscribe the laws of war, and, later, to outlaw war itself. In the Northern Pacific, where the two countries are near neighbors, relations between them were smooth at all times, and, alone of all European Great Powers, Russia has voluntarily withdrawn from the Western hemisphere, selling Alaska to the United States.

Economically, too, the United States and Russia are singularly well attuned. Both rely in the main on their internal supplies and on their internal markets. Neither had to engage in cut-throat competition for foreign raw materials or for foreign export-outlets. Now that Russia has become one of the strongest industrial nations of the world, it is especially important that we maintain mutually an attitude of political and economic goodwill and do not embark on a policy of competition, dangerous to both countries.

6. The issue of our relations with the Soviet Union is often obscured by the fact that our political regimes and our economic philosophies are widely different.

It is fallacious to think, and no compliment to us, that our form of society is best assured by keeping aloof from Russia and is endangered by friendship with her. The strength and orderly progress of our American society are best assured by a wise and forward-looking management of our own affairs, not by this or that twist of our foreign policy. In so far as foreign policy enters into the picture at all, it affects our internal development mainly by reason of the beneficial influence which a lengthy period of peace, of extended and equal international trade, and of a reduced armaments burden, would have upon our society; and by reason of the dangers which a lengthy period of insecurity, of trade war, and of militarization would carry for our democratic society. In this sense, friendship for Russia would make for greater, not for less security, of a free America.

But even in the restricted field of propaganda, there seems to lie greater promise in friendship than in discord or sullenness: should our relations with the Soviet Union develop in the direction of greater friendliness, it would be relatively easy to agree on mutual non-interference with our respective forms of government and underlying philosophies. Hostility, on the other hand, would inevitably stimulate efforts on both sides to undermine the structure of government in the rival countries.

We Must Live with SOVIET RUSSIA

by Irving Brant

THE first need in framing American policy toward Soviet Russia is to recognize the simple fact that after this war Russia will occupy as dominant a position as a land power in Europe, as the United States does in North America. If they choose to do so the Soviets will be able to conquer and annex other European countries as easily as we could conquer and annex Canada and Mexico. Any attempt to make this impossible would merely compel Russia to take forcible possession of other parts of Europe, just as foreign military intervention to keep the United States out of Canada and Mexico would compel us to move in.

Once this fundamental truth is realized it will be seen that those who believe the Soviet Union desires to live in peace with the rest of the world, and those who fear what the Russians will do with their new strength, should support exactly the same policy. Both should oppose the setting up of a cordon of anti-Soviet states across Europe. Both should avoid fostering the fascist, and therefore anti-Soviet, states in the rest of Europe. Both, in studying Russian foreign policy, should refrain from applying standards which are not applied to other countries.

It is almost universally recognized, now, that international revolutionary communism disappeared from Russian policy with Stalin's defeat of Trotsky. Since that shift in policy occurred while the Soviet Union was weak it might conceivably be revived now that the Soviet Union is strong. But there is another development—the revival of Russian nationalism—which is basic and enduring. Therefore any inclination Russia may have to extend communism will be subordinate to national interests. It follows that the nationalist aspect of Russian policy should offer the most reliable index to the Soviet attitude toward revolutionary movements in other countries and toward territorial expansion and postwar settlements.

Russian foreign policy from 1928 (the first year of Stalin's full ascendancy) to the nazi attack in 1941 was designed to build up the country's defensive position. General measures were tried first—collective security through the League of Nations, and international disarmament. Then came an attempt at treaties of alliance against nazi Germany and finally a pact with Hitler, under cover of which the Soviets seized territory useful only as military bases against Germany. This last action, which aroused bitter indignation in the United States at the time, is now looked upon more tolerantly since it enabled the Red Army to hold Leningrad and consequently saved Moscow and prevented a retreat to the Urals which would have thrown the brunt of the war upon Great Britain and the United States. However, the benefit of that policy to us does not prove that all Russian territorial policy would be beneficial. Indications and expressions of Russian policy should always be tested, finally, by their effect upon Russia. With that in mind let us consider declarations of policy.

All of the territory Russia took in 1939, under cover of the pact with Hitler, was formerly within the czarist empire—except for northern Bukovina and Rumania, and a portion of the old Austrian Galicia. All of it has been incorporated into the Soviet Union by law or treaty and is now considered part of Russia. The declared policy of Russia is not to give up these annexed territories and not to annex anything more. Again and again, since the nazi invasion began, Stalin has disclaimed annexations. On November 6, 1941 he said:

> We have not nor can we have such war aims as the seizure of foreign tefritories or the conquest of other peoples, irrespective of whether European peo-

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ples and territories or Asiatic peoples and territories, including Iran, are concerned.

We have not nor can we have such war aims as the imposition of our will and our regime on the Slavic and other enslaved peoples of Europe who are waiting for our help. Our aim is to help these peoples in their struggle for liberation from Hitler's tyranny, and then to accord them the possibility of arranging their lives on their own land as they see fit, with absolute freedom. No interference of any kind with the domestic affairs of other nations.

More important was a passage in that same speech in which he denied that the German National Socialists were either nationalists or socialists:

> Actually the Hitlerites are not nationalists, but imperialists. When the Hitlerites engaged in gathering German lands and reuniting the Rhineland, Austria, etc., there existed certain grounds for considering them nationalists. But after they seized foreign territories and enslaved European nations—the Czechs, Slovaks, Poles . . . etc.—and began to strike for world domination, the Hitlerite party ceased to be a nationalist party. It became an imperialist party—a party of plunderers and oppressors.

If Stalin regards the reuniting of German lands as nationalism, and denounces the absorption of non-German land as imperialism, a logical inference can be drawn as to Russian territorial policy. It sanctions only the reclaiming of Russian territory or of Soviet nationalities. Stalin's continual detailed listing of the Soviet nationalities to be liberated points to a rounding out of what Russians call the "multi-national state"—which is substantially the old Russian empire minus Poles and Finns and plus certain Ukrainian districts.

Aside from Russians, Stalin has named Ukrainians, Byelorussians, Lithuanians, Letts, Estonians, Karelians and Moldavians as "our brothers" who are to be liberated from "the German-Fascist scoundrels." The promise to liberate Moldavians might cover territorial ambitions in the Rumanian province of Moldavia; but it applies logically to Bessarabia, and to the little Moldavian Soviet Socialist Republic which was carved out of the Ukraine in 1925 to serve as a nucleus for a claim to the return of Bessarabia. The Karelians are a Finnish tribe living on both sides of the pre-1940 Russo-Finnish frontier. At times, anyway, the Russians have seemed to regard them as trading material for peace with Finland.

A Russian intention to round out the multi-national state, rather than the larger czarist empire, seems implicit in the fact that the Red Army's 1939 invasion of Poland stopped at the "Curzon Line" of 1919—that is, at the line selected by an international boundary commission of the Paris peace conference to mark the frontier between Poland and the Soviet Union.

However displeasing Russian territorial policy may be to Poland, Finland or Rumania there is no menace in it to the rest of the world if annexations do not go beyond the limits of the old Russian Empire. One extension beyond it—Northern Bukovina—points in general to a moderate course. This province was taken by the Soviets in 1939 to give Russia a frontier touching the Carpatho-Ukraine, which Hungary had seized from Czechoslovakia earlier in that year. The Russian promise to support the return of the Carpatho-Ukraine to Czechoslovakia (instead of using it to complete the reunion of Ukrainians in the Soviet Union) indicates that the Soviets desire a common frontier with Czechoslovakia for military liaison rather than one with Hungary for military pressure or communist infiltration. Some Hungarian conservatives would prefer a common frontier with Russia as a protection against Czech nationalism.

Russian aggression outside the empire is most likely if the United States and Great Britain—which have renounced any idea of building a cordon sanitaire against the Soviets—create the false impression of building one by supporting safe, sane, orderly, fascist, feudalistic (and therefore anti-Soviet) governments in European countries redeemed from Hitlerite control. This policy, toward which our State Department seems to lean because of its fear of democratic revolutions, might produce results similar to Russian aggression by driving Central Europe and the Balkans into communism.

Communist governments may of course be set up without Russian aid or encouragement. If that occurs it occurs. Our concern

is whether Russia does or does not promote such a development. The only certainty in that regard is that the Russian course will be based primarily on national security and welfare rather than on communist ideology. The visible signs in the field of Russian national self-interest are against communist revolutions in general. Russia needs a long period of peace, which can be assured only through cooperation with Great Britain and the United States. She needs the American machine-tool industry to rebuild and extend the Soviet industrial system. She needs an active international trade to raise the standard of living above the level of autarchic isolation. It is hard to conceive of these advantages being sacrificed to promote revolutions—when all of the political gains from those revolutions are likely to be placed in Russia's lap without them.

The one country in which the U. S. S. R. might see important gains in a communist regime is Bulgaria. Bulgarian entry into the Soviet Union would consolidate Russian control of the Black Sea and put Russian military power so near the Dardanelles and Salonika that the political and military effects would be much the same as from actual Russian possession. Much the same result, however, will come anyway, merely from Russia's preponderant position on the European Continent and from the development of its Black Sea naval power.

It is extremely doubtful whether Soviet Russia desires a communist government in Germany. Russian policy demands that Germany be weak. As the Russians see it, a communist Germany would be strong; a democratic capitalistic Germany less so. Being still a have-not nation, Germany under communism would retain all present economic incentives for territorial aggression—with no assurance that Russia would be outside its scheme of conquest. This may explain why the German freedom committee in Moscow and the Polish group for which Wanda Wasilevska is spokesman have purely capitalistic programs.

Finally, in considering tendencies in Russia, we should take note that basic conditions point to the spread of democracy in the Soviet Union. Russia's military power is based partially on high morale in the people. This appears to stem from love of the land, loyalty to the Soviet system and the tolerance of national cultures embraced in the concept of the multi-national state. Not all of the people feel all of these loyalties, and it is impossibe to say who feels which, but there is no question about the national unity produced by them. Along with this high morale, and entering into it, is a strong feeling of human dignity among Russians. They both feel it and talk about it—which no doubt is a reflection of the immaturity of the feeling, but it is real and pervasive. Putting all these factors together it is possible to foresee the continued development of Soviet Russia as a strong military nation, though not necessarily a warlike one, and to expect a gradual translation of the dignity of citizenship into the political rights of citizens. The new Russian constitution, building Soviet on top of Soviet, will not produce a democracy as we know it in the United States, with a national government closely bound to the immediate will of the people. Yet the Russian people are not likely to accept anything less—in the long run—than the American people enjoy in the way of civil liberty. To the extent that the Russian people rule national policy now it is in the direction of peace and friendship with the rest of the world—outside of Germany. The consuming hatred felt for those who have devastated western Russia cannot be overlooked as a factor in Soviet policy.

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EDITORIAL COMMENT

MR. BRANT'S arguments seem very pertinent; but we still believe that, provided a system of collective security is established, Soviet Russia would accept any solution regarding contested areas that is arrived at by arbitration or by free and internationally supervised plebiscites.

We in FREE WORLD do not believe that the coming peace can be made more secure by halfhearted concessions which are not based on a complete reorientation of the whole concept of international policy. We are convinced that once the United Nations are transformed into an effective world organization the problems mentioned by Mr. Brant and others can be solved perfectly well in conformity with the will of the peoples involved.

THE MORAL FOUNDATIONS OF THE USSR

by **HEWLETT JOHNSON**

Dean of Canterbury

RUSSIA within two decades has become a major power of the world. Her military strength places Russia without challenge in the premier place. Whilst Britain and America can attest to the fighting qualities of some half dozen German divisions in Italy, Russia confronts and with hammer blows drives back 212 German divisions aided by another score provided by her satellites. This is a colossal and outstanding achievement. But there is more to it than that. Russia's strength on the field of battle is due to her strength in the factory and the school. Russia stands now in the front ranks alike as an industrial power and as a cultural power.

When Kalinin stated last autumn that despite her losses due to the invasion of the Ukraine and the Caucasus, the loss of a third of her population, a third of her wheat and far more than a third of her coal, iron and steel supplies, Russia was turning out more war material than when Germany first launched her assault, many doubted the accuracy of his word. Stalingrad was the answer to their doubts and the present forward surge along a 700-mile front with its colossal demands on war supplies and war equipment, demands far in excess of any assistance we and the USA have been able to give, prove their complete vindication.

If Russia's industrial achievement is miraculous so too is the cultural achievement which has abolished illiteracy from a sixth of the world inhabited but yesterday by an illiterate peasantry and by 193 nationalities, some of whom, especially in the East, were little advanced from barbarism or the darkness of the Middle Ages.

The peace of the world obviously depends on a proper understanding between the USSR, the United States and Great Britain, the more so when we consider Russia's central position on the great Asiatic world island which give it continuous land communications with China, India and Western Europe. Its position on the Pacific gives it close proximity to the United States. And the illimitable Soviet natural resources and vast and rapidly growing population, add to that importance.

But there is more even than that to be said. Not only on prudential grounds but also on moral grounds should Russia be welcomed as a friend and as a major potential contributor to the future well-being of the world. For, and it can never be too heavily underlined, Russia's strength, military, industrial and cultural, rests on deeply based moral foundations. The Russian Revolution was at heart a moral revolution and that moral factor demands recognition. Russia has moralized the industrial machine and has thereby proved herself a fitting and valuable partner to Britain who first fashioned it, and the United States which has completed its perfection.

For these small islands of Great Britain, with a thousand years of internal peace, were pioneers in producing that machine which transfers the burden from the back of man to the back of steel, and harnessing the power of the sun, gives potentially a dozen tireless mechanical slaves to each individual in the world. The United States with masterly methods improved and perfected the industrial productive machine.

Then came Russia's contribution. It was a moral contribution. Russia moralized the industrial machine, asking the fundamental question: "For what *purpose* should things be made?" She gives the scientific, moral and Christian answer — for service not profit. We desire she says to maximize production in order to give to every individual of every race the maximum of well-being; the right to work with never any unemployment; the right to adequate pay for work; the right to rest and leisure after work, with the world's shortest working day; the right to education for all nationalities; the right to health and to full security in sickness, incapacity and old age. With collective ownership of land, mineral sources of power and productive machinery and with a planned economy, Russia progressively makes real those rights.

The foundations of the Soviet Union are moral. Every religious man should welcome her friendship. With her growing strength Russia's liberties expand. Especially is this true of religious liberties and recognitions. Much nonsense has been talked about Russia's religious persecutions. The new Patriarch himself acknowledges that never since 1917 has he been hindered in worship by the Soviet Government. He protests against the many stories of slain bishops.

The positive religious liberties possessed are far from inconsiderable. The Soviet Government does not interfere with the convictions of believers or meddle in the private affairs of religious bodies. In 30,000 religious communities worship is practiced and ceremonies observed without hindrance. Premises are provided free of charge or tax when demanded by a small number of worshippers. The clergy enjoy full rights with other citizens and each nationality may perform ceremonies in its own language, a privilege denied in tsarist days. And if religious propaganda is still disallowed, it is a rule not strictly enforced and presses less hardly upon a church which has always emphasized worship with a less

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emphasis on doctrine preaching and teaching.

Now come several signs of expanding liberties following in the wake of increasing strength. Archbishop Nikolai of Kiev sits on one of the High State Commissions investigating German atrocities and Stalin openly assents to the appointment of Serguis as Patriarch of all the Russias and gives state recognition of the church. Of course the church of the new patriarchate differs widely from the church which fell from power with the collapse of the tsarist regime. It is more moral in its outlook and therefore happily in harmony and sympathy with the new Soviet order.

The attitude towards the Soviet Union in religious circles in my own country has undergone a wide and salutary change. The visit of the Archbishop of York formally shows this, but less formally I think it is true to say at long last the English Church is beginning to recognize the true worth of the Soviet system in its economic and social morality. This is the fundamental thing and that is what rejoices my heart and uplifts my spirit for I believe the new Soviet system indicates the path and opens the gateway through which struggling, toiling humanity may find the kingdom of God on earth. Perhaps in the future on this new plane a new regenerate humanity may be reborn.

COMMENT BY PRAVDA

The friendly comment by the Soviet newspaper Pravda on our Senate's adoption of the Connally resolution for post-war cooperation is another sign of the steady improvement in the relations between Russia and this country and, as such should be welcomed warmly. Pravda rightly calls this action "undoubtedly an important milestone in the history of the international policy of the United States." It believes that the American people, "on their own historical experience, have convinced themselves that isolation is a reactionary policy, advantageous to aggressors only and harmful to the national interests of the United States." We agree with this appraisal.

We don't agree, however, with Pravda's further observation that the most reactionary group in the United States, in matters of pre-war foreign policy, was the Republican party, which Pravda thinks must bear responsibility for "the insufficient preparedness of the United States" and "for the sacrifice, casualties and losses the American people suffered at the war's beginning as a result of the country's unpreparedness." There was another party, about which Pravda has forgotten.

In the summer of 1940, after Hitler had attacked France, the Republican party demanded a tremendous increase in American armaments and nominated as its candidate for President a man who favored the strongest possible aid to Britain. But in the same summer of 1940, another political party in the United States adopted a national platform which declared: "Not a cent, not a gun, not a man for war preparations. * * * No aid to the imperialist war makers in London. * * * Oppose all war loans and credits to the warring imperialist Powers. Stop the sale and shipment of munitions and armaments. * * * Resist the militarization and armaments program of the Administration and Congress. * * * Combat the imperialist policies and acts of the President."

That party was the Communist party of the United States.

This is a clipping from page 26 of the New York Times for Nov. 30, 1943
Clipped at the Seat of Government.

UNRRA COMPLETES RELIEF MACHINERY

Council, at Plenary Session, Makes Last-Minute Changes Proposed by Russians

REPATRIATION POINT WON

No Priorities Set Up for the Return Home of Displaced Victims of the Nazis

By RUSSELL B. PORTER

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

ATLANTIC CITY, N. J., Nov. 29—The Council of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration adopted today the "final act" of its first session, embodying two last-minute changes proposed by the Russian delegation on priorities—first on UNRRA food and other relief supplies, and second, for the repatriation of Allied nationals displaced from their homes by the war and scattered throughout their own or other enemy-occupied countries.

Under key resolutions contained in the "final act," to insure a fair distribution of supplies, Director General Herbert H. Lehman is directed to "pay due regard to the degree of urgency in particular relief and rehabilitation requirements and to the extent of damage suffered by member governments in a part or the whole of their respective areas as a result of hostilities or of occupation by the enemy."

This new directive follows paragraphs in which the Director General is authorized to deal with the Allied Combined Boards at Washington that exercise wartime control over 95 per cent of the strategic supplies of the non-Axis world, in arranging for the allocation of relief supplies among the areas liberated from the enemy.

Priority for Russia

According to the Russian amendment as adopted, the Director General must give priority to Russia and other countries that have been the greatest victims of the war, in any part of their territory, when he determines what recommendations to make to the combined boards for the release of supplies. The United States and Great Britain, as the world's great supplying nations, are the only members of the combined boards except for the one on food, of which Canada also is a member.

The amendment on repatriation represented a compromise, as predicted last night, on the original Russian motion to establish high priorities for the return home of those displaced persons who are found in enemy country and lower priorities for those who have been transferred from one place to another within their own country.

After this proposal failed at a committee meeting the Russians took a reservation that permitted them to bring it up again before the entire Council of representatives of the forty-four UNRRA nations. This was done after the proposals had been rewritten in a conference attended by the Russians and by Dr. T. F. Tsiang, chief of the Chinese delegation and chairman of the committee involved, and by Sir George Rendel of the British delegation, "rapporteur" of the subcommittee that had drafted the original language.

Before its amendment, the resolution said the classes of persons to be repatriated should be "in the first instance" those mentioned in a list of seven categories published in the subcommittee report.

Consultation Is Provided

As amended, the resolution omitted the words "in the first instance," and added a recommendation by the council that member governments "consult" with the Director General for the purpose of carrying out repatriation measures.

It is understood that the Russians contended that if the words "in the first instance" were kept in the resolution, a definite system of priorities should be set up to guarantee that UNRRA would give them any needed help to get back Russian prisoners of war and soldiers and civilians forced into slave labor by the Nazis before it extended aid for the home-going of persons transferred by the Nazis from one place to another within a given country.

Lower priorities would have gone, among others, to Poles whom the Germans have moved from Warsaw to Vilna, for example, and the 800,000 remaining out of the 3,500,000 Polish Jewish population who have been taken out of their homes and sent to Nazi ghettos and concentration camps.

The Russians agreed to the compromise, it is understood, partly on the ground that the deletion of the words "in the first instance" made a specific priority system unnecessary, inasmuch as they are said to have feared the words in question might be interpreted as making possible the adoption of priorities unfavorable to them.

Addition of the recommendations that member governments consult with the Director General about his repatriation measures was interpreted as strengthening the Russian position in that it would give them, and other governments involved, more power in helping frame whatever policies on repatriation priorities may be determined later. Hitherto this had been left to the discretion of the Director General.

Called Political Question

It was explained authoritatively tonight that priorities for repatriation is a political problem for each of the governments concerned, and that UNRRA, being a relief and not a political organization, has no authority to deal with political questions.

The original resolution did not make it clear enough, it was added, that each government that receives its displaced persons back should decide upon the order in which it takes back the various categories of people involved.

With respect to the amendment on supply priorities, it was said authoritatively this would strengthen the Director General's hand by enabling him to step right in without delay with free relief in the cases of people who cannot pay for

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UNRRA goods, or with goods to be paid for by th others, in cases covered by the amendment.

A third amendment incorporated into the final act was a Yugoslav proposal that strengthened a former amendment of that country by providing that the Council shall hold an early meeting to plan for the removal of Nazi sand other enemy nationals who have settled in the homes of Allied refugees and for the restoration of this property to its rightful owners.

These and other resolutions adopted by the council constituted official ratification of the work of the Atlantic City conference, which began Nov. 10, after the signing of the UNRRA agreement or "constitution" by the representatives of the forty-four participating nations at the White House. The resolutions, including amendments, were approved unanimously.

Now Permanently Organized

UNRRA is now permanently organized and will swing into action tomorrow with meetings of the four principal standing committees —the committees on supplies and on finnacial control, and the regional committees for Europe and the Ear East. There will be a public plenary session of the council Wednesday at which Mr. Lehman and others will make addresses announcing formally what was done today and explaining its significance.

Mr. Lehman, formerly Governor of New York, is now an international public servant, and has been invested with extensive authority to carry out today's resolutions.

The forty-one resolutions constitute the policy-making decisions of the Council and make up a seventy-seven page document. Except for the amendments mentioned above, the gist of all the important resolutions has been published in day-to-day press reports.

The principal decision was to adopt a financial plan that calls for a "world's community chest" of two to two and one-half billion dollars, for the entire relief period, estimated as not more than two years, to be made up by quotas assigned to the uninvaded member governments on the basis of 1 per cent of national income for the fiscal year ended June 30, 1943. The United States quota is $1,356,000,000, of which $4,000,000 is our share of the estimated $10,000,000 administrative costs for the next year.

Limit Placed on Scope

Another important act was to limit the scope of UNRRA to strictly relief and rehabilitation measures, and draw a distinct line between them and long-range economic reconstruction. Nations that have fold and foreign exchange, such as the comparatively "rich" countries of Western Europe such as France, Belgium, The Netherlands and Norway, will have to pay for relief supplies instead of reserving all their resources for permanent reconstruction, and will not be allowed to buy up foodstuffs in short supplies that are needed for immediate relief by the "poorer" countries of Eastern Europe.

The Combined Boards will have the final say on the allocation of supplies, so there can be no possible UNRRA interference with the paramount United Nations aim of winning the war, but the Director General will have the right to consult with the combined boards in such a way as to protect the interests of UNRRA and the fair distribution of supplies among the various nations and among different population groups in a given country.

In three different committees action was taken to insure that distribution of supplies should be handled without any discrimination as to race, creed or political beliefs, and that UNRRA food should not be used by any govenrment as a political weapon to maintain itself in power.

Sovereign rights of both contributing and receiving nations have been protected by clauses that make quotas assigned to each donor country subject to constitutional ratification where necessary, and that give the others the right to handle the distriubtion of relief goods in their own countries when they have the facilities to do so, and to buy goods outside of UNRRA if they have the funds t do so, subject of course to UNRRA supervision. Although UNRRA, not being a super-government, cannot force any country to distribute food equitably or to refrain from buying goods that poorer countries need, it has the persuasive power of the control of the purse and consultation in the allocation of food supplies.

Russians Collaborate Fully

One of the big questions before the conference opened was what the Russians' attitude would be. Would they participate wholeheartedly in this first test of United Nations cooperation on a specific post-war problem?

Today's news on the Russian amendments on priorities indicated an affirmative answer. Apparently the Russians have been doing their share of work around the conference table in the closed committee meetings, taking an active and important part in the give-and-take of international collaboration and treating the conference with great seriousness, contrary to the impression received in some quarters early in the game. There had been reports from some meetings that the Russians were just sitting back and doing nothing, which led some to think their participation was merely a gesture.

However, they have been showing progressively increased interest in the proceedings, have declared their belief in the "vital importance" of UNRRA to the welfare of the people of the world, and have advocated full United Nations cooperation for the sake of future peace and collective security.

Moreover, the Russians have shared in the general disposition to reconcile differences of opinion and not to hold out stubbornly for their exact "rights," regardless of the rights of others. They have been willing to accept realistic compromises when their original proposals have not been supported, and all in all have made a very good impression.

Pravda Sees Senate Foreign Policy Shift

(By Wireless to Inter-Continent News)

MOSCOW, Nov. 29.—Characterizing the recent Senate and House actions on foreign policy as evidence of a basic change in American political thinking, the Soviet publicist, J. Khavinson, writing in Pravda, stresses the fact that the reactionary Republicans and their anti-Administration friends in the Democratic Party have not given up the hope of blocking American participation in world affairs at some future time.

On Nov. 5, three days after the publication of the declaration by the governments of the USA, Great Britain, the Soviet Union and China on universal security, the American Senate approved the Connally Resolution, Khavinson begins.

The Senate's decision culminated a long discussion by the American Congress on very important and fundamental questions of the foreign policy of the USA and acquires a special significance in the light of the struggle developed in the USA in the course and after the war of 1914-18.

The long struggle between the President and his opponents ended in the President's defeat. In January of 1920, the Senate adopted a decision which actually meant the United States' refusal to participate in the League of Nations.

This decision determined the basic lines of American foreign policy in the post-war years, as a non-participant in European affairs.

In the post-war years, too, the Republican Party remained the principal bulwark of American isolationism. Nevertheless, in subsequent years, the policy of isolationism was actively pursued also by many prominent and influential Democrats.

WHAT PRICE ISOLATIONIST

The last two decades fully and exhaustively revealed the real essence of an isolationist policy. This was a policy of so-called appeasement for the aggressors; a policy for their constant encouragement and direct support.

If the beginning of the war found the U.S.A. inadequately prepared, the responsibility for this unpreparedness rests largely on the isolationists and their advocates among the Republican and Democratic parties.

They were chiefly responsible for the sacrifices and losses of the

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Pravda Sees Senate Foreign Policy Shift

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American people at the beginning of the war: a result of unpreparedness.

Some reactionary circles with influence not only among the Republicans but also among the Democrats tried to utilize the Congress discussion on important problems of foreign policy for the purpose of sharpening the internal political struggle in the U.S.A. and to achieve a repetition of the developments of 1920.

In this they counted, and are still counting, on the fact that both the Democrats and Republicans have already entered the presidential election campaign of 1944.

Nevertheless, the discussion of the Fulbright Resolution in the House and the Connally Resolution in the Senate revealed with sufficient clarity that the hopes of these reactionary circles met with failure.

Serious changes were taking place in wide American public circles that predetermined the definite results of the voting for the Fulbright decision in the House and the Connally Resolution in the Senate.

TRADITIONAL POLICY

The support of the Republican Senators for the Connally Resolution is one of the symptoms of the Republican revision of their position on the questions of foreign policy and the departure from the traditional policy of isolationism.

This reorientation had been formulated in the resolution in the so-called "consultative committee" of the Republican Party which met in Sept., 1943 in Michigan (the Mackinac resolution).

Inside the Republican Party there is a struggle in progress between the supporters of Wendell Willkie, who clearly oppose isolationism and those supporters of an isolationist policy, who, taking into account the changed situation are trying to adapt themselves, outwardly, without, however, completely departing from their positions.

These elements, as some organs of the press note, consider themselves obliged to compromise with their opponents within the Republican Party, solely because of the considerations connected with the election campaign.

This therefore means that a change in the foreign policy position of this section of the Republicans is merely a matter of tactics and not of principle.

And with the change in the present situation, they, as well as some elements among the Democrats will again insist on a return to the former or a slightly revised isolationist policy. The resolution adopted by the consultative committee of the Republican Party clearly bears the marks of a compromise.

Nevertheless, it favor American participation in a post-war international organization, strongly insisting, however, that it is impossible at present to formulate concrete obligations proceeding from this aim. It is also necessary, says the Republican resolution to "adhere to constitutional principles" in defining the principal features of the U. S. A.'s policy and the "methods of submitting international obligations."

The strong stress on the necessity to observe "constitutional principles" is apparently aimed at satisfying those isolationist elements who are insisting that international acts being embodied in the agreements be subjected to the ratification by the Senate. They hope that in the future, during consideration by the Senate of such acts, they will succeed in having their line accepted.

Nevertheless, despite all these facts, there is a definite change in the foreign policy of the platform of the Republican Party which influenced the attitude of the Republicans in Congress.

The Senate decision, unquestionably, is an important landmark in the history of the foreign policy of the U. S. A. It strengthens the international position of the U. S. A. and will facilitate a greater collaboration between the U. S. A. and its Allies in bringing the war to a victorious conclusion and also in ensuring peace and security after the war.

U. S. UNITY POLICY HAILED BY PRAVDA

Soviet Paper Says Isolationists Must Bear Responsibility for Early Casualties

By Cable to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

MOSCOW, Nov. 28—The Soviet Union regards the United States Senate's adoption of the Connally resolution for post-war cooperation as "undoubtedly an important milestone in the history of the international policy of the United States" that will aid "still greater collaboration between the United States and the Allies in bringing the war to a victorious end and insuring peace and security after the conclusion of the war."

This is the keynote of a long article in today's Pravda, the Communist party newspaper, by J. K. Khavinson, former director general of Tass, Russian news agency. His article greets the Senate's declaration enthusiastically and applauds cautiously "a definite change in the foreign policy platform of the Republican party." He warns that the former predominant isolationist elements of the Republican party made a change only of "tactical character," which is attributable to "considerations connected with the 1944 Presidential campaign."

Mr. Khavinson sharply attacks Republican isolationists and influential Democrats following the same line between wars who he said "screened themselves by slogans of nonparticipation in European affairs" while carrying out by all possible ways a policy of "appeasement and continued encouragement and direct support of the aggressors."

Lays Losses to Group

Pravda asserts this group must bear responsibility for the insufficient preparedness of the United States at the time the war started and "for the sacrifices, casualties and losses the American people suffered at the war's beginning as a result of the country's unpreparedness.

These losses, the article continued, revealed to the American people "the essence of isolationism" and helped bring about the downfall of its supporters.

"The American people on their own historical experience have convinced themselves that isolationism is a reactionary policy, advantageous to aggressors only and harmful to the national interests of the United States," Pravda said.

Discussing the inner political situation of the United States, Pravda recounts the fight within the Republican party between the Willkie supporters and the isolationists, which led to the adoption of the Mackinac foreign policy resolution, which Pravda says "bears obvious traces of compromise." But Pravda regards it as most important.

The resolution supports United States participation in a post-war world organization. The isolationists held out for a declaration for Senate ratification of the peace treaty, according to Pravda, in the hope that American public opinion would swing toward isolationism again.

Old Relations Are Studied

It is interesting and significant also that the Moscow News, the English language semi-weekly edited by Michael Borodin, publishes today a three-quarter column discussion of the fact that Soviet historians are throwing "new light" on Russian-American relations in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries through study of hitherto little-used archives. The paper says that prominent among the topics engaging attention are Russian-American relations during the American Revolution, in the period when the Monroe Doctrine was proclaimed and during the Civil War.

Few details are given, but it is said the arrival of a Russian naval squadron headed by Admiral Popoff off San Francisco during the Civil War saved the city from a shelling by Confederate vessels.

It is said that in a statement to the press at that time Admiral Popoff "declared that although his squadron had not been sent there to interfere in the war, purely from his love of man he could not permit the shelling of a defenseless city and its peaceful inhabitants."

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COMMUNISTS BIG FACTOR IN EUROPE UNDERGROUND

Red Organizations Plan an Important Part in Resistance to Germans In Occupied Territories

CASE OF YUGO-SLAV PARTISANS

By EDWIN L. JAMES

A most interesting aspect of the development of underground activities in occupied European countries is the large role being played by Communist organizations in most of the territory under German domination. There is evidence that the part of the Communists in many over-run countries is larger than their ordinary strength in certain countries. This is judged to be a reflection of the widespread organization which they had and maintained in a number of the countries seized by the Germans. It is evidence that the underground in Europe has been intensively and effectively served by the Reds.

The extent to which this Communist activity against the Germans is being directed from Moscow is not easy to estimate. Unquestionably, in some cases there is direct communication with the Russian capital; in other cases it is not so sure, but in no case can the possibility be entirely excluded.

It is not possible to allocate the Communist activities precisely in a general plan. In some cases they appear to be working with refugee governments; such may be said to be the case in France and in Czechoslovakia. In other cases this is not true, as in Poland and Greece. But this appears to be general: namely, that in most of the occupied countries the Communists will have a force to be reckoned with when liberation comes. Nor can it be successfully contended that they will not, by all political rules, be entitled to that consideration.

The Case of France

Much attention was given to the action of General de Gaulle when last year he made a deal with Moscow. He was widely criticized in many quarters. But the action of de Gaulle represented no overnight whim. He took his action because the Communists in France were an important part of the underground which was backing him.

There have been estimates that the Communists numbered as many as 50 per cent of the active members of the French underground. This is disputed in Free French quarters, who think the Communists number 30 to 40 per cent of the French underground. At any rate they are a considerable factor.

That this is true is shown by the influence of the Communists at Algiers in the dealings of the French National Committee of Liberation. Along with representatives of other factions of the old Front Populaire, the Communists are on hand in force. They have their power on the Committee and de Gaulle is now negotiating with them for one or more places in his provisional government. Maurice Torres, and André Marty, French Communist leaders, have shown up in Algiers. It is a matter of record that both of them were in Moscow not so long ago.

In France, as elsewhere, it is probable that the cell organizations of the Communists were particularly serviceable in the organization of an underground. People who had been obliged to work largely under cover naturally fit into an underground movement. It is intriguing to hear it reported that in the underground the Communists have frequently opposed open rebellion to the Germans in France, apparently on the ground that less open work brings good results with less cost in reprisals and executions.

Yugoslav Partisans

The most-publicized Communist-directed action in the struggle of occupied countries against the Nazi invaders has been the campaign of the Partisans in Yugoslavia. Here General Tito was a leader in the anti-Franco struggle in Spain. Two of his chief assistants played similar roles. More than a year ago Moscow suddenly inspired a campaign against General Mikhailovitch, accusing him of conniving with the Germans, and at the same time began to extol the Partisans.

While the Partisans, who have

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been fighting bravely, have certain aid from other United Nations, there seems no doubt that their leaders are constantly in close touch with Russia. The wireless station, which nightly sends out Tito's communiqués, is located in Tiflis, on Russian soil. Although Russia is not able to send supplies to Tito, it is reasonable to suppose that he is getting guidance and advice.

Likewise, in Greece the Communists have a considerable role in the guerrilla warfare and some of the clashes of the Greek factions recently are believed to have been caused, at least in part, by differences caused by the Communists.

In Other Countries

It is reliably reported that in Belgium and in the Netherlands the Communists are serving the cause of the underground. Furthermore, it is likely that the best vestige of an underground movement in Germany is represented by the Reds.

The case of Poland is peculiarly complicated. Moscow has had difficulties with the refugee Polish Government in London. At the same time, it is in touch with Communist elements in Poland who are working against the Germans. There is in existence in Moscow a Polish Committee, which is certainly working for Russia ends.

In Czechoslovakia it is different. Moscow is on good terms with Benes and is engineering permanent relations with him. The Communists in Bohemia are therefore working in harmony with the refugee Government.

In Italy there is a working Communist organization which seems for the present to be biding its time, so far as political action is concerned. It might have been expected that the Italian Communists would be among the first to demand that the King step down. But it has not worked out that way. The reasons are not clear at all.

It is therefore plain that in practically all of the countries of Europe the Communist organizations have been kept intact and are working busily in the underground movement against the Germans.

The Political Meaning?

Whether the Communists in their underground work are doing a nationalist job in the various countries, for patriotic reasons, or whether they are doing an internationalist job must remain to be seen. The Comintern has been dissolved.

Put another way, will the influence Stalin has through the activity of the Communists in the occupied countries be used to aid the national interests of each country or will it be used for an international purpose? Perhaps the question might better be asked whether this Communist force will be used to get a greater degree of power in the reorganized governments as a domestic proposition or will it be knit together to boost the influence of Russia in those countries?

Take the case of Yugoslavia. Mikhailovitch is fighting for the King. The Partisans are against the King. Moscow favors the Partisans. What will be the line-up when the war is over?

One thing is true: when the United Nations armies get into the countries now held by the Germans they are going to find the Communists yielding a strength that will be influential. They will also find that the Communists have in many cases done work against the common enemy. In France they will find that the Reds did what they could against Vichy. If they land on the Adriatic coast in Yugoslavia they will find that Tito made the job easier. If Germany revolts against Hitler, they will find the Communists were probably in the vanguard.

It is, therefore, a problem which will confront the leaders of the Allies. If, as Secretary Hull said in his report to Congress on the Moscow meetings, spheres of influence will be out of style in the postwar regime being planned, the situation may be less difficult. But, one way or the other, the European Communists may be expected to try to cash in for the work they are doing and have been doing against the invaders of their countries. Even if anyone wished to do it, they will not be lightly brushed aside.

C. P. Leader Calls for Army of One Million

By Maurice Thorez

(Published in Pravda)

(By Wireless to Inter-Continent News)

MOSCOW, Nov. 26.—The reorganization of the French Committee of National Liberation represents a step forward in strengthening national unity, a new step forward in the liberation and revival of France.

Time does not wait. There is much to be done to effectively mobilize all France's resources on the territories administered by the committee so as to insure their active participation in the war against Hitler Germany.

This is especially important today when no doubt exists that the reactionary anti-national forces which surrendered France to Hitler won't cease their subversive activities, but will try to hinder in every way France's war effort against Hitlerism.

As a result of the treachery of the ruling circles hostile to the people and democracy France was plunged into the abyss of hard suffering, humiliation and was isolated from the whole world. But France began to struggle for revival by stubborn resistance to the invaders.

The Red Army's brilliant victories which lend all anti-Hitlerite forces confidence in victory at the same time raise the question of the revival of France and her place in the post-war world.

Some consider it a question of the future, thinking that at present it may serve only as the subject of discussions or of diplomatic negotiations.

We, on the contrary presume that to us Frenchmen France's revival is the cardinal urgent problem whose successful solution is directly connected with the efforts of France herself in fighting for liberation and shortening the war.

PROLONGED SACRIFICES

France is interested in the termination of the war. Every extra day under the bloody yoke of the German fascist bandits means new sacrifices, hard losses for the French people, the death of thousands of Frenchmen.

The revival of France, the restoration of her ruined economy, the preservation of the life of her people depend primarily on our own efforts in speeding the expulsion of the Hitlerite invaders from France.

The French capitulators based their calculations on the assumption that the two belligerent camps would mutually exhaust one another while they would preserve their industrial machinery intact with a relatively adequate and (most important) a docile labor power.

The Hitlerites and Marshal Petain were to rid them of the progressive elements who encroached upon their privileges. In their dreams they envisioned how after the war they would find themselves in a more favorable position as regards competition in world markets.

France paid and is still paying dearly, for this betrayal of her national interests by the "200 families." The Hitlerites appropriated the lion's share of all French enterprises. Hence the significant loss of enthusiasm for the Hitlerites among the supporters of Vichy.

And if the clearly looming prospect of Fascist Germany's defeat is taken into account an explanation may be found for a number of withdrawals from the Hitler clique, dictated by all sorts of considerations but not patriotism.

FRENCH MUST ACT

Thus, the first condition for France's revival is the speedy liberation of the country from the occupation yoke. But this condition largely depends upon ourselves.

We must recognize that today, one year after the Allied landing in North Africa, today, when the Red Army's victories have created the most favorable conditions for offensive operations in Western Europe, we Frenchmen cannot be satisfied with our own war efforts.

Of course, our soldiers courageously facilitated Allied victories in the African and Sicilian theatres of war. Of course, a handful of heroes of the Normandy Squadron covered themselves with glory in Soviet skies. But the French people expect more of their heroic sons.

The organization of a new French Army is proceeding entirely too slowly despite the presence of all necessary conditions. France can rapidly muster an army of more than a million strong, a truly national army ready to fight with arms in hand against Hitler Germany.

The French Committee of National Liberation also has the financial means to arm and equip such an army with all that is necessary. Not four of five, but dozens of French divisions can be equipped with modern armaments, tanks, cannons and planes of latest models.

Thus we can and must organize a French Army, the army of a great country which possesses all the means necessary to play a major role in the offensive operations of the Allies, rather than restrict itself to the role of an auxiliary armed force.

The organization, equipment and putting into operation of a strong French Army in the shortest time is the first condition of France's

(Continued on Page 6)

Maurice Thorez, the coal miner from the north of France who became general secretary of the great Communist Party of France, wrote this piece for the Soviet newspaper "Pravda." It's one of the only recent statements we have had from so high an authority, on the Communist attitude toward the immediate tasks of the French people.

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revival. Large scale recruitment into the national army will be ensured provided full confidence is placed in the people.

The formation of the army raises the problem of the selection and testing of forces. Lessons must be drawn from France's defeat for which grave responsibility falls upon the majority of French military leaders of that time. These generals cannot claim the right to the leadership of the French Army of today.

But the overwhelming mass of French officers have been and are honestly fulfilling their duty to the country. Many have been bravely fighting in Africa for more than two years. They must all be drawn into the new French Army. But all the supporters of Vichy, all those who preserved any contact with the Vichy clique must be ruthlessly expelled from the army.

A second condition for the revival of France is the direct struggle of the people themselves to oust the invaders. The past year witnessed a considerable strengthening of the peoples national resistance to the Hitlerite invaders and traitors.

Various patriotic groupings united in a broad national front of struggle for the liberation of France, headed by a Council of Resistance which maintains contact with the French Committee of National Liberation.

The successes of the "Franc Tireurs" movement and the guerrillas reveal the tremendous possibilities in France for a rapid, resolute development of armed struggle against the invaders.

It is possible, even imperative today, to raise the movement to a higher stage, to conduct operations with stronger detachments, to undertake coordinated operation on a considerably greater scale, especially in conditions with the Hitlerite army suffering serious defeats and enormous losses on the Soviet Front, and is increasingly deteriorating quantitatively and qualitatively.

It is precisely here that we encounter sentiments of passive expectation which General Charles De Gaulle so aptly described as a "crime against France." These moods frequently result in distrust and even fear of an armed people. The advocates of "waiting" hinder or restrict the supply of armaments to the "Franc Tireurs" and the guerrillas. In their opinion salvation must come from outside.

WEARY OF WAITING

But the French people are weary of suffering and waiting. They themselves desire to exert a major effort for their own liberation. They feel they possess the necessary forces. It is only necessary that these efforts be united, that these forces be organized and supported by the new French Army and the Allies.

Some advocates of the passive expectation policy even agree to conduct certain preparations and the organization of forces and even requirement for a so-called underground army which is to start operations only at "the decisive hour." But in the meantime it mustn't show any signs of life.

But, first, the patriots want to fight right now. Secondly, it has been proved that in wartime, armies disintegrate especially underground ones which are inactive for a long period.

The example of Corsica is quite instructive. Of course, little Corsica can not be compared to Great France. It will be far harder to drive the invaders from France than from Corsica.

But the events of Corsica, to a certain extent reflected the true sentiments of the French masses. With a total population of 250,000 the National Front of Corsica succeed in organizing and arming 15,000 guerrillas.

Corsican developments have pointed the way. Everywhere it is necessary to assume the initiative, to strike the first blow, to prepare the most favorable conditions for the landing of our soldiers and the Allied armed forces.

Corsican events also have shown the high level of discipline and organization of the "Franc Tireurs" and guerrillas, who were able to introduce a spirit of real order, supported by the entire population and were able rapidly to put an end to the Vichy regime, whose survivors will try to plunge the country into civil war.

Corsica's example teaches many things. Firm democratic order must be established throughout the territory under the aegis of the French Committee of National Committee.

CORSICAN LESSONS

The complete liquidation of the Vichy regime, the effective restoration of democracy in this territory will raise popular enthusiasm in France for the war against Hitlerism and constitutes the third condition for the country's revival.

The people of France are justly uneasy at the delay in the "purge," the entirely unfounded delay in the punishment of traitors. It is hard to understand, for instance, why Pierre Pucheu has not yet been put on trial, why the delay in carrying out the severe sentence passed by the people.

Lastly, the revival of France presupposes even closer ties of friendship and collaboration with the other great states of the anti-Hitlerite coalition.

France highly appreciates the tremendous aid of her friends and Allies. She feels admiration and boundless appreciation for the Red Army whose victories have saved the world from Fascist barbarism. France will never forget how much she owes to the Soviet Union, to the Red Army, to Marshal Stalin.

FRANCO-SOVIET FRIENDSHIP

The French people realize that defeat and invasion by the enemy, the misfortunes brought and descended upon the country, constitute the consequence of the rabid anti-Soviet policy of the Lavals and other Munichmen. They understand that tomorrow the old Franco-Russian friendship will become one of the best guarantees of the security and independence of France.

France is now laboring under difficulties. She is weakened. But thanks to the selflessness of her sons she is returning to life. She needs help and not guardianships.

Precisely on us Frenchmen united around the French Committee of National Liberation rests the task of making France strong, democratic and independent.

The liberation and revival of France, her place in tomorrow's world will above all represent the reward for the efforts and sacrifices which, following the example of the glorious Soviet people, we will make in the struggle for shortening the war and hastening the doom of Hitler Germany.

U.S., Russia Ready to Talk Policies On Post-War Currency and Trade

Monetary Experts of the Two Countries Will Meet Soon to Weigh International Stabilization and World Bank

By JOHN H. CRIDER
Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

WASHINGTON, Nov. 26—The first real test of the ability of the non-socialist United Nations to make a workable post-war economic arrangement with Soviet Russia will come when Soviet monetary experts sit down with our experts to work out schemes for international exchange stabilization and a world bank.

Treasury experts, who say that they foresee no insurmountable difficulties in dealing with the Russians, said they had not yet been informed who would be the Russian experts but understood they could be expected very soon.

The formal participation of Soviet Russia in the monetary talks is one of the results of Secretary of State Cordell Hull's participation in the foreign ministers' conference at Moscow. The fact that this point was raisde at the Moscow conference shows the importance with which both countries regard the future economic relations.

Gold Rubles Used in Trade

The one characteristic which makes Russia different than most other United Nations is the complete control which the Government exercises over matters economic. There are various kinds of rubles, but the one used for international payments is backed by gold, a metal which Russia possesses in abundance.

Stemming out of the monetary talks will be the much more difficult question of post-war trade, a matter of very great political importance in the current discussions with the Russians. Russian ambitions to industrialize the country and mechanize the collective farms are well known.

It also is apparent that the Russians will want a great deal of goods from the United States and Britain after the war, not only for war reconstruction, but for the intensification of their industrial development program.

Experts who have spent some time in Russia say that the Russian and American economies are not complementary, as is sometimes erroneously supposed.

Agreement on Purchases

One observer who was there in 1933 after the United States recorgnized Russia, told of difficulties created by the wave of optimism which swept this country based upon the expectation that the United States would proceed to sell hundreds of millions, if not billions of dollars of good annually to that country, thus solving the American problem of economic depression.

A trade agreement, somewhat different than others negotiated under the Reciprocal Trade Agreement Act because Russia had no ordinary tariff system under which she could grant ordinary reciprocal advantages, was made in 1935 under which the Russians agreed to purchase a minimum of $30,000,000 of goods here annually. In 1937 the amount was raised to $40,000,000 and we agreed to extend most favored-nation treatment to Russia if she purchased that much or more.

In every year up to the outbreak of war she bought more in the United States than the agreements called for, but the amounts never exceeded $75,000,000. The agreements still stands, although the war has made it of virtually no importance trade-wise.

Postwar trade with Russia, as with other countries, will depend to a great extent upon how generous the United States is in checking off lend-lease commitments, in the opinion of officials here. Most recent totals of our lend-lease aid to Russia show an amount of $3,000,000,000. If Russia has to ship goods to settle lend-lease, it probably would not be able for some years to absorb additional purchases from the United States.

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Kremlin Bars United States of Europe

"Russia Bars Union of Small States," the New York Times headlined a UP story from Moscow. "Russia has firmly banned any federation of small European states which might be used as a 'cordon sanitaire' similar to that drawn around the new Soviet State after World War I."

Stalin also opposes the federation principle itself, the story continues, until a sufficient time has elapsed for the small states to establish themselves firmly; and Germany's satellites should not receive equal treatment with countries the Nazis have conquered. *Izvestia* declared that Molotov had "emphatically" declared this position at the Moscow conference, and Hull and Eden made no objection.

The Russians have previously made clear their opposition, in principle, to the idea of federations of small states, and especially to a Central and Eastern European federation. The reasons Moscow gives are phony. The real objection is that if the small nations remain disunited Russia can more easily achieve effective control or decisive influence over them, throughout this area.

The proposals for federation of these small states — Poland, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, Greece, with the eventual inclusion of Hungary, Rumania, and Austria—came originally from the socialists and liberals of these countries, not from the reactionaries. Federation was planned for security against Germany, not against Russia, and for mutual economic benefits to be derived from cooperation. Federation of Central and Eastern Europe is an essential step toward world federation, and a sine qua non of security and peaceful prosperity.

In opposing federation Russia reveals her imperialist purposes in post-war Europe. For such federations would be the greatest obstacle to pan-Slavism, to the acquisition by Russia of this area as a special sphere of influence.

No one seriously proposes a new cordon sanitaire around Russia; that is the resuscitation of an old myth. The Poles, Czechs, Greeks, and Yugoslavs who are most energetically supporting the plan for federation desire amicable relations with Russia—and likewise security.

The internationalism presaged by the pact of Moscow will stand or fall according to its solution of this vexatious problem. The basic character of the proposed international collaboration will be determined, not by its treatment of Italy and Austria, but its treatment of these small states in Eastern and Central Europe.

An Irrepressible Question . . .

Polish authorities in Washington warned that the Poles will resist an invasion of Poland by the Red Army, unless Russia re-establishes relations with the Polish Government-in-exile and gives assurances that Russia does not intend to annex part of Polish territory. Poles also request that British and American officers accompany Red Army forces into Poland. They fear Sovietization of Eastern Poland through the Moscow-organized Union of Polish Patriots, and the deportation to Russia by the GPU of leaders of the Polish underground resisting the Nazis.

* * *

The Rich Grow Richer in Italy . . .

"In the midst of poverty, starvation, and confusion, Italy's moneyed classes, which never suffered under fascism, are reaping a golden harvest of American dollars and British pounds from 'soldier tourists'," reports Wes Gallagher of the Associated Press.

The business men are "indulging in unchecked profiteering." Soldiers are paying exorbitant prices, "while the poor Italian laboring class is paying the bill in misery as prices skyrocket."

Badoglio has begged the American and British soldiers not to spend so freely.

Russia

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RELIGION

Professor Sidney B. Fay of Harvard University reported the following with reference to religion in Russia:

> "In September Stalin took steps to re-establish, and give official Soviet recognition to, the Greek Orthodox church in Russia. The 76-year old Patriarch Sergius, who had been the nominal head of the Russian church since the death of Patriarch Tikhon in 1925, returned to Moscow from his exile at Ulianovsk on the Volga. A council of leading churchmen met and was received by Stalin. On October 7 a Council for Russian Orthodox Church Affairs was created to regulate relations between the Soviet Government and the Moscow Patriarchate. Under its chairman, G. E. Karbov, it was affiliated with the Council of Peoples' Commissars of the U.S.S.R. Thus, after a quarter of a century of terrible conflict, church and state again became reconciled and in a sense reunited."
>
> ("Current History," November, 1943, page 205)

> "In foreign relations Stalin's recognition of the Orthodox church was calculated to have two beneficial effects. It would be a conciliatory gesture to the religiously-minded abroad and help remove one of the most fundamental antagonisms to the Soviet Union. Thus, for example, the Archbishop of York visited Russia in late September and found that 'there are millions of Russians who are turning to God for guidance, help and comfort in their sorrow and agony. Stalin is a wise man who recognizes that religion is inherent in the majority of the Russian people. He has had to take from them in the national cause much that they value, but he feels that he can give them something in making it plain that there is no hindrance to their worship.' One of the purposes of the Archbishop's visit was to invite a delegation of the Russian clergy to pay a visit to Britain.
>
> "In the Balkans also cessation of the Soviet's anti-church policy will strengthen Stalin's position and help him regain for Russia the dominant influence once aimed at by the Pan-Slav movement. In the Balkans religion is usually quite as important a political factor as race or language. As long as religion was persecuted in Russia the deeply religious Balkan Orthodox Greek peasants, who form the great majority of the people, felt a certain distrust

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of godless bolshevist leadership. Most bishops in Bulgaria and Yugoslavia used to receive their theological training in Russia, but their spiritual ties were cut off after 1917. Now they will naturally welcome the regularization of the Russian church, renew their ties, and use their great influence in politics in a pro-Russian direction."

("Current History," November, 1943, pages 206 and 207)

French Body Adjourns Until January

ALGIERS, Nov. 25 (UP).—A number of delegates to the French Provisional Consultative Assembly today prepared to begin the hazardous journey back to occupied France via the underground in order to resume their contact with the anti-Nazi movements they represent.

The Assembly adjourned until the first Tuesday in January after a stormy meeting in which the membership of the group was raised from 84 to 102.

Part of the session was devoted to replies by the Committee of National Liberation to written questions from the Assembly delegates. Andre Philip, representing the Committee, said reports on the resignation of Marshal Petain were not reliable.

Philip explained to the Assembly, "Whether or not either Laval or Petain or both attempted to justify themselves by some meaningless last minute gesture, both already have been condemned as traitors by the Committee and all Frenchmen. Rats who leave a sinking ship," Philip emphasized, "are still rats."

Despite the objections of Louis Guillery, representing resistance outside France, the remainder of the delegates unanimously validated Pierre Cot's position in the group. Cot, who was absent during Guillery's objections, later challenged his detractor to repeat his charges. Guillery refused.

Cot said: "I have always been an enemy of Hitler, Petain and fascism. I alone in the French cabinet advocated an alliance with Russia. I was responsible for sending planes to Russia and to the Spanish Republicans and only wish I could have sent more."

Philip explained that the next session would be composed of 49 representatives of resistance in France and 21 representatives of resistance outside the country.

Twenty other members, he said, will be chosen from former members of the Chamber of Deputies, Senate and 12 will represent local governments in North Africa.

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BRAZIL-SOVIET TIE REPORTED PENDING

Oumansky Said to Negotiate With Rio on Setting Up of Diplomatic Relations

By CAMILLE M. CIANFARRA
Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

MEXICO CITY, Nov. 24—Constantine Oumansky, Soviet Ambassador here, was understood today to be negotiating for the establishment of diplomatic relations between Russia and Brazil. Like many other Latin American republics, Brazil never has recognized the Soviet regime.

No official or unofficial confirmation was forthcoming concerning the reported Soviet step, which was said in diplomatic circles to have been undertaken some weeks after Mr. Oumansky's arrival in Mexico last summer. The negotiations, it was said, are being carried on with the greatest secrecy.

Only Mr. Oumansky and some high officers of the Soviet Embassy here and President Getulio D. Vargas of Brazil and high Brazilian Foreign Office officials were said to be directly involved. It is expected, therefore, that any news of this nature will be denied until the two governments have completed their negotiations and are ready to make an official announcement.

International agitators, such as Max Berger, former Communist member of the Reichstag in pre-Hitler days and a member of the Third International, fomented and organized an armed Communist uprising in Rio de Janeiro on Nov. 27, 1935, during which an infantry regiment revolted and killed about 100 officers and men who had refused to adhere to the movement before it was forced to surrender after two hours of fighting by troops led by President Vargas.

Despite this, the Brazilian Government never has adopted an anti-Bolshevist policy, according to diplomats here. Its attitude has been more one of surveillance than of suppression. Moreover, the aftermath of the Communist revolt of 1935 was more than offset by the Nazi-subsidized attempt on the life of President Vargas on May 5, 1938.

The possibility is not excluded that the diplomatic representatives of a Latin-American republic may have facilitated the preliminary contacts of Mr. Ourmansky or his collaborators with the Brazilian Foreign Office, which is understood to have been favorably disposed for a long time toward such a step. The disbanding of the Communist International, diplomatic circles said, has helped dissipate any difference that Dr. Vargas might have felt toward Moscow. Another favorable factor is that Russia and Brazil are members of the United Nations coalition.

It was pointed out that the establishment of diplomatic relations would be advantageous to both nations, for it would pave the way for post-war commercial exchanges to both countries. Brazil, it was remarked, will be in a position to export to Russia coffee, meats, tea, rubber, cocoa, fibers, cotton, sugar, leather and the like, while Russia would find a market for oil and its by-products, as well as wool, furs and other items.

Brazilian popular opinion, according to persons who have recently returned from Rio de Janeiro, would present no obstacles to such a plan. The ruling class is said to be supporting Dr. Vargas 100 per cent and the new step in Brazilian foreign policy, it is believed, could be made acceptable with but short preparation through the means available to the government for influencing public opinion.

It is emphasized that Mr. Oumansky's chief mission is likely to be that of establishing relations with as many Latin-American republics as possible to prepare the favorable conditions necessary for the post-war expansion of Soviet trade in the Western Hemisphere.

This is a clipping from page 4 of the New York Times for Nov. 25, 1943
Clipped at the Seat of Government.

USSR Hands Off Policy Is Hinted

BY RADIO

Quoting from *War and the Working Class*, the Moscow Radio declares that "the Soviet Union's respect for the sovereignty and liberty of other peoples will restrain it from any attempts to upset the economic system in the countries of Europe."

"The Soviet public is aware that this system must be the product of the free will of the European peoples themselves," the broadcast said.

"But while it cannot be foretold as yet what Europe will be like, it is, at any rate, quite clear what it should not be like. The victory of the Allied powers over Hitler Germany will undoubtedly have its effects on European policy.

"The opinion in the freedom-loving countries is that it is clear that Europe will be regenerated. The program for a complete abolition of Fascism, as applied in Italy, is a remarkable proof of this. This will happen in all other countries now under domination of fascist or pro-fascist regimes.

"In regenerated Europe the decision will finally rest with the peoples themselves. There can be no doubt that these nations will not approve of the revival of bankrupt order, hostile to the people, or the leaders who were fascist accomplices in aggression."

Note above

Remember

This is a clipping from page 8 of P M

for NOVEMBER 25-1943.
Clipped at the Seat of Government

Self Rule for Liberated Nations, Says Soviet Paper

MOSCOW, Nov. 21 (UP). — The Soviet trade union publication War and the Working Class pledged today that the peoples of German-occupied countries would enjoy the right of self-determination after the war.

In an editorial, it denounced allegations that the Soviet Union was planning to establish hegemony over the occupied countries or Bolshevize Europe, and asserted that the people of the occupied countries would have the final word in deciding their fate and their governments.

It said the Soviets were not attempting to envisage the character of post-war Europe at this time but added that it is sufficiently clear that the populations of the occupied countries will not permit a return to the pre-war status and regimes which "opened the floodgates to Nazi aggression and the fascisization of Europe."

It emphasized that cooperation among Great Britain, the Soviet Union and the United States constituted a pledge of liberation and regeneration for Europe's enslaved peoples.

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As 'Big Three' Parley Looms

Semi-Official Red Paper Predicts 2d Front Soon

By United Press

MOSCOW, Nov. 22—The semi-official publication War and the Working Class said today there were reasons to believe that the opening of a second front in Europe was "not far off."

(The statement coincided with Washington and London reports that a meeting among President Roosevelt, Prime Minister Churchill and Premier Stalin to speed the defeat of Germany was imminent.)

The magazine, which the Kremlin often uses to air official opinions, said the impending invasion of Western Europe would hasten victory considerably and "strengthen our union still more with the United States and Britain."

DENIES FOREIGN ALLEGATIONS

"The war is nearing the ultimate issue," the magazine said. "Victory will be won sooner. Quicker blows by the Red Army on the Eastern front will be supported by the main forces of the Allies on the West."

Another article in War and The Working Class denounced Foreign allegations that Russia planned to establish a hegemony over or Bolshevise Europe and asserted that the peoples of occupied countries should have the final word in deciding their post-war governments.

JAP HOME FRONT TENSE

The Russians were not trying to envisage the character of post-war Europe, the magazine said, but it was sufficiently clear that the peoples of the enslaved countries would not permit a return to power of the regimes and policies which opened the gates to Nazi aggression.

The magazine emphasized that the Anglo-Soviet-American pledges of cooperation constituted a pledge of liberation and regeneration for conquered peoples.

A third article described the Jap internal situation as "tense" and said Japan appeared to be seeking ways and means of facing an increasingly threatening situation and averting catastrophe.

WASH. DAILY NEWS Nov. 22, 1943 p. 8

Race For Far Eastern Empire

By HARRY PAXTON HOWARD

EDITOR'S NOTE: *This is the second of two articles on the behind-the-scenes struggle for Asia. The first, which appeared last week, showed how "the war for Asia is a war for empire." It showed how the Western powers blasted Japan out of her historic isolation, how Great Britain and the United States built up the Japanese Empire "as an ally and tool against China and Russia," only to have the Japanese strike out alone for control of empire in the Orient, and how the principal powers have competed for mastery in the East.*

FOR MORE than half a century, China has been the main center of rivalry among the empires. For 2,000 years, it was the center of a vast imperial power dominating eastern Asia. As late as a century ago, it was still the greatest and most populous empire in the world. Western powers seized its vassal states from Indo-China to Burma, took colonies and concessions and settlements along the China coast, gained special privileges and an element of control over Chinese revenues, but it was not until Japan was armed and built up as an ally of Western powers that China could really be reduced to subjection, with her revenues in foreign control and an "international police force" dominating her ports, cities, and maritime communications; while the Diplomatic Body at Peking exercised the authority of a super-state over the subservient Chinese regime there. China was, in the words of Dr. Sun Yat-sen, a "hypo-colony"—a colony of the powers jointly.

Howard

Britain long held the ascendancy among the powers in China, but for half a century this leadership has been challenged by China's Asiatic neighbors—first by Russia, more recently by Japan. Russia's "peaceful penetration" southward, which brought China into alliance with Muscovy in 1896, was checked by a combination of Britain with other Western powers and with the Japanese, who supplied cannon-fodder for British and American imperialism against Russia in 1904-05.

Russia was pushed back into North Manchuria, but subsequently established hegemony over Outer Mongolia. The Soviet regime, after some years, entered the struggle for China with completely unorthodox tactics, and no holds barred. In 1924-25, its "revolutionary" tactics gained it an unprecedentedly strong position in China, and it took the combined efforts of the rival powers to oust Moscow and to set up and maintain the Chiang Kai-shek regime as their agent in China.

But this regime was itself hopelessly weak, and it was necessary for Western powers to call on the Japanese for military cooperation to oust the Nationalist forces of General Tsai Ting-kai from the Shanghai area early in 1932, in order to enable Gen. Chiang Kai-shek and his erstwhile partner, Wang Ching-wei, to establish themselves at Nanking.

This time, however, the Japanese demanded compensation, and bluntly refused to share the just-occupied territories of Manchuria with Western powers, as proposed by the U. S.-League of Nations, "commission of enquiry." The Japanese established their direct control not only over South Manchuria, but also over North Manchuria—long a Russian "sphere."

Russia In Sinkiang

The Russians retreated—much to the disappointment of the powers which were hoping for a Russo-Japanese war. Moscow, however, took some compensation in Sinkiang—Chinese Turkestan—a vast territory with considerable oil and other resources.

The most significant news item of recent weeks, in regard to China, is that the Russians are evacuating Sinkiang, and permitting the Chungking regime of Chiang Kai-shek to establish its authority there. It is a remarkable move, and is directly connected with the diplomatic situation. Moscow has, in effect, given way to Britain and America in Sinkiang. As Moscow moves out, our consular and other officials move in—together with the officials of Chiang Kai-shek, our Chinese dependent.

Last month, I pointed out in these columns that China is Stalin's "Ace in the Hole," by which he could bring pressure on the United States and Great Britain. It is still his "Ace in the Hole." His Communists still carry on in northwestern China, and peace has been patched up with Chungking. Moscow still dominates Outer Mongolia, whence assistance can be flown to the Chinese Communists and their fellow-travelers whenever Moscow finds it necessary and feasible. In Sinkiang, however, Moscow has staged a strategic "retreat."

Persia And The Balkans

But Moscow has had most important compensation. Behind the scenes, the deals took place which are making history in western Asia and southeastern Europe today. On Aug. 31, Premier Churchill at Quebec made his bitterest jabs at the Soviet Union, and declared outright for the restoration of the Serbian ("Yugoslav") and Greek monarchs to their unpopular thrones.

But Stalin's threat of independent action, in regard both to Germany and China, brought results. Not only was Moscow included in the deal with Badoglio and the House of Savoy, and in the Mediterranean Council, but the British have now yielded to him in regard to the Balkans, and are perforce "recognizing" and publicizing and to some extent aiding the Communist-led "Partisans" from Croatia and Slovenja through to Greece. In Persia also, the British and Americans

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are making way for increased Russian influence and the development of Russian ascendancy there.

It is Europe, and not the Far East, which is of central and leading importance to Moscow. The greatest food-producing and industrial areas of the Soviet Union, and some two-thirds of its population in "normal" times, are on the European side of the Ural mountains. Stalin's first and most vital interest is the establishment of his European boundaries as of May, 1941, with Germany reduced to the rank of a lesser power, if possible a subordinate ally and satellite.

But beyond this he wants to re-establish Russian ascendancy in the Balkans and over other "Slavs"—an ascendancy which Russia seemed well on the way to achieving 30 years ago, but which it lost through the First World War and the Russian Revolution. Now, Russia is coming back.

Stalin The Realist

Moscow's reconquest of the Baltic states, and the linking of 100,000,000 Poles, Czechs, Slovaks, Slovenes, Bulgarians, Croatians, and other "Slavs" with Moscow in firm alliance, mean Russian domination of eastern and southeastern Europe. An alliance with a chastened and weakened German militarism, with German industrial production and German workers and technicians contributing to the reconstruction of the Ukraine, will give Stalin unchallengeable supremacy of the European continent.

The Baltic will be Russian and not German. The Black Sea will again be a Russian lake. The Dardanelles—which the Russians expected in the First World War, and which were central in the proposals they made to Hitler in the Spring of 1941—will become a free exit for the Russians, with the Turks reduced to subordination or to uncertain "alliance." Moscow is already on the Mediterranean Council, and intends to make this mean something.

Further east Moscow again has its "ice-free port" in Persia. So far, it has had to divide domination of the country with the United States and Britain, but it is now asserting itself and aiming at its own ascendancy. For the time being, it is "abandoning" Sinkiang. If and when Chiang Kai-shek and his regime are forced to abandon Chungking, they can move to Sinkiang, instead of becoming openly a "Government-in-Exile." Moscow would *welcome* such a move.

For Sinkiang is separated from "China Proper" by great mountains, through which winds the "Kansu corridor"—a narrow roadway hopelessly vulnerable to Soviet air forces, and which can be cut at will.

To the east of the corridor are the Chinese Communist forces and their "special area," still loyal to Moscow. When Stalin has secured his position in Europe and western Asia, he can turn his attention to the Far East again. He can watch carefully and shrewdly. He can step in at the most opportune moment, for the most effective advance. He is a realist.

Russia's Aims

By William Philip Simms

OPINION is increasingly disturbed here over persistent reports emanating from Moscow concerning the post-war set-up in Europe—especially among those who most ardently favor world-wide collaboration to preserve the peace.

Some believe—hope, maybe, is a better word—that Russia's insistence on having her own way regarding frontiers and other problems is a build-up for trading purposes at the peace table. For, it is observed, she must know by this time that if she sticks to her present thesis the embryonic peace organization will be doomed before it is born—in so far, at least, as this country is concerned.

The chief source of worry here is the timing of the reports. Everyone was convinced that Moscow had settled things at least in principle—even boundaries. Yet hardly had Secretary of State Hull and Foreign Secretary Eden returned home before Soviet Ambassador Oumansky, speaking in Mexico City, cast doubt over the entire proceedings by indicating that Russia still lays claim to the half of Poland which she seized with Germany in 1939.

* * *

A NATIONALLY known political figure wired this writer: "The Oumansky statement hit me in the face like a bucket of cold water." Tho a Republican, the speaker is a stanch supporter of world collaboration and the use of force, if necessary, to discourage aggression.

Nor was Oumansky alone in his role of wet blanket. Izvestia, mouthpiece of the Kremlin, announced official opposition to the establishment of federations of small states as favored by the Allies and without which, many contend, they would be sovereign in name only—Austria, for example, whose independence was pledged at Moscow by Russia, Britain and the United States.

The most optimistic interpretation of Russia's stand is that by sticking to her claims, for the time being, she will be able to yield at the peace table in exchange for some quid pro quo yet to be revealed. If that is not her purpose, it is observed, the outlook remains anything but brilliant.

On or near the Soviet frontiers are some 10 little countries aggregating approximately 100,000,000 inhabitants. Then there are the Balkans, in which Russia is greatly interested, with 50,000,000 more. Germany has another 80,000,000. Without considering the rest of the Continent, therefore, here are about 230,000,000 Europeans with whom the Russians are going to have to live in peace or otherwise. And on the solution of this problem depend not only her security and the peace of Europe but whether or not the United States—to name but one—will appear in the new international line-up.

* * *

RUSSIA has two alternatives. Thanks to her tremendous power, she can absorb her small neighbors in whole or in part, dictate the foreign and domestic policies of the remainder and hold them all in check by force; or she can win their friendship, confidence and collaboration.

Officially, Washington has paid no attention to what Oumansky, Izvestia and other sources are saying. And, of course, it won't. But that does not mean that Washington is indifferent to such pronouncements. Washington knows that neither Soviet newspapers nor Soviet envoys ever speak out of turn.

It is widely hoped, therefore, that at their forthcoming meeting Marshal Stalin, Prime Minister Churchill and President Roosevelt will be able to set at rest some of the doubts which in the past few days have beset well-wishers here. For American plans for participation in future peace guarantees are all based, not on the domination of the weak by the strong, but on simple justice.

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Pains Just Beginning

'Bright New World of Future' Depends on What Russia Does

(Fifth and last of a series.)

By WILLIAM PHILIP SIMMS

Scripps-Howard Foreign Editor

Mr. Smuts

The new year which begins tonight with the last stroke of 12 should mark the birth of the much-heralded post-war world. But no newborn babe ever faced a more colicky or uncertain future.

Literally thousands of plans have been concocted for this bright new world of the future. Yet few informed officials in this busy capital are willing to do more than guess at what it will look like after it gets going.

The master plan, known as the Atlantic Charter, initialed by all of the United Nations, has already been given interpretations as far apart as the poles. The Moscow pacts represented a tremendous victory, especially for American diplomacy, because they brought the Soviet Union into the Big Four picture for the first time. And the pronouncements of Cairo and Teheran added to the importance of those of Moscow. Nevertheless, the best-posted diplomatists of my acquaintance are still pestered with doubts concerning the future of international organization and collaboration.

The reason is that Europe holds the principal key and Russia, Britain and the United States have by-passed most of the dangerous European issues.

'NEW COLOSSUS'

Marshal Smuts, one of the British Commonwealth's shrewdest elder statesmen, frankly speaks of Russia as "the new colossus of the European Continent." He says that with Germany, France and Italy out of the running as first-class powers at the end of the war, Britain may also find herself on the sidelines unless she can organize a bloc in the West to offset Soviet influence in eastern, central and southeastern Europe. Even the collaboration of the United States would not make much difference, because if Russia insisted on frontiers and governments to suit herself, neither country would provoke a third World War to stop her.

Mr. Smuts

"The bright new world of the future," therefore, is largely up to Russia. But if any responsible official knows what she will do, he has not yet told the public. Moscow and Teheran admittedly were milestones, but spokesmen do not all agree on just where the road is going.

Russia will make or break the post-war setup which we, in this country, picture when we think in terms of the Atlantic Charter and the P[illegible]-Moscow. If Europe is the prime key to international collaboration after the war, Russia is the key to Europe. What America will do, in the final analysis, depends on how these keys are used. And that is true regardless of whatever commitments we may make beforehand in the light of what we know at the moment.

PAINS JUST BEGINNING

In Asia other uncertainties are yet to be resolved. But these can doubtless wait until after our victory over Japan, which will hardly be in 1944. Yet they must be resolved before the post-war peace machinery gets into its stride. The Koreans say they will not submit to tutelage. Will they be given immediate independence? Will Russia and China come to terms in Manchuria, Mongolia and Sinkiang? Will Britain and China agree on Hong Kong? What's to be the status of Indo-China, Singapore, the Malay States, Burma, India, the Netherlands Indies, the Jap mandated islands and so on?

On this New Year's Eve the very human inclination is to believe that with the Big Four as a nucleus and the United Nations as a backlog of desirable members, the new world-peace-organization baby is not only born but practically walking. The truth, however, is that the labor pains are just beginning.

RECORDED

OCT 14 1944

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AFTER THE KHARKOV TRIAL

By K. Velikanov

The Kharkov trial of the Hitlerite fiends who exterminated peaceful Soviet citizens during the German occupation of Kharkov and the Kharkov Region is over. All four accused—three Germans and one Russian traitor—were sentenced to death by hanging. This just sentence has been carried into effect. It was greeted with approval by the Soviet people and by all freedom-loving peoples, who were staggered by the gruesome picture of German atrocities revealed in the course of the trial.

The world watched with strained attention as the trial at Kharkov unraveled the skein of untold villainies perpetrated by the Nazi fiends. The Hitlerite invaders were not content with shooting, hanging and torturing Soviet citizens in Gestapo dungeons. They considered that these methods of wholesale annihilation had too many inconveniences. As the accused at the trial admitted, and as preliminary investigation in Kharkov and other cities revealed, the Hitlerites—with a view to more systematic and methodical extermination of the Soviet population—resorted to what they considered an improved method, namely, asphyxiation in specially-designed motor trucks or "murder cars."

The significance of the Kharkov trial lies first in the fact that it threw additional light on the atrocities of the German army, atrocities unparalleled in the annals of history, and on the monstrous crimes perpetrated wherever the modern Huns set foot. Three representatives of this army of fiends and assassins were called to account before the Soviet court. But together with them sat invisibly in the prisoner's dock the entire Nazi army, headed by Hitler.

Kharkov Criminals Not Exceptions

The accused Langheld, Retslaw and Ritz were not exceptions or anomalies, but typical products of the Hitler system of educating and training assassins in army uniforms. For years Hitler has been impressing on the minds of the Germans that only the German race of Aryans, the "master race," has the right to exist and flourish, while all other peoples of Europe—and the Soviet people in the first place—must be exterminated, in order that the Germans may establish themselves in their "living space."

The hour of reckoning, the hour of retribution for the attempt to put Hitler's bloody ravings into practice, is nearing. The accused in this trial pleaded that they were only the instruments of Hitler's orders. Of course, Hitler and his gang are the chief inspirers and initiators of the wholesale massacre of innocent civilians, and the sword of justice awaits them for their crimes. But the Kharkov trial shows that just retribution awaits all the instruments as well, for without army instruments Hitler could not implant his "new order" in Europe, with its wholesale shootings, its gallows and its "murder cars." These instruments manifestly found relish in this butcher's work, of whose gruesome details they spoke so calmly and deliberately in court.

The slaughter of 30,000 Kharkov citizens causes millions to clench their fists and to strive still more persistently for the defeat of Hitler's army and the calling to account of all those guilty of these atrocities. Comments on the trial pouring into Moscow from all parts of the world testify to the complete unanimity of opinion among freedom-loving nations. Most of the commentators declare that the Kharkov trials are only the beginning of a gigantic judgment of nations on all German military criminals, who will be brought to trial in all liberated countries.

Trial Only a Beginning

But the Kharkov trial is not only the beginning of a merited retribution. It is also an impressive illustration of the way in which the nations must give practical effect to the declaration of the leaders of the Three Allied Powers on the responsibility of the Hitlerites for the atrocities they have perpetrated.

The whole world has now learned of the new "secret weapon" of the German army—the "murder cars." These are the revelations Hitler and his gang feared most of all.

Hitler has every reason to dread the influence of the Kharkov trial on the peoples of occupied Europe. In every country temporarily seized by them, the Germans have lost thousands of their officers and men, exterminated by the people's avengers. The Brussels *Zeitung* reports that attempts of French patriots on the lives of the Germans are growing increasingly frequent. It admits that German occupation troops have not succeeded in disarming the French patriots, who possess secret stores of weapons in all parts of the country. The Nazi newspaper asks in alarm what would happen if the Allies were to land in France. The mere thought of the vengeance of the enslaved peoples makes the Hitlerites shudder.

Inspired by the decisions of the Teheran Conference of the leaders of the Three Allied Powers, the armed forces of the Allies are preparing to storm Hitler's fortress. However strenuously the Germans endeavor to muster their last forces, however desperately German troops counter-attack, Germany cannot avert ultimate defeat, nor the Hitlerite criminals escape merited punishment.

DEC. 30, 1943

TEHERAN

The following editorial appeared in Number 14 of the Soviet publication WAR AND THE WORKING CLASS:

The historic decisions of the Teheran Conference of leaders of the Three Allied Powers—Stalin, Roosevelt and Churchill—have focused the attention of the world. The meetings between these three most eminent statesmen of our era, from the three leading powers of the anti-Hitler coalition had long been awaited by the entire world—with hope and comprehensible impatience in the camp of the friends of our righteous cause; and with fear and alarm in the lair of the Hitler bandits.

The Teheran Conference justified the expectations of the freedom-loving nations. At the same time its results surpassed the worst fears of our enemies—the Hitlerites and their camp followers, accomplices and agents, whatever mask they may wear.

It was not an easy path that led to the Teheran Conference; it was beset with many obstacles. The way to it was paved by the whole course of the development and cementing of the fighting alliance and friendly cooperation between the Soviet Union, Great Britain and the United States. From the common struggle against the common foe sprang and developed the union of the three greatest powers of our times. In the fire of this supreme struggle for liberation were consumed many obstacles standing in its way.

A new Soviet stamp issued to commemorate the Anglo-Soviet-American alliance. The inscription is a quotation from Stalin: "Long live the victory of the Anglo-Soviet-American fighting alliance!"

The Moscow Conference of the three Foreign Secretaries, which took place shortly before the Teheran meeting, signified a great advance in Anglo-Soviet-American collaboration in war and in peace. The Teheran Conference of the leaders of the Three Allied Powers consummated the long previous development, and at the same time opened a new phase of collaboration between the Allied Powers during the war and after the war. This new phase is characterized by the fact that now it is not a question of exchanging information, or of consultation on diverse questions, but of a joint decision on the cardinal problems of the war and peace. It is a question of dealing Germany a coordinated and final blow and of insuring a stable peace after the victory is won.

As the foreign press rightly points out, the Teheran Conference was the major diplomatic event in this war. That the Conference will exert an immense influence upon the course of the war and in the post-war world is beyond question. It demonstrated the enhanced stability of the alliance of the three Powers which will undoubtedly be still more closely cemented during forthcoming events.

That the leaders of the Three Allied Powers came together was significant in itself. The meeting put an end to the speculation of enemies who asserted that a lasting agreement between the Soviet Union, the United States and Great Britain was impossible.

As we know, during the war there have been several meetings between the leaders of Great Britain and the United States. The latest was in Quebec, in August of this year. But at these conferences, at which the Soviet Union was not represented, no full decision could be reached on the principal problem demanding the united efforts of all three Powers—namely, the problem of shortening the war. The Teheran Conference has now adopted the necessary decisions on this all-important problem.

An immense impression was made throughout the world by the Declaration of the Three Powers signed by Roosevelt, Stalin and Churchill. It goes further than any other document of the anti-Hitler coalition. The terse and impressive language of the Declaration fully harmonizes with its historic significance. This is not the language of general wishes, but the language of action. The time for words has passed; the time for action has come. The confidence and determination breathed by every word of the Declaration inspire joy in the hearts of our friends and fear in the hearts of our enemies. Its sincere and stirring words testify that at the Conference that mutual understanding and unity essential for the decisive attack on the enemy and for insuring enduring peace, were reached.

The Declaration of the Three Powers formulates and affirms with maximum clarity and precision the common policy of the Soviet Union, the United States and Great Britain in the war and in the peace.

In regard to the war the Allies' aim is obvious: It is to achieve complete victory over Hitler Germany in the shortest possible time. In pursuance of this cardinal aim now confronting the Allies, the leaders of the

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three Powers, in conjunction with their military staffs, concerted plans for the destruction of the German armed forces. This drives a stake into Hitler's last hopes of provoking dissension among the Allies on the subject of the conduct of the war. It paves the way to overcoming what is the biggest difficulty in every coalition war—namely, the concerting of joint blows at the common enemy.

It is now clear that henceforward the vast and hitherto unparalleled manpower and material resources of the three Allied countries will be employed as a single fighting machine for crushing the enemy. The guarantee of this is the complete agreement reached at the Teheran Conference as to the scope and timing of the operations which will be undertaken from the east, west and south. These joint blows will lead to the enemy's downfall.

While in no way underestimating the strength of the adversary, and soberly weighing his military resources, the leaders of the three great Powers, in conjunction with the representatives of their military staffs, worked out plans, the operation of which will insure swift and complete victory. The guarantee of victory is the mutual understanding reached by the leaders of the Three Allied Powers regarding military questions. Invincible confidence in early victory is implicit in the words of the Declaration, which state that no power on earth can prevent the Allied Powers from destroying the German armies by land, their U-boats by sea and their war plants from the air.

The cardinal military significance of the Teheran Conference lies in the fact that it worked out a concrete plan for the complete defeat of Hitler Germany. The Red Army's victories and the successful operations of the Allied Forces have brought about a radical change in the course of the war. Hitler Germany is in the throes of a profound crisis; it is on the verge of disaster. The task now is to hasten the final doom of the fascist beast. This task will be achieved by the relentless and increasing attack proclaimed by the Teheran Conference. The false illusion fostered by Hitler demagogy that the force of the Allies' blows has already passed its zenith has been punctured. It is now clear to all that Hitler Germany will now have to face far heavier blows than ever before. The attempts to further protract the war promise Germany nothing but fresh casualties and sacrifices, fresh defeats and destruction, and severer and sterner retribution.

By uniting their strategy, the Allied Powers have passed the death sentence on Hitler Germany and her satellites; the thing now is to carry this sentence into effect. Prior to the Moscow Conference we had occasion to point out that in view of the immense war resources accumulated by the Allied Powers, all that was needed was the decision to put these forces into motion. The necessary decisions have now been taken and all that remains is to put them into practice.

The Hitler adventurers are trying by malicious insinuations and ludicrous assertions, to cover up the extreme confusion and dismay into which they have been thrown by the historic Teheran meeting. Several days prior to the publication of the Teheran decisions, the Hitlerites declared the Conference would address an appeal to the German people, promising them lenient conditions provided they broke with Hitlerism, and that the chief purpose of the Conference was to undermine the "morale" of the German nation.

All the world can see that there is no talk of promises, but of relentless war for the complete destruction of the German war machine, as a result of which German "morale" will undergo far-reaching changes in any case. The thing is not only to insure the defeat of Germany in this war, but also to make it impossible for her to commit aggression in the future. It is clear to the Allies that the ulcer of German aggression must be cauterized once and for all if enduring peace is to be guaranteed to nations.

The Hitlerite fools attempt to conceal their alarm by declaring that the Teheran Conference is only calculated for psychological effect and is part of the "war of nerves." Let them talk. They'll get their reply very soon and in the only language they understand—the language of fire and steel.

The Teheran meeting is of no less cardinal significance for the cause of enduring peace as for the conduct of the war. The Declaration of the Three Powers expresses confidence that their concord will make for an enduring peace. The bitter experience of the past few decades teaches us that the preservation of peace and security must be based on real power capable of insuring peace and preventing its violation. Hence the supreme responsibility which rests on the Anglo-Soviet-American alliance and upon all the United Nations. The responsibility was fully acknowledged by the leaders of the three leading Powers of the anti-Hitler bloc, who expressed their determination to work together in the war and in the peace that will follow. The noble aim proclaimed at Teheran of creating a system of world security which will banish the scourge and terror of war for many generations, will undoubtedly meet with the ardent support of peace-loving nations.

The Teheran decisions dispelled a number of ingrained prejudices, the heritage of an earlier suspicious attitude of certain circles in the Anglo-Saxon countries toward the Soviet Union. They have disposed of the prejudice that there are insuperable obstacles to the cooperation of the other Powers with the Soviet Union not only in the war but also in supporting an enduring peace.

The Declaration of the Three Powers speaks of a world in which all peoples will live free lives, untouched by tyranny and according to their varying desires and their own conscience. The experience of the war has shown that differences in ideology and social systems do not preclude the development and cementing of a fighting alliance and friendly cooperation be-

tween the Soviet Union, Great Britain and the United States. The vitality of this alliance has stood some very serious tests. Future events will still further promote and strengthen this alliance.

Facts have refuted the assertion of our enemies and their associates that the Anglo-Soviet-American alliance is aiming at "a dictatorship of the great Powers." The Declaration solemnly proclaims a desire to seek the cooperation and active participation of all nations, large and small, whose people are in heart and mind dedicated, as are the peoples of the Three Allied Powers, to the elimination of tyranny and slavery, oppression and intolerance. What we seek is not world domination by the great Powers, but a world family of democratic countries. The guiding role of the great peace-loving Powers—the Soviet Union, the United States and Great Britain—in international policy is not designed to encroach on the rights and liberties of other freedom-loving nations. On the contrary, it is the best guarantee of this security and independent development in accordance with their national interests. The Declaration of the Three Powers passes a death sentence on the blood-thirsty aggressors and at the same time guarantees the liberty of all peace-loving nations.

The Declaration of the Three Powers should serve as a last warning to Hitler's satellites. Germany's vassals should understand before it is too late that the double policy they are now pursuing will not save them. Either they break with Hitler or perish with Hitler. There is no other alternative. And if lately Hitler's allies—and the rulers of Finland and Hungary particularly—while reluctantly admitting the inevitability of Germany's defeat, have been trying to arouse the pity of the freedom-loving nations, even appealing in their defense to the Atlantic Charter, all we can say is: "The devil can quote Scripture for his own purpose."

The significant words of the Teheran Declaration undoubtedly furnish beneficial food for thought to certain neutral countries still enrolled among the friends of the Axis powers.

The policy of the Allies toward small countries found vivid, concrete and striking expression in the Declaration of the Three Powers regarding Iran. The Declaration recognizes the assistance which Iran has given in the prosecution of the war against the common enemy. The Allied Powers proclaim their readiness to continue to make available to Iran such economic assistance as may be possible under conditions of war and to accord her necessary economic assistance in the postwar period. Particular mention should be made regarding the desire proclaimed in the Declaration for the maintenance of the complete independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Iran.

In the light of this unambiguous Declaration, what shall we say to the various fabrications of our enemies to the effect that the Soviet Union, Great Britain and the United States lay claim to various parts of the territory of Iran? What shall we say, in the light of this Declaration, to all the other "suspicions" disseminated by Hitler's friends regarding the supposed "territorial claims" of the Soviet Union—such as access to the Persian Gulf, access to the Adriatic, and even access to the Atlantic? These unscrupulous fabrications are an attempt of our enemies to cover up the generally known fact that the Soviet Union, while demanding respect for its own territorial integrity and the inviolability of its frontiers as laid down in the Constitution of the USSR, for its own part sets an example in showing full respect for the territorial integrity of other countries, large and small.

The Soviet people—like the peoples of the United States and Great Britain—hailed with deep satisfaction the historic decisions of the Teheran Conference, beneath which they find the signature of their great leader. These decisions embody the iron determination of the people of the three great Powers to march together in war and peace. Nothing can break this determination—neither the resistance of the enemy, who, undoubtedly feeling his end approaching, will resort to the most desperate measures; nor the machinations of the numerically few but very vociferous abettors of our common enemy, who are still making their voices heard in the Anglo-Saxon countries. These people, blinded by hatred of democracy and social progress, are still endeavoring to save Germany from complete defeat. The determination of the Allies to remove once and for all the threat of German aggression and to refuse to support the anti-Soviet plans for the creation of a "cordon sanitaire" is dubbed by these people the "Balkanization of Europe"! But it is not these elements who express the national interests of Great Britain and the United States; on the contrary, they are militating against the interests of our Allies. It is not these elements who determine the policy of our Anglo-American Allies. If anything, these people express regret that the Teheran decisions are not "forthright enough." Nobody is likely to be deceived thereby.

The Soviet people, who have contributed some vivid pages to the history of the great war of liberation from Hitler oppression and tyranny, are responding to the decisions of the Teheran Conference by redoubling their efforts. They are confidently looking forward to the day when the immense power of the Allied Armies will be brought to bear on the enemy, and the fascist beast will be destroyed by the coordinated action of the three great Powers. Then the road will be open to the broad upbuilding of the world on the basis of freedom and security, and to peaceful and creative labor for all nations.

The closer the unity of the Three Allied Powers on the basis of complete, mutual respect for their vital interests, the more successfully and more fruitfully will be accomplished the grand tasks which confront the Allies and will confront them in the future.

SMUTS FOR PEACE BACKED BY FORCE

Wants 'Big 4' of the United Nations to Join to Put Down Post-War Aggressors

DRAWS LESSON IN STRIFE

Accepting Wilson Medal, He Says There Is No 'Hiding Place From Storm'

9

A post-war international organization with the United Nations "big four" as the backbone and endowed with the power to fight aggressor nations was urged yesterday by Field Marshal Jan Christiaan Smuts, speaking by radio from South Africa.

The adoption of a "realistic spirit" and an avoidance of "novel departures" in the maintenance of future peace and security was suggested by the 73-year-old Premier of the Union of South Africa, as he outlined an organization based on the existing framework of the United Nations.

Warning that the neglect to provide adequate force to fight aggression put the world at war, he described freedom unbacked by force as "a mere illusion" and democracy without leadership as "weaker than water."

The Premier spoke in a broadcast accepting the Woodrow Wilson Foundation Medal for Distinguished Service awarded him at a ceremony at the foundation, 8 West Fortieth Street. The ceremony commemorated the eighty-seventh anniversary of the birth of the former President.

Address Halted by Static

Marshal Smuts' voice at first came fairly clear over the National Broadcasting Company's network. Soon static broke in. In the middle of his speech the announcer said that because of atmospheric conditions the broadcast would have to be interrupted. Henry M. Moolman of the South African Legation in Washington read the rest of the talk.

Premier Smuts advised a mixture of "realism with our idealism." Nations "should attempt to build empirically on the foundations already laid in this war and not to depart unnecessarily from the pattern we have evolved and tested in this war," he asserted.

The United States, Britain and Soviet Russia "are marked out" for leadership while the new world organization is being evolved, he continued, while "to them may be added China in recognition of her inherent importance, her heroic resistance to Japan and her new leadership in Asia."

Neutrals would be allowed to join "in due course," while defeated enemy powers would "wait until they have been cured of their dangerous obsessions and distorted outlook on the world." He added, "A period of convalescence under proper guardianship will do them good."

Sovereignty to Be Untouched

The new international organization would leave untouched the national sovereignty of each State and all it legitimately implies, "territory, flag, language, culture, political and administrative institutions—in fact, all that the term 'self-determination' connotes," he said.

"But over and above all will be an international regime of law and order which will maintain peace and guarantee to each State the peaceful pursuit of its own life, free from fear of aggression by its neighbors, in fact, a regime under which the aggressor will be an outlaw to be dealt with by the international authority, as such."

The criminal law would be extended to the international sphere with the appropriate machinery of punishment, he said.

"Woodrow Wilson did not favor, nor do I for a moment advocate, an international outlook which ignores the existence and the essentially beneficent role of nations in our world order," he continued. "Nations are facts of history, just as physical as other facts with which science is concerned, and if we mean to build surely we shall build the future international structure on these facts of science and history."

Reviewing his association with President Wilson at the peace conference of the [illegible], Marshal Smuts said:

"We failed, and our failure is writ large in the vast tragedy of today. Shall we fail again? Is failure and frustration still to be our human lot? Looking over this somber scene I see the solitary figure of that leader lost in the storm of our generation, a storm which, in the end, has overwhelmed us no less than him. But the human vision which was his, which is his legacy to the world, which is in a deep sense the message of the New World to the Old World, still remains."

Wants Responsibility Fixed

He proposed that within the wider democratic organization of the United Nations, there be not only a Council and a General Assembly on the existing League of Nations model but "a definite place assigned to the great powers in the leadership with specific responsibility for maintaining peace at least for the interim period while the new world organization is being built up."

The plan was not suggested as a permanent solution of world organization but as "only an interim and provisional step, but one most necessary in the difficult transition period immediately following the end of the war," he made clear.

The Premier emphasized the necessity for making provision for power to enforce action by the United Nations. "Without the force which they will command and the unity in leadership which they could provide in an emergency, the period after this war may be followed by the same eratic course which ruined the last peace," he warned.

Marshal Smuts, who sat at the Versailles Peace Table, assailed critics who declared the covenant

This is a clipping from page 9 of the New York Times for Dec. 29, 1943
Clipped at the Seat of Government.

of the League "went too far, demanded too much, and imposed obligations on members which might and did prove heavy burdens and possibly dangerous entanglements for them."

"This line of criticism probably underlay most of the American objection to membership of the League," he said. "How pitifully, how devastatingly, all this sort of criticism has been exploded by the experience of this war. The covenant in fact did not go far enough and was not clear and explicit enough in imposing definite obligations for the preservation of peace, and in the end the door was left open for the greatest and most destructive world war of history."

No Loophole for Escape

The great lesson of this war was contained in the sentiment that "our human lot is indivisible," he said. "What touches one touches all in this holistic world. Our world has at bottom left no loophole for escape, no hiding place from the storm."

The cooperation which has existed for generations between America and Great Britain is now called for on a larger scale, he said. "Russia has obviously a great contribution to make, so has China, with her vast sphere and her teeming populations."

In thanking the Foundation for awarding him the medal, the Premier said that he had hoped to visit the States and Canada this year but that he looked forward with much interest to the prospect of a visit here "at a time which may be both more convenient and opportune than the present crowded moment."

In accepting the heavy medal, one foot in diameter and made of pre-war bronze, in behalf of Marshal Smuts, Ralph William Close, Minister to the United States from the Union of South Africa, referred to the Premier's coming visit, declaring:

"I think the address we have just heard carries a very strong hint that Field Marshal Smuts will visit the United States as soon as circumstances permit and it seems reasonable to assume that may take place during the latter part of 1944."

Mrs. Quincy Wright of Chicago, president of the Foundation, presented the award to the Field Marshal for "his constant and effective work toward the organization of the whole war to peace." She explained that the Foundation was created in 1922 in recognition of the national and international services of Woodrow Wilson. The Foundation's first president was President Roosevelt.

Among those who have previously received the award, a plaque designed by Ivan Mestrovic, Yugoslavian sculptor, are Lord Robert Cecil, Elihu Root and President Thomas Masaryk of Czechoslovakia. The last presentation, six years ago, went to Cordell Hull.

Among those attending the ceremony and buffet luncheon which followed were Mrs. Woodrow Wilson, widow of the former President; Thomas Lamont, who is a friend of Field Marshal Smuts, and Sir Godfrey Haggard, British consul general. A message from Josephus Daniels, Secretary of the Navy during the first World War, was read.

WARNS ON DISARMAMENT

Netherlands Diplomat Qualifies Cooperation With Great Britain

LONDON, Dec. 28 (AP)—E. N. Van Kleffens, Netherlands Foreign Minister, said today that his country was prepared to collaborate with Great Britain after the war only if Britain and the British Empire showed "no intention once more of going the way toward large-scale disarmament."

"This implies in any case that we cannot tie ourselves once and for all," he added.

Mr. Van Kleffens spoke on radio Orange from London in reply to a recent speech by Field Marshal Jan Christiaan Smutz, Premier of the Union of South Africa, suggesting that Britain make plans for close association with Western European nations after the war so as not to be weak in comparison with the United States and the Soviet Union.

"Enemy propaganda," Mr. Van Kleffens continued, "is trying to make out we have been asked to merge the Netherlands into the British Empire. We have been asked nothing of the sort and if we were asked anything it certainly would not be to merge ourselves with the British Empire.

"But although any such subordination or absorption is unthinkable, collaboration is far from being excluded."

QUICK TRIAL ASKED IN WAR GUILT PLAN

Creation of Court to Judge Hitler and Gang Officially Put Before Allied Group

4

By Cable to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

LONDON, Dec. 28—The United Nations Commission Investigating War Crimes will be asked to establish an Allied High Court to try Adolf Hitler, Benito Mussolini and other leading Axis war criminals.

This proposal is being put forward by the Czechoslovak representative on the Commission, Dr. Bohuslav Ecer, who will request that the Commission study his recommendation at its next meeting on Jan. 4.

Meanwhile the British Government is considering the possibility of amending its laws to permit trial in this country of a foreigner who commits murder or manslaughter on foreign soil. Under present law, according to Lord Maugham, former Lord Chancellor, "No foreigner is liable under English law for the murder or manslaughter of a person, whether British or an alien, on foreign soil."

Steps are being taken here to see that changes in the law are put into legislation for consideration of the House of Commons.

LONDON, Dec. 28 (U.P.)—The proposal by Dr. Bohuslav Ecer, former Mayor of Bruenn, for establishment of a court to try leading war criminals was the first officially presented to the United Nations Commission. Dr. Ecer suggested that the constitution and procedure of the court follow details of a plan previously drawn by Marcel de Baer, Belgian jurist.

Eight of the fifteen commission members—Belgium, the Netherlands, Yugoslavia, Greece, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Luxembourg and France—in addition, it is believed, to the United States, support the proposal in principle, M. Ecer said. Britain's attitude has not been disclosed. A majority vote of the commission can assure acceptance.

M. de Baer's plan outlined a court of thirty-five international jurists sitting in London with wide trial powers extending to jurisdiction of heads of states. An international constabulary would enforce its orders.

Commission members are reported showing increasing favor to modeling future hearings on the Soviet trial of three German war criminals and one Russian in Kharkov. It was understood the body would receive definite proposals to reject any war criminal's plea that his deeds were done on a "superior's orders" and that ultimate guilt be pinned on the heads of states.

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This is a clipping from page 4 of the New York Times for Dec. 29, 1943

Clipped at the Seat of Government.

91658

Religion in Russia

Break-Through

(See Cover)

"All religious ideas . . . are an unspeakable abomination." Lenin.

"Let God bless you with success, and with glory your great deeds for the sake of our country." Sergei to Stalin.

The 1943 Christmas season in Moscow was the merriest since 1916—the last Christmas of the old war and the old order. It was also the most solemn. The thick snow, which makes every Moscow Christmas a white Christmas, lay heavy over a capital that is the heart of [illegible]ion. And that heart, in Russia's third [illegible]e Christmas, beat strong and steadily with an enormous pride of achievement. It was as if the whole Russian nation, watching for the appearance of the first evening star that (according to the Russian Orthodox custom) breaks the absolute pre-Christmas fast, looked westward from Moscow, and could see the Russian armies, like a mobile wall, inch by inch fight back their age-old enemies—*Nemtsi*, the Germans.

But this Christmas season was solemn to the Russian spirit, for deeper reasons even than military victory. By its official restoration of the Russian Orthodox Church (TIME, Sept. 13) the election and recognition of a Patriarch (TIME, Sept. 27), the Soviet Government had made Moscow once more the religious capital of some 100,000,000 Orthodox Christians (there are comparatively few dissenters in Russia), had bridged the crevasses that for 25 years Bolsheviks have tried to open between Russian believers and non-believers. Once more the peasant trudging in from the land and catching the sunlight flash on the gilt onion domes of Moscow's remaining churches could utter the traditional invocation with the traditional tenderness:

Moskva! Moskva!
Zolotaya golova!†

* In center. To his right is Leningrad's Metropolitan Alexii, who will probably be the next patriarch.

† Moscow! Moscow! Golden-head!

But the Soviet Government's recognition of the Church has done more than restore Moscow as the capital of a religiously united Russia. It united Europe's Danubian and Balkan Slavs in a Slavic religious continent whose heartland is Russia, whose metropolis is Moscow.

Whether or not the new status of the Russian Orthodox Church was permanent (and there were many signs that it was), as a tactic of the Soviet Government the change was still big enough with political consequences to be a landmark in the history of Russia and of Europe, and therefore of the world.

Three men are directly responsible for this achievement:

1) *Adolf Hitler.* He believed that the Russian Orthodox priests and their congregations would flock to the side of Russia's Nazi invaders, who would free them from the persecuting Bolsheviks. What Hitler did not foresee was that his invasion would turn Russia from a country in which a majority of defenseless Christians was ruled by an aggressive anti-religious minority into a nation in arms, in which the majority, though intensely patriotic, was no longer defenseless.

2) *Joseph Stalin,* Russia's No. 1 realist, who observed this fact with great interest, for he recognized with Lenin, whose "best disciple" he claims to be, that "facts are stubborn things." Stalin was also aware that restoration of the Russian Orthodox Church was roughly equivalent to Russian religious occupation of the Balkans.

3) *Metropolitan Sergei* of Moscow. One of Russia's greatest theological scholars, no man ever looked less like a historical force. He was old (76), pudgy and short (5 ft. 5 in., the same height as Stalin), almost completely deaf, afflicted with a violent twitch of the left cheek. His benign brown eyes peered with ferret sharp-

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ness through thick spectacles above the folds of a beard like a Mother Hubbard.

Man from the Catacombs. But this venerable figure was no jack-in-the-box suddenly sprung on Russia by the Government's efficient finger. The son of a priest, Sergei was born (Ivan Nikolaevich Stragorodsky) at Arzamas (near Nizhni Novgorod) in 1867. He had been a missionary in Japan, which he reached via the U.S. (the Patriarch still likes to practice his fragments of half-remembered American: Hello, how are you, nice day). He had been rector of one of Russia's four great theological academies, Bishop of Finland, a great churchman at the court of the last Tsar Nicholas II. There he won the dislike of the Tsarina because he opposed Rasputin. But Sergei was unknown to most people outside Russia, in part because few Orthodox priests are known to the western world, in part because for 25 years he was buried alive by the Bolshevik Revolution. For Sergei is a man from the catacombs (of the GPU, in whose political prisons he has served three terms) and of the church which suffered the same fate under Bolshevism that Bolshevism suffered under the Tsar: it was forced underground.

The long climb from the catacombs to legal restoration of the church is almost wholly the work of Sergei—of his simple Christian faith, his understanding of the church's basic strength (the religious masses), and the Soviet Government's basic weakness (the religious masses), and his insistence that peace with the Bolsheviks was the prerequisite for survival of the church.

At first it was easy to direct revolutionary hatred against the Church because it had been so long a part of the Tsarist Government and the ecclesiastical apologist for its political and social sins. Not that the Bolsheviks used only crude terror. Another Bolshevik tactic was a policy of divide and terrorize.

Rasstrel and Anathema. The Bolsheviks closed churches, destroyed chapels, liquidated 637 of Russia's 1,026 monasteries and convents, confiscated sacred vessels, vestments, ikons, church real estate and a church treasure of some $1,500,000,000, arrested (for resistance to the State) thousands of bishops, priests, monks, and pious laymen, many of whom suffered "the highest measure of social protection" (*Rasstrel*—shooting). Patriarch Tikhon Sergei's predecessor, gave the Soviet authorities a blunt piece of his patriarchal mind in an anathema which read like a *Pravda* editorial: "That which you do is verily a satanic deed. For it you are condemned to hell fire in the future life and to awful curses by the coming generations in the present life. We adjure all faithful children of the Orthodox Church not to enter into any kind of association with these monsters of the human race."

The monsters promptly clapped the petulant Patriarch into jail. But none of this persecution made much change in the ingrained Christian faith of Russia's mystically minded millions of believers. Believers who harbored priests or attended worship might be deprived of their ration tickets, their jobs or might just disappear into jails or sub-Arctic exile. They might not come together at all unless 20 believers risked registering with the local Soviet and received permission to worship. Still they came together for worship.

The Soviet Government was quick to note its lack of success, began to supplement its political fight against the Church with an educational campaign.

The League of the Militant Godless was organized. Headed by the late Emelyan Yaroslavsky (TIME, Dec. 13), the enco-miasts of Stalin, the Godless numbered more than 5,500,000 members at their heyday. They published two magazines, *Bezbozhnik* (The Godless), and *Antireligioznik* (The Anti-religionist). In their lettuce days, the Godless organized anti-religious parades with floats burlesquing religious subjects such as the Immaculate Conception. These capers disgusted many Russians, made bad publicity abroad, and were finally called off. Public debates between priests and the Godless were also tried, also had to be called off. The priests held their own too well. Anti-religious museums, usually set up in former churches, were not much more successful. But the main campaign of the Godless was to educate an atheistic younger generation. With the slogans "a Godless cell in every school" and "no religious schoolteachers," the Godless enrolled two million school children. But many more than two million did not join the Godless.

Undeceiving Census. Then (in 1937) the Soviet Government took a census. One question asked about religious faith. When the returns were in, the authorities took one look, gasped, ordered most of the census bureau liquidated as Trotskyists. The census is believed (since the figures were admitted by Godless Headman Yaroslavsky) to have shown that, after 20 years of intensive persecution of the Church, one-third of Russia's city population and two-thirds of Russia's peasants were still Christians, and would not conceal the fact from the official census takers.

This was a sad answer to the Soviet Government's anti-religious prayers. It was related to a heavy blow that had befallen the Government earlier, the full seriousness of which had not been realized at the time: acting apparently on the principle that if you can't lick 'em, join 'em, the Metropolitan Sergei of Moscow had joined the Bolsheviks. Not that he ceased to be a Christian or acquired a party-book (the Communist Party does not admit Christians to membership). What Sergei did was to take literally the Soviet Government's decree that the business of the Russian Orthodox Church was religion and nothing else (a revolutionary attitude in a country where for hundreds of years the Church had been part of the state). He also insisted on absolute loyalty to the Soviet Government as the price of the Church's survival.

Almost his first act when he was made Patriarch in 1925 was to proclaim that the main job of the Church is the salvation of souls and not politics. He also assured the Soviet Government of his Church's loyalty. Success has not ended all the criticism of Sergei. Here & there are still sceptics who call him a stooge of the Soviet Government. His policy lends itself easily to this charge. But the most intelligent members of the Russian-Orthodox Church agree that few patriarchs in history have done more for the Church than Patriarch Sergei.

Patriarch at Work. Success has made little change in Sergei. He now lives in former German Ambassador von der Schulenburg's house on Chistyi (bright or clean) Street in mid-town Moscow. Sergei's second floor room is of monastic simplicity. His ground-floor office is a blend of old & new Russia. The walls are covered with age-old ikons and the latest war maps.

Sergei rises at seven, prays until nine—alone in his room or in the special little Patriarch's chapel which was blessed last fortnight. At nine, Sergei drinks his breakfast—tea—and reads the newspapers. Then he studies his personal Bible, which is in Hebrew (Sergei also reads Greek, old Slavonic, some Latin and Finnish).

From ten till two, Patriarch Sergei sits in his office, attends to Patriarchal business, gives interviews. Then, if the weather is good, he walks in his garden for an hour. Dinner consists of a dish of mushrooms or fish. His only known eating vice is a passion for boiled onions. As he receives the same food rations as a commissar, there is usually enough left over for other members of his household.

Despite a weak heart (two Russian specialists attend him), Sergei is very severe with himself, practices the ascetic customs of the Russian monks. But his associates consider him warm and friendly, almost saintly. He is even-tempered, loves to talk and joke. During the air raids on Moscow two years ago, he refused to go to an air raid shelter, but sat and read through the bombing. "At my age," he said, "a cold is much more serious than a bomb." Later he was evacuated to Ulyanovsk. Last fall he moved back to Moscow in time for the Government's recognition of the Church, his own confirmation as Patriarch and the visit of the Archbishop of York (TIME, Sept. 21).

Patriarch Sergei is also obliging. Since the Russian Orthodox Church uses the Julian calendar, so that Christmas Day comes during the first week in January, Sergei celebrated a special Christmas service for TIME's Correspondent Lauterbach, just to show him how it goes. For two and a half hours Correspondent Lauterbach stood (Russian churches have no pews) and shivered (Russian churches are unheated during the war) in the Bogoyavlensky Cathedral. The service was sumptuous. The cathedral was packed with 5,000 worshippers, including many men, many young people. But though Patriarch Sergei wears heavy underwear under his gold velvet vestments brocaded with red and green flowers, last week he was in bed with the grippe.

Ally Eternity. The Soviet Government is famed for the Sietran ups & downs of its policies. Will Patriarch Sergei's work last? Has the Russian Orthodox Church come back to Russia to stay? Or will another wave of persecution sweep it away? No answer could cover all contingencies. But Patriarch Sergei might have pointed out from his sick bed last week that the first 25 years of persecution are likely to be the hardest. He could also point to some definite signs of that relative permanence which is the only kind that (philosophically) Marxism admits:

▶ Fortnight ago the Soviet Government permitted the Church to open a seminary for training priests. Hitherto the training of priests was prevented by the State, so there is an acute priest shortage in Russia.

▶ Russia's President Kalinin exhorted citizens not to laugh at soldiers who wear religious medals.

▶ The Bible is being printed for the first time since the Revolution.

▶ At the same time *Bezbozhnik* and *Antireligioznik* had to suspend publication due to a sudden paper shortage.

▶ The Society of the Militant Godless was disbanded.

▶ Its president, Emelyan Yaroslavsky, died.

But Patriarch Sergei did not need these facts to buttress his policy. It was based upon a simpler and less mutable fact: political policies change, governments come & go, but man's need for religion is eternal. For as long as an ikon hung in the corner of a Russian *izba*, Patriarch Sergei would always be right. That was his Christmas message, a message which, couched in the proverbial idiom of the Russian peasant, was understandable far beyond Russia's borders: even in totalitarian darkness, God sits in the corner—but waits.

WOLL SAYS SOVIETS HURT ALLIED UNITY

Replies to Red Labor Organ That Called U. S. Leaders of Workers 'Reactionaries'

Striking back against a Soviet attack upon American labor leaders as "reactionaries" and seekers of personal power, Matthew Woll, vice president of the American Federation of Labor, yesterday accused Moscow of hurting Allied unity and interfering in the internal affairs of the United States.

Mr. Woll's action was in the form of a statement issued in reply to an article in "War and the Working Class," cabled to this country, in which the official organ of the Soviet trade unions and mouthpiece of the Soviet Government, scored him, William Green, president of the AFL; David Dubinsky, a vice president of the ILGWU and AFL delegate to the recent British Trade Union Congress; William L. Hutcheson, president of the International Brotherhood of Carpenters, and John L. Lewis, president of the independent United Mine Workers.

These leaders were accused by the Soviet organ of opposing "national and international unity," of waging war against the Soviet trade unions, and thwarting unity between the AFL and CIO.

Leaders Decline to Comment

Mr. Green at Coshockton, Ohio, and Mr. Lewis in Washington declined to comment yesterday. Mr. Hutcheson, whose office is in Indianapolis, was not available. Mr. Nagler would not say anything, while Mr. Dubinsky was en route from the South to New York and could not be reached.

At his office here Mr. Woll issued a lengthy statement in which he charged that the purpose of the Soviet attack was "the old Communist purpose of sowing confusion and dissension in the ranks of American labor and of seeking to undermine the structure of the labor movement in this country." He declared that while the "American Federation of Labor and its spokesmen have never made a secret of their opposition to communism, its policies and practices," they have backed to the full "aid to Soviet Russia from the very first movement of Nazi Germany's attack on that country" and that "no attacks from Soviet sources will move us to change our attitude in this respect."

"At a time when the Communist party in this country was sabotaging Russia's as well as America's interests by staging defense strikes and fighting our defense program, the American Federation of Labor was supporting without reservation the job of preparing for war against the Axis powers," Mr. Woll declared. "That was the period of the Stalin-Hitler pact, when the Soviet Government was pursuing a policy inimical to the interests of Russia herself and of the anti-Allied cause. But we have let bygones be bygones and have worked for and supported aid to Russia without reservation from the very moment when Hitler's hordes invaded that country.

Worked on Russian Relief

"We have worked hard for Russian relief and we have left no stone unturned in the task of helping to ease the colossal burdens that have been borne and are still being borne by the Russian people. We have also refrained scrupulously from interfering in Russia's internal affairs. We wish we could say the same of Moscow. The latest outburst of 'War and the Working Class' constitutes another unwarranted interference in the internal affairs of the United States and of the American labor movement."

Regarding AFL and CIO unity, Mr. Woll pointed out that "both organizations have sought to ameliorate their differences for the sake of the war effort" and that the matter was "none of Moscow's business."

"Moscow should be the last one to talk about unity of labor," Mr. Woll said, "for its agents in all countries have done nothing but promote splits in organized labor for more than a quarter of a century, and they are still doing it right here in the United States."

Regarding the question of organic collaboration between the American Federation of Labor and the Soviet trade unions, referred to by "War and the Working Class," Mr. Woll said:

"Military collaboration with Soviet Russia does not imply the necessity or obligation of collaborating with totalitarian trade unions."

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This is a clipping from page 14 of the New York Times for Dec. 24, 1943
Clipped at the Seat of Government.

Russia

94660

KHARKOV PREPARES FOR REPAIR TASKS

Half of Buildings Are Unfit for Use—20% of Rest Need Capital Rehabilitation

FACTORIES TO BE RUSHED

Correspondents, in City for the Atrocity Trials, Are Taken on Tour of Ruins

By W. H. LAWRENCE

By Cable to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

KHARKOV, Russia, Dec. 19 (Delayed)—Kharkov, once a modern, bustling industrial city of 925,000 population, today is a grim reminder of the war's horrors. The city, which was twice captured and twice liberated, is a good example of the tremendous job of rehabilitation and reconstruction facing Russia as the Germans are driven from Soviet territory.

Foreign correspondents who are here for the first public trial of those participating in German atrocities tourned the city today and saw block after block of devastated buildings and heard from local Soviet authorities, including Mayor Alexander Selivanoff, details of reconstruction efforts now under way through the efforts of the present population of 300,000.

It was estimated that 50 per cent of Kharkov's buildings are unsuited for occupation and of the rest 20 per cent of the buildings need capital repairs.

Factory Rebuilding Planned

Of Kharkov's 430 pre-war large and medium factories, in which 300,000 persons were employed, not one was in production during the twenty-two months of the German occupation. Mayor Selivanoff said the government had approved plans for rushing the restoration of twelve large factories.

The entire gas and water systems were destroyed but the electric system is now functioning in a large part of the city.

Before the war Kharkov had 135 schools. Seventy-two of the newest were destroyed. Of Kharkov's twenty-seven hospitals ten were destroyed. The others were damaged.

Before the war Kharkov had sixteen street car routes which the Germans destroyed. Today there are four routes running in four directions. The first street cars began operating three months and five days after the city was liberated for the second time.

This is a clipping from page 2 of the New York Times for Dec. 23 1943
Clipped at the Seat of Government.

CRITICISM FROM MOSCOW

In various declarations to which it has adhered, notably in the Moscow Declaration regarding Italy, the Russian Government has come out for freedom of speech, of political belief, of press and public meeting. These "of" freedoms, as distinguished from the "from" freedoms of our own Government, have always been regarded in this country as the inalienable rights of man, legally anchored in the American Constitution. We are glad to note, therefore, that the Russian press is also beginning to put them into effect. We understand, of course, that the development and practice of these rights is a slow process, and we are not disturbed because, for the present, these rights are being put to use in the Russian press only in limited fields. Practice makes perfect, and there is reason to hope that in time, as the Russian press becomes familiar with them, these rights will be broadened to include every field, as has been the custom in this country since its foundation.

Freedom of the press is in the main the right to tell the truth, to express political and other opinions, and to criticize the conduct of people in the public eye, most particularly those exercising the power of government. The Russian press has been free to criticize and denounce the opposition, once the Government has stamped it as such, and it has been free to criticize administrative shortcomings pointed out from above. It has not been free to tell the truth; it has not been free to express political or other opinions except those of the Government; and, above all, it has not been free to criticize those in power who determine the destiny of the nation. But the Russian press is spreading out. It is beginning to criticize and commend persons and institutions in other countries, both those in and those out of power. And among the countries to which it is directing critical attention is the United States.

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Within the last few months the Russian press has criticized or commended various American newspapers and other publications. It has criticized the Republican party and influential Democrats, assailing ex-President Hoover and William C. Bullitt, former Ambassador to Russia, while commending others, in American politics. It has criticized or commended our leading labor union organizations and their top men. It criticized or commended them, of course, from its own special ideological angle or national interest, but that is to be expected. We do the same thing in respect to personalities or institutions of other countries. And as long as such criticism or commendation is being extended in a constructive spirit it is all to the good. For only by friendly debate will the issues between us be clarified and common understanding promoted.

But criticism and commendation from Russia should be of special benefit to those among us whose spine wilts whenever they hear the name of Russia, or who kowtow automatically whenever they hear the name of Stalin. One courtesy deserves another, and constructive criticism from Russia invites equally constructive criticism of Russian policies and personalities from this side. For an understanding built on a policy of hush-hush or surrender of fundamental principles will be only a house of cards, to be scattered at the first wind.

This is a clipping from page 12 of the New York Times for Dec. 24 1943
Clipped at the Seat of Government.

FIL

Soviet Science Serves the Peoples War of Liberation

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By Peter Stone

THE delegation of collective farmers waited impatiently at the station. Their collective farm, in the lower Volga region near the Baskunchak salt lake, was being honored by a visit from a group of foreign scientists—delegates to the International Congress on Soil Research held in Moscow. The chairman of the collective had received a telegram that the party was on its way and would he please set aside 40 watermelons for the group. A delegation was selected which picked the prize fruits and took them to the station for the distinguished visitors. At the railroad an impromptu meeting was held. The chairman of the collective, an ordinary peasant, delivered a speech on an overturned barrel that happened to be lying about. He addressed these famous scientists on the function of science, and the particular significance that their branch of science played in the building of socialism. The delegates were amazed and chose one to speak for the entire group. He did so with these words, "We shall never forget this day, for where we expected to find barren ground, we have discovered a profound respect and stirring for science."

The Dean's New Book

These soil technologists had found a people which expected no favors from nature, but were looking for explanations on how it worked, and what they could do to improve on it. This is the "secret" described by Hewlett Johnson, Dean of Canterbury, in his new second excellent book, "The Secret of Soviet Strength." For the source of strength lies in the organization of society for the benefit of the whole people. Given such a society, people will sacrifice everything for it. The philosophy of Marxism which had built this society, erected a state which is based upon the foundation of natural sciences and the science of economics. It is difficult to separate science as such in any discussion of Soviet life, for in the USSR science is not an incidental factor in the State Planning Commission—but the very basis of its work. But the dean, who holds a degree in science and an associate member of the Institute of Civil Engineers, has set aside a special section on "Science in Soviet Life." This chapter is a discussion of the philosophy, organization and work of the Academy of Science of the USSR.

Communist Leadership Is Based On Increase

The Soviet leaders believe in science, utilize science and encourage science. Marx was brought up in the traditions of science and acquired a concept of evolution long before Darwin. Engel's deep studies in the physical and biological sciences resulted in two basic works, "Anti-Duhring" and "Dialectics of Nature," both of which are required reading for anybody interested in the development of science. In the latter book Engels predicted thaat "life in its simplest form was the mode of existence of proteins." In 1935 W. M. Standley, working at the Rockefeller Institute on tobacco disease arrived at similar conclusions. Lenin's thorough studies on electronic physics are published in his great work, "Materialism and Empirio-Criticism." He recognized and understood the significance of relativity, which was then only three years old, and his writings on modern physics "are perhaps the most remarkable essays on science ever written by a statesman of the highest order of genius," says J. G. Crowther, famed British historian of science. Stalin has exalted science and "especially science devotees, while the force and significance of the traditions . . . refuse to be slaves to that tradition; of that science which has the daring and determination to shatter old traditions . . . when they become obsolete and establish new ones.' Stalin's knowledge of new technical developments was shown when he had to correct Lord Beaverbrook on the horsepower capacity of English airplanes.

This spirit, this love and respect for science has been inculcated in the entire people of the USSR. A scientists is treated as an honored citizen of the Republic. His task is to make life more joyous, to explain and develop new processes, and to improve the cultural and physical well-being of his fellow-citizens. In return for this work, the citizens of the Soviet Union have made certain that scientific research is no longer a luxury to be supported by philanthropic organizations, but a definite part of the national economy. They have made certain that the publication of scientific treatises does not have to depend upon its commercial value, nor on foundabeing printed—and only scientists determine this fact—then the state undertakes publication of the manuscript and remunerates the author, Waldemar J. Kaempffert, science editor of the New York Times has said that "science (in the USSR) has probably permeated the masses more than in any other country. The average Russian factory worker probably knows more about evolution and astronomy than his American counterpart." Yet he complains that "the only fly in the ointment is dictation from on high in accordance with Marxist principles." The dean's book proves conclusively that Marxism has not been a dogma, but a guide to action. He finds no frustration of science in the Soviet Union, and no demand for a moratorium on science. He finds instead the cry arising from the people, "more power to the scientists."

NOT RECORDED
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Clipped from page 5 of the Daily Worker
Dec. 22, 1943

RUSSIA CHANGES ANTHEMS

The black art of modern propaganda has been so profligate in inventing and misusing slogans, battle cries, songs and symbols that they have lost much of their meaning and most of their value in democracies exposed to the cacophony of rival propaganda drives. It is otherwise in totalitarian countries, where there is only one kind of propaganda, and where all rival propaganda or clash of ideas is ruthlessly suppressed. Inevitably, and often quite unconsciously, even original opponents succumb to it in time. The official propaganda line becomes the guiding line for mass thinking and mass action determining the destiny of nations.

It is therefore no light matter when the Russian Government announces that, effective March 15, 1944, it will replace the Communist "Internationale" with a new state song as the national anthem of Soviet Russia. The Communist "Internationale" has been the French-composed fighting song of all international revolutionaries taking their inspiration from the muddled thinking of a German doctor of philosophy named Karl Marx, who combined his typically German and Hegelian ideas of the supremacy of the state with a utopian dream born of his incompetence in dealing with the problems of existence in the London slums. As such it also became the national anthem of the new Soviet state led by exiled internationalists like Lenin and Trotsky, and therewith also the song of all those who dedicated their "higher" allegiance, not to their own country, but to Soviet Russia as the "motherland of communism," It calls on the "prisoners of starvation" and the "wretched of the earth" to rise and to establish an "International Soviet," which shall be the human race. It is obvious why these words have never made any appeal to American workers enjoying the highest standard of living on earth. But they did appeal to quite a few workers and middle-class intellectuals throughout Europe, and formed one link that forged the Comintern. Since Russia dissolved the Comintern earlier this year, the abandonment of its fighting song is quite logical. Even considered from the propaganda standpoint alone, the second step is at least on a par with the first.

But there is more than propaganda in the Russian explanation that "the 'Internationale' does not reflect the basic changes that have taken place in our country as a result of the victories of the Soviet system and does not express the socialist content of the Soviet state." The last point might be argued by Socialist dialecticians, but there can be no doubt about the fundamental changes wrought in the Russian system, and especially in Russian psychology, by the Russian victories. Russia has become patriotic, nationalist, even religious. It has revived the old traditions in its history, its political system, in essential respects even in its economy. Its social structure is changing from the theoretical equality of communism to a strictly defined and rigidly enforced hierarchical system in the bureaucracy, in the army, even in economic life. It has restored the profit motive by differentiations in pay which exceed the average differentiation between working and management income in this country, and is thereby creating a new money class. Above all, it has acquired through its victories a new sense of security and achievement. In short, it has finished its revolution. It has established for itself a new place in the family of nations. And like all successful revolutionaries, its leaders are becoming conservative and opposed to any further revolution which might turn against them.

With such a Russia, we and all nations can cooperate in mutual confidence that the internal structure of the nations is no bar to their collaboration in international affairs. There would be only one danger to such collaboration, and that would be if the Russian revolution should follow the course of most revolutions and not only turn conservative but also Bonapartist and imperialist. The pledges given by the Russian leaders, however, from the Atlantic Charter to the Declarations of Teheran, provide strong reassurances on that point.

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Russia

This is a clipping from page 22 of the New York Times for DEC. 22, 1943
Clipped at the Seat of Government.

RUSSIA SEEN FIRM ON NEW FRONTIERS

But Desire for Friendly Regimes in All Contiguous Countries Is Held to Be Stronger

By JAMES B. RESTON

By Cable to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

LONDON, Dec. 20—It is becoming increasingly clear that Russia intends to press for the rectification of her western boundary and for "friendly" Governments in all countries with which she has common frontiers.

Two facts—one negative, the other positive—seem to justify this conclusion. The negative fact is that the olish Government has, in recent weeks and especially since the signing of the Russian-Czech pact, sought some assurance that Poland's boundary with Russia will remain where it was before the war. This assurance has not been forthcoming, nor have the Poles been able to obtain any promise that any change in their eastern boundary will conform strictly to the ethnographical facts of that region.

The other fact is that Russia is now pressing the United Nations to grant representation to Latvia, Estonia and Lithuania as "constituent republics" of the Soviet Union on the war criminals commission. This question rose several month ago, before the Moscow conference, when Britain declared that she could not represent sovereign British dominion on the commission and insisted that the dominions have their own representatives.

Russian countered with the proposal that all States where Axis crimes had been committed should be represented on the commission. Under this proposal, Premier Stalin listed seven Russian republics that should qualify, including Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania.

This request created a difficult situation for the United Nations, which so far have not accepted the Russian principle. Britain no longer recognizes the Baltic States as independent nations, but the United States does. So far the situation has been allowed to drift; Britain and the United States have not accepted the Russian suggestion and Russia has accordingly decided to establish her own court, whi h is now operating in Kharkov.

It would be easy to overestimate the importance of this difference among the three leading powers. Since the issue was first raised, Britain, the United States and Russia have signed a common document referring to the future treatment of war criminals and they have agreed, at least in principle, that detailed boundary questions should be postponed until after the European war.

The effect of the Baltic states dispute, however, has been to increase Polish fears that Russia intends to make large-scale alterations in the Russian-Polish frontier. Foreign Secretary Anthony Eden discussed the Russian-Polish question with Premier Stanislaw Mikolajczyk, Foreign Minister Tapeusz Romer and Ambassador Edward Raczynski at the Foreign Office today, particularly in reference to the Teheran conference and the Russian-Czech treaty of alliance, which made provision for Poland to join this agreement.

The British Government, which tended to question the advisability of the unilateral Russian-Czech treaty, has since welcomed it, particularly as it provided an opportunity for Russia and Poland to reach a settlement in eastern Europe. This question, however, is not likely to be resolved until Russian-Polish diplomatic relations have been renewed.

The dilemma is how to reconcile Poland's fears that Russia wants to push her boundary westward to the line established by Russia and Germany in 1939 with the principle accepted by the "Big Three" that boundary questions cannot be settled at this time. The Poles reject the 1939 line because, they say, this would give Russia 79,000 square miles, or 51 per cent of the territory held by Poland before the war. It would also, they maintain, change the citizenship of 30,000,000 Polish nationals.

Even if, as has ben suggested, Poland should get East Prussia, Upper Silesia and Pomerania in exchange, this would not, in the official Polish view, compensate for the loss of teritory and population in the east. These three regions, the Poles maintain, would give them only 30,000 square miles and an added population of 6,000,000, many of whom would be German.

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This is a clipping from page 3 of the New York Times for DEC. 21, 1943
Clipped at the Seat of Government.

SHADOWS IN A MARKET PLACE

Three Germans and a Russian dangling from gallows in the market square at Kharkov have the grim distinction to be the first persons publicly convicted and executed as war criminals. Fifty thousand people looked on and motion picture cameras recorded the scene for millions of other spectators and perhaps for posterity. Maybe a shiver will run through the ranks of the Nazis and the Quislings when the facts are known. Maybe there will be members of the Gestapo, in Poland and elsewhere, whose hard shell of inhuman toughness will crack a little.

We can hardly judge the Russian trials at this distance, with their procedure so different from the Anglo-Saxon variety and their almost eager confessions. They do not solve the problem which all the United Nations will sooner or later have to face. We have promised in the Moscow Declaration to send a numerous category of men charged with war crimes back to the countries and communities where their offenses were committed. Such men will then pass from a general to a specific jurisdiction. We will want to be sure, for practical as well as moral reasons, that the procedure against them is regular, that convincing and reliable evidence is produced, and that they have a chance to speak in their own defense.

To take these precautions is not in the least to minimize the enormity of the crimes the Nazis have committed all over occupied Europe. It is simply to be sure that we get the real criminals. The execution of any man whose guilt is not clearly established would make that man a martyr. It may be difficult now to imagine any large section of the German people as possessing a sense of justice. Yet in the end they, too, must come to see that the killing of hostages, the murders, slow or swift, committed in internment camps, the horrors of the lethal chamber, the almost inconceivable savagery which not only wiped out the innocent people of Lidice but boasted of it, were not merely crimes against those who died but crimes against all humanity—even German humanity. They will see this sooner and with better effect on the peace of the world if every offender, from private to general, from slinking spy to arrogant Gestapo official, has his day in court.

As for the supreme offenders, whose cases are reserved for special treatment, the exact form of trial is less important. These masters of evil have not concealed their vileness—indeed, they have made a secular religion of it. In their blind and stupid arrogance they have been confessing every day for the past decade.

Russian

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This is a clipping from page 26 of the New York Times for

DEC. 21, 1943

Clipped at the Seat of Government.

Russia

94566

Russia to Drop 'Internationale'; New Anthem Extols Lenin, Stalin

By The Associated Press.

LONDON, Dec. 20—Soviet Russia is going to replace "The Internationale" with the music and words of a new national anthem which better expresses the "socialist context of the Soviet States," the Moscow radio announced tonight.

The present anthem begins: "Arise, ye prisoners of starvation, arise ye wretched of the earth," and concludes by saying, "The International Soviet shall free the human race."

The Moscow broadcast, recorded by the Soviet monitor, said the Council of Peoples Commissars had decided that the anthem "does not reflect the basic changes that have taken place in our country as a result of the victories of the Soviet system and does not express the socialist context of Soviet States."

Music adopted for the new anthem was said to be the work of Composer A. V. Alexandroff.

The Soviet monitor recorded the words of the new anthem as follows:

FIRST VERSE

Union indissoluble, republic of the free;
Be mighty Russia, forever joined.
Long live the one great Soviet Union,
Created by the peoples' will.

CHORUS

Glory to our free motherland,
The trusty support of the friendship of the peoples,
The Soviet banner, the peoples'

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banner.
Lead us from victory to victory.

SECOND VERSE

Through storms our sun of freedom shone,
And the great Lenin lighted our path.
Stalin reared us faithful to the people;
Inspired us for work and great deeds.

THIRD VERSE

We reared our army in battles;
Swept the vile invader from our path
In battles deciding the fate of generations.
We will lead our motherland to glory.

The words of the new anthem are by Sergei Mikhalkoff and E. L. Gistan, said a Moscow broadcast recorded by United States Government monitors.

This is a clipping from page 1 of the New York Times for

DEC. 21, 1943

Clipped at the Seat of Government.

BALKAN SENTIMENT SEEN COOL TO KINGS

Belief Grows That Exiled Rulers Will Not Retrieve Crowns—Democracy in Ferment

By JOSEPH M. LEVY
By Cable to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

ANKARA, Turkey, Dec. 19—The birth of liberal movements throughout Balkan Europe is seriously disturbing the peace of mind of those Kings and politicians who hope to re-establish after the war the old regimes in their respective countries.

In this neutral observatory, polemical earthquakes in Europe register as soon as they occur, and there have been many since Germany was thrust upon the defensive.

This correspondent has just learned that 16,000 Bulgars have deserted from the army, taking their rifles and large quantities of ammunition. They have become guerrillas, creating havoc for the Germans, as well as for their own puppet government, which they hope to overthrow. Recently 5,000 of them joined the Yugoslav forces of Marshal Tito (Josip Broz).

Well informed circles here in Ankara are betting ten to one that neither King George of Greece nor King Peter of Yugoslavia will ever again sit on his throne. This belief has been fostered not only by the creation of the newly established regime of Marshal Tito but also by the news coming out of those parts of Greece and Yugoslavia where the Nazis are still masters. It would hardly be considered a blunder to forecast that there will be no crowned heads in the Balkans after the war.

It has been virtually substantiated that, with the exception of Hungary, where the legitimists are advocating a monarchy under Otto of habsburg, that all the peoples of south, east and central Europe are stanchly republican and vehemently opposed to royalty. They are aiming for government of the people, by the people and for the people—government that will endeavor to raise the standard of living of workers and peasants.

Many of the movements for the reform of Europe have a Socialist platform. The people's tendencies are perhaps best illustrated by a passage from a letter received here from Poland:

"For the past three years I have been living and working with a type of men who were looked upon by you and me as the scum of the earth and parasites that continually grumbled they were underpaid and exploited by us. After my first few weeks with them I realized what fools we were. No, they are not scum; they are the cream of the earth and the backbone of our nation.

"I vow that if I survive the war I shall devote the rest of my life working for a just distribution of our country's wealth among all its inhabitants. If you consider this socialism, you must make up your mind that I am a Socialist."

The writer of this letter was a big industrialist in Poland and is now one of the leaders of the underground.

From all over Europe, except from Hungary and Scandinavia, come reports that the people are as eager for social reform as to throw off the Nazi yoke. They believe that it is imperative to establish a new kind of government, totally different from the one that ruled their respective countries before the war.

This state of affairs appears most displeasing to the governments in exile, as well as to their satellites. In their anxiety of losing their jobs after the war, they have searched for a scapegoat and found an ideal one—communism.

From now on it must be expected that in their life-and-death struggle to retain power, the exiled and satellite governments will claim that a Soviet conspiracy exists behind all the liberal movements of Europe. It is a common belief here that, although living in exile and considered members of the United Nations, the Governments of Poland, Yugoslavia and Greece have never been, nor are now, great sympathizers of democracy. Their hope of being restored to office is commonly regarded as their only reason for staying in the Allied camp.

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This is a clipping from page 4 of the New York Times for

DEC. 20, 1943

Clipped at the Seat of Government.

ATROCITY KILLERS HANGED IN KHARKOV

94668

50,000 See the Executions of 3 Germans and 1 Russian in Market Square

CAMERAS RECORD DEATHS

Trial Also Was Filmed for Use in Breaking German Morale —Hitler's Guilt Stressed

KHARKOV, Russia, Dec. 19 (Reuter)—The four accused in the Kharkov atrocities trial — three Germans and one Russian—were hanged in the battle-scarred, snow-covered Kharkov market square this morning.

A crowd of about 50,000 men, women and children had gathered by 11 A. M. Red army men, fur capped and with tommy guns slung over their shoulders, made chains around the small square inside which stood members of the tribunal, members of the Atrocities Commission, city authorities and Russian, British and American correspondents.

In the center stood four gallows, constructed from fresh logs. From each gallows hung one loop, hanging at a distance of ten feet from the ground. Under each gallows stood a one-ton military truck of the Ford type. On the floor of each truck stood three stools of white birchwood.

The sky was a cold gray and the roofs of the buildings were black with people. Many persons stood on trucks to get a better view.

Cameras Record Hanging

Soviet ighter planes were flying over the square. Newsreel photographers were filming the scene. One camera was placed on a platform twenty feet high opposite the gallows.

At 11:15 a closed truck arrived with the condemned men. The door of the truck opened and the four men were led out with their hands tied behind their backs. They were flanked by two Red Army men.

Each of the condemned men was placed on a truck beneath a hanging rope. Red Army men who were to carry out the sentence stood on the stools beside them. The Germans were in full uniform with epaulettes and ribbons and they wore forage caps.

Capt. Wilhelm Langheld wo[re] good quality military trousers with high boots. Mikhail Petrovitch Bulanoff, the Russian, and Hans Ritz were pale. Langheld's face was red; Reinhardt Retzlaw's was almost yellow.

The sentence was read out through a microphone. Then Red Army men placed the loops around the necks of the condemned men. Drivers started up the trucks. At the words, "Carry out the sentence," the trucks moved forward and all four men dangled in the air.

Loud cheers broke from the crowd. When it was clear that all four were dead the crowd drew closer to the gallows.

Spectators Applaud Verdict

By Cable to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

KHARKOV, Dec. 18 (Delayed)—The military tribunal of the Fourth Ukrainian Front today sentenced three German soldiers and a Russian to death by hanging for participation in German atrocities in the Kharkov region.

The first atrocity trial was concluded with a verdict of guilty that caused a demonstration by spectators who filled the Ukraine Theatre, where all sessions of the trial were held. The verdict was the first fruit of the firm Allied policy of retribution proclaimed by Premier Stalin, Prime Minister Churchill and President Rooseevlt on Nov. 1.

A group of foreign correspondents attended the last days of the trial.

Considering that all the accused had pleaded guilty and repeated their confessions in winding up speeches the three defense counsels did everything possible in pleading for less than death sentences. The chief counsel, Nikolai Kommodoff, is widely known through the Soviet Union as a counsel engaged in important trials in 1937-38.

The rights of the German prisoners were strictly maintained. Every Russian word was translated, regardless of whether it had any direct reference to them.

Counting breaks of fifteen minutes to two hours the court was in session for twelve hours today, including the speeches of the prosecuto[r] the three de[fe]nse counsels and of the four accused men. Everything was conducted in two languages.

The prosecutor's demand for death sentences evoked prolonged applause fro the crowd. N. V. Kommodoff and S. K. Kaznacheyeff, who represented the three Germans, asked for clemency on the grounds that their clients were victims of the Nazi system and that the real criminals were Hitler, Goering, Himmler and Goebbels.

Wilhelm Langfeld asked for Clemency on the ground of his advanced age.

Hans Ritz begged for clemency on the ground of his youth and a desire to act against the real inciters of arocities.

Mikhail Bulanoff begged for a long prison term in which he could pay for his crimes against his country.

When the verdict was announced Bulanoff and Langfeld seemed on the verge of collapse. Both were led from the hall by two guards. Ritz started to cry when the demand for death sentences was being translated into German. They were under the constant guard of three tommygunners.

The whole trial was filmed. Russians believe the trial will have an important influence on morale in Germany and abroad.

Germans Beg for Mercy

KHARKOV, Dec. 18 (U.P.)—The three Germans on trial here today, apparently under the illusion that they would escape the death sentence, maintained their composure until they were called upon to say their last words. Then they broke down and begged for mercy. They confessed their crimes of the murder of women, children, old men, war prisoners and wounded Red Army men. They laid the responsibility for their crimes at the door of the German Government and the German High Command.

This is a clipping from page 12 of the New York Times for

DEC. 20, 1943

Clipped at the Seat of Government.

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More than 1,000 women and girls, wearing the customary Russian kerchief around their heads; men and Red Army officers followed the proceedings with intense interest. The faces of the elderly women showed signs of exhaustion. Tickets for the trial had been distributed to all organizations.

The courtroom was illuminated by arc lights and many newsreel and still cameramen constantly took shots of the proceedings.

N. P. Beloff delivered a striking summation in defense of the Russian traitor, Mikhail Petrovich Bulanoff, driver for the Gestapo, asking for leniency on the ground that he entered the German service only after witnessing many months of torture and shooting of Russians. He pointed out that Bulanoff remained at Kursk at the risk of his life, awaiting the Russians after the Germans retreated.

In their last words the three Germans again admitted their crimes. Langheld confessed to killing more than 100 persons, Retzlaw 120, while Ritz said he had caused the deaths of many persons. All shifted the responsibility to the Nazi government and the German High Command, claiming they acted under compulsion.

Warning to Nazi Criminals

MOSCOW, Dec. 19 (Reuter)—Ilya Ehrenburg, Soviet writer, summing up feeling of the Russian people on the Kharkov trial, wrote today:

"I could never look upon Hitler's invasion of Europe as war, for it is a huge criminal affair, a chain of crimes and destruction of everything sacred to humanity.

"That is why I cannot distinguish between Captain Langheld and General Reichenau, between Corporal Retzlav and Diplomat Ribbentrop, between Hans Ritz and all the other Hans Ritzes and Fritzes who are still in Paris, Minsk, Athens and Novgorod.

"The sentence passed on the three Germans at Kharkov is a sentence passed on the whole Nazi gang. The Red Army and the Allies will carry out this sentence. The sentence will fly through the world.

"Until recently the Nazis believed they could escape. They remember how their fathers—the Kaiser's executioners—got away with it. They remembered the farce of the Leipzig court.

"But this time it is different. Europe has understood the face of Nazi Germany, and the British on their island have seen the murderers of London and Coventry.

"Now there is Soviet Russia—warrior and judge. The fate of the three Kharkov executioners awaits every Nazi who has drenched our country in blood, tortured Soviet prisoners, shot peaceful citizens and killed children."

This is a clipping from page _____ of the New York Times for .

Clipped at the Seat of Government.

SOVIET PLEA RAISES THE BALTIC ISSUE

Vote-by-Republic Plan for War Crime Group Would Force Approval of Gains

By The Associated Press.

LONDON, Dec. 19—So far the Russians have not participated in sessions of the United Nations Commission for the Investigation of War Crimes, which has met twice informally in London's law courts and has another meeting scheduled next month. It is not yet officially organized.

Russia's absence has been attributed officially to "technical reasons." These are understood to be a difference of opinion over the Russian suggestion that each of the Soviet Union's sixteen constituent republics should have a representative and vote on the commission, presumably on the ground that the British Empire has a representative each from the United Kingdom, Canada, Australia and India.

The Russian proposal proved unacceptable to other United Nations, as far as could be learned, for two reasons:

1. The acceptance of the Russian plan would be tantamount to recognition of Moscow's territorial

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SOVIET PLEA RAISES THE BALTIC ISSUE

Continued From Page One

claims on the Baltic States, for they have been taken in as three Russian republics.

2. The sixteen representatives would enable the Russians to equal the vote of the other representatives and might result in their controlling the commission's action.

Since the restitution of wrecked or stolen property is envisaged in post-war justice, the Poles are particularly inclined to take exception to such a proposal.

This is a clipping from page 1 of the New York Times for

Dec 20, 1943

Clipped at the Seat of Government.

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CLUES SOUGHT IN RUSSO-CZECH PACT

By DAVID ANDERSON

By Cable to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

LONDON, Dec. 18—At Moscow last Sunday Vyacheslaff M. Molotoff, Commissar for Foreign Affairs, and Zdenek Fierlinger, Ambassador to Russia of the Czechoslovak Republic, signed a twenty-year agreement of friendship, mutual assistance and post-war collaboration between their two countries. In so doing they turned a spotlight on the troubled affairs of eastern Europe.

Tucked away at the bottom of the pact was a protocol that has brought a reluctant Polish Government into the forefront of the picture again.

It stipulated that "should any third power bordering on the U.S.S.R. or the Czechoslovak Republic, and representing in this war an object of German aggression, express a desire to join the present agreement, the latter will be given the possibility of signing this agreement with the mutual consent of the U.S.S.R. and the Czechoslovak Republic, thus making it a tripartite agreement."

The significance of the treaty thus reaches beyond the future relations between Prague and Moscow or even the implication it carries of other similar treaties that might be drawn up. The inclusion of Poland by inference, if not by name, imparts a sense of urgency to the situation.

Future Russian Policy, It Is Thought, May Be Foreshadowed

Moreover, the Russian-Czech treaty has given the world a hint of the line Soviet foreign policy may take, as well as high-lighting at least two distinct policies confronting the rest of the nations.

It is assumed by well-informed persons here that the protocol was written on the suggestion of the British and United States Governments.

The Poles have no diplomatic link with Russia today and are therefore unable to discuss the treaty openly. They are not even sure whether Poland is the "third power" the two signatories had in mind—it could be Austria.

Poland's Position

Poles are perplexed by the wording of the treaty, which declares there will be "noninterference in the internal affairs" of the respective states. At present the Polish authorities here are inclined to regard as "internal" all of Poland's eastern provinces up to the pre-war frontier, but there is no reason to suppose that is Moscow's interpretation. If the Russians stand on the Molotoff-Ribbentrop line of 1939 these selfsame provinces will be the "internal" concern of the Soviet Union.

Both Russians in Moscow and Czechs in London have referred unofficially to their pact as a logical product of the good-neighbor policy, with emphasis on the word neighbor. They talk of having a common frontier for the first time—something that can only be accomplished at the expense of Poland.

Formulae to enable the Polish Government to work out a solution have been hashed over in London ever since the treaty was signed. It is felt definitive action must be taken soon because of the growing impression that Russia may exert pressure for the liquidation of the present Polish Cabinet. An alternative might be recognition of one formed in Moscow.

Russian foreign policy is now emerging in clearer form, it is considered by observers here, although it is still a misty subject.

Moscow is believed to be seeking access to western Europe by means of a series of treaties, of which that with Czechoslovakia is the first. The memory of Munich has an important bearing on the reaction of both signatories; Russia found herself shut off from the deliberations of the four western European powers in 1938 when she wanted a voice in that council and is now resolved to keep in closer touch with western affairs, and the Czechs learned a lesson that it was not enough to have faith in the west alone.

There are two ways of looking at present Soviet policy. It is either an effort to open for Russia channels leading westward, or it is a careful building of a rampart. The best guess here is that it is a combination of both, a sort of low wall with convenient gates.

Other Pacts Seen

It will occasion no surprise if the Soviet Union extends its pacts of friendship on the pattern of the Czech agreement, which in turn was modeled on the Anglo-Russian agreement of June, 1942. They might cover Yugoslavia, Hungary, Bulgaria and possibly Rumania—although such agreements are harder to conclude in cases where one party has been the loser, as in the case of Rumania

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Whether these treaties will actually materialize naturally cannot even be guessed at with any pretense of accuracy at this time, since, for one thing, Hungary and Rumania are still at war with the Soviet Union, and Yugoslavia is divided internally. Nevertheless, it is predicted with much confidence that post-war Moscow will insist on friendly Governments being in power in those countries.

The Russians, it is argued, would not hesitate to use a withdrawal of recognition such as is now hobbling the Polish Government here, to accomplish the end sought.

This does not mean, however, that Communist régimes will be sought by Russia in neighboring capitals. Rather will it be Moscow's plan to have helpful governments willing to cooperate with the Soviet Union in the long task of recovering from this war, according to one interpretation of Soviet policy abroad.

As the Czechs View It

The Czechs discount the idea of Russia's creating a sphere of influence in eastern Europe. They contend that their Moscow treaty cannot be construed as a move on their part from the Western Allied camp into one dominated by Russia. There is a tendency for the Czechs to pride themselves on being smarter than the Finns and Poles, both of whom had a chance to negotiate with the Soviet Union when Russia was hard pressed. The Czechs remark that post-war Russia will be powerful and confident and that it is only common sense to extend the hand of friendship to her.

The British Foreign Office reacted slowly to the idea of the Soviet-Czech pact, trying for a long time to dissuade President Eduard Benes from going to Moscow on the theory that it was a premature move. When the pact was seen as inevitable, Whitehall made the best of the situation by including the Polish loophole and Foreign Secretary Anthony Eden gave it his blessing as an agreement embracing powers other than the two initial signatories.

President Benes is expected to return here soon with a full account of his diplomatic negotiations.

It is expected that he will unfold a tale of more than the one pact signed with Russia, for he is reported as eager to sign others with Britain and the United States, thus pegging Czechoslovakia on the east and the west.

What May Follow

When asked whether the Russian agreement could be considered the first in a series for Czechoslovakia, a member of the Czech Government replied strongly in the affirmative, adding that it could almost be regarded as the first of several series running from Moscow westward.

An entirely different set-up is envisioned by other observers, among whom are the Poles, who look for collective strength on a broader pooling of resources. This viewpoint was set forth this week in their newspaper here, Dziennik Polski, where the Soviet-Czech treaty was criticized as too narrow in its conception.

As things stand today, the greatest force in the world is the grouping known as the United Nations. Nobody can foretell how effective post-war agencies will be in carrying the wartime unity into the restless era of peace. It is hoped here their development will not be hampered by treaties designed to meet special needs.

READ
The Hundred Neediest.

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RED PROPAGANDA COUP SEEN IN ATROCITY TRIAL

94673

Kharkov Tribunal, Now Acting Under Moscow Decisions, Traces Cruelty Orders to Higher Nazis E-3

CONFESSIONS INVOLVE CHIEFS

By EDWIN L. JAMES

The trials which have begun at Kharkov of Nazi officers and soldiers accused of atrocities against the Russian population provide a propaganda opportunity of enormous and telling nature. It appears that Stalin has decided to make full and legitimate use of the opportunity. Before the tribunals got to work Moscow provided facilities for the visit of foreign correspondents to liberated cities where evidence was given them of wholesale killings of civilians and unexampled torture inflicted by the Germans. Now that the tribunals have started, large facilities are being supplied for reporting the trials.

The Russians hold several hundred thousand German prisoners, according to their figures. They have liberated thousands of square miles of territory which had been occupied by the invaders. Thus they have in hand large numbers of accused Nazis and they have plenty of witnesses.

When the Moscow Conference announced the decision that Germans accused of atrocities should be handed over to the authorities of the regions where they committed their crimes for trial and judgment, one thought immediately of Russia. In France, in the Netherlands, in Belgium, in Norway, in Poland, in Denmark, in Greece and in Yugoslavia there were no national governments functioning and the turning over of atrocity-committing Germans to the authorities of those countries had to wait. But it was different in Russia. There the national government is functioning efficiently; there were liberated regions where military crimes had been committed; there were Germans in custody. This seemed to make a large difference. It still seems so.

Looking for Leaders

The first days of the Kharkov trial seem to indicate a pattern the Russians will follow. Russian courts are known for confessions and so at Kharkov we have confessions—confessions of Germans that they did commit atrocities. The excuses of the Germans on trial there run along the line that they were military men carrying out orders. There is no evidence that the court discourages this line; indeed, there is an apparent design to put on the record in full this plea of the accused Germans. In other words, the Russians intend to chase the guilt as high up as they can. It is not likely that the Nazis before the court will win pardon by this sort of testimony. What the Russians intend to do, in all probability, is to try to chase blame officially right on up to Himmler and then to Hitler. They haven't got their hands on the arch-culprits, but perhaps they may some day. In any event, the Russians have an opportunity for a campaign of propaganda, and justified propaganda, which is perhaps without equal in this war.

Pravda puts it this way: "The ring-leaders of the accursed Fascist band will pay with their heads for all their crimes against mankind."

It adds: "It is precisely these criminal acts and banditism, the unprecedented extermination of the civil population that constitute the very essence of the Hitlerite total war of extermination.

"The Kharkov trial is of great international significance. It proclaims the triumph of justice. It shows that arrogantly violated international standards of law will not go unpunished."

Action Without Waiting

After the Moscow meeting many persons regarded the decision about war criminals as something for the future, something to be attended to after the fighting was over. Many recalled the now famous 1919 cry of "Hang the Kaiser" and recalled that it came to nothing, and they classified the Moscow ruling as something for later on.

Not so Stalin. Whether or not Secretary Hull and Foreign Secretary Eden expected the Russians to start trials right away is not on the record, but it is quite plain that the Russian leader interpreted the Moscow decision quite literally and has seized the earliest opportunity to carry it out.

As the Kharkov trial opened the

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indictments of three Nazis and one Russian traitor were read. Mass executions, group killings by asphyxiation, murders of civilians in wholesale fashion—all that was put on record. The four accused pleaded guilty. But that did not halt the proceedings.

Captain Langheld of the German Army testified he had falsified records in order to promote executions of persons not even guilty of violating the strict German war regulations. He said Major Lulei, his superior, criticized him for the fewness of killings and so he promoted more killings. According to the Moscow radio, the captain said Russian civilians were used as live targets for rifle practice.

A Good Nazi Lieutenant

Even more useful for the Russians was the testimony of Lieutenant Ritz. Admitting many acts of great cruelty, the lieutenant brought in the names of Hitler, Himmler and Rosenberg to testify that he was only carrying out the teachings of the Nazi leaders. He said that the lawlessness of the Germans was deeply rooted in them by Nazi teachings. Ritz told of how, when Kharkov was recaptured in 1943, he participated in the shooting of 3,000 civilians accused of having welcomed the Russian troops when they retook the city some months previous. He testified his commanding major had told him to take part in the murders. He said in court: "I am an army officer and I did not refuse. So I took a tommy-gun from a soldier and fired a burst."

After Ritz' testimony, Captain Langheld was recalled and asked the question whether orders "for mass executions of innocent Soviet citizens came directly from the German Government." He replied in the affirmative.

Observers considered that this line of questioning meant the preparation for the trial later on, even in absentia, of Hitler and other Nazi leaders for crimes committed on Russian soil. It is to be expected that the Kharkov trials will be followed by other trials in which the Russians will at one and the same time bring to justice Germans in their hands open to accusations and build up a strong case against the Nazi leaders and their methods of total warfare.

The Political Significance

The trials of Kharkov serve to give additional indications that Stalin is nursing no plan of a peace deal with Nazi Germany, as some used to fear. The trials and the publicity given them will serve to increase hatred of the Russians for the Nazis and certainly no such propaganda effort would be made by a Russian leader who had any other intention than crushing the present Germany.

It is possible that the development of the trials will have some effect among the Nazi leaders in Germany. After all, they may face the issue of the result of withdrawing men from the Russian front to meet invasion threats elsewhere. The Kharkov proceeding does not indicate that Hitler would wish to withdraw enough men to open the way for a Red Army which might put him on trial.

For the Moscow radio yesterday broadcast a bit of the testimony of Lieutenant Ritz. It was:

"Adolf Hitler was the man responsible for the reign of terror in the Soviet Union."

And the trial has just begun.

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94675

Nazis Admit Trumping Up Charges To Execute Soviet War Captives

By W. H. LAWRENCE
By Cable to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

LONDON, Dec. 17—Capt. Wilman intelligence officer, told a Kharkov military tribunal he falsified and forged an affidavit asserting that twenty Russian war prisoners had attempted to lead an escape from a camp, for which false evidence the prisoners were shot, according to a partial transcript of the testimony published in the Russian press today.

Many graphic details of shootings, asphyxiations, hangings and floggings in the German reign of terror for which Adolf Hitler, Heinrich Himmler and Dr. Alfred Rosenberg were held responsible were recited.

All four on trial—three German officers and a self-confessed Russian traitor, Mikhail Bulanov—have pleaded guilty, but thus far the papers have published excerpts of testimony only from Langheld and Lieut. Hans Ritz, 24, who was commander of a special Elite Guard group engaged in punitive assignments. The other German being tried is Pfc. Reinhard Retslav, 36, who was attached to the 560th Group, German Secret Police.

Langheld, who was the first witness heard after the indictment had been read in both Russian and German languages, testified generally about the atrocities in the Kharkov area. He said he had been reprimanded by his superior, Major Lulei, soon after the latter's arrival because of the fewness of the executions. He said he took this

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GERMANS CONFESS TO FALSE CHARGES

Continued From Page One

reprimand as an order to create evidence of offenses against innocent war prisoners if necessary. Russians say 30,000 persons eventually were executed.

Admits Falsifying Record

Langheld said he grilled an exhausted Russian war prisoner and beat him in an efort to get names of persons allegedly leading an escape plot. When the prisoner fell unconscious, Langheld said, he and a translator prepared an affidavit naming twenty prisoners as the ringleaders in an escape plot. The names were taken at random from the camp roster, he declared. When the prisoner regained consciousness he refused to sign an affidavit despite more beatings, Langheld said, so the translator signed the prisoner's name. This affidavit was then turned over to Major Lulei, who ordered the twenty named shot which was done.

According to Tass, official news agency, Langheld's testimony showed this practice was a general system among German officers.

[The Moscow radio said Langheld declared Russian war prisoners also had been used as live targets for German rifle practice, The United Press reported.

Another broadcast, recorded by United States Government Monitors, said Langheld declared ten captured Russian officers had been shot in the presence of other prisoners and their bodies thrown into pits.]

Five Women Falsely Accused

Langheld testified that on another occasion when six Ukrainian peasants went to visit the prisoners. He arrested and accused them of trying to establish communication between the prisoners and partisans. One woman was beaten so badly that she died before the eyes of her 5-year-old child cowering terrified in a corner, according to Langheld. The child was shot later, Langheld said.

Langheld testified he had turned false evidence against five other women over to the local commander, who apparently had them shot.

According to Russian press dispatches, Langheld was asked how many Soviet citizens he personally had participated in killing.

Says He Executed 100

The dispatches said Langheld paused momentarily, raised his eyes and in expressionless voice said he could not figure precisely, "but I suppose no fewer than 100." The names of Hitler, Himmler and Rosenberg were introduced into the trial by Ritz, who, admitting the lawlessness of himself and other German troops on the eastern front, said this was deeply rooted and traceable to Nazi leaders. Langheld also testified affirmatively in response to a direct question whether the "order for the mass executions of innocent Soviet people came directly from the German Government."

It is obvious from the introduction of this line of questioning that the groundwork is being laid for the later treatment of higher German officials, including Hitler himself, if possible for the crimes against the Soviet people.

Of general interest in the testimony of both Langheld and Ritz was a detailed description of the "dushegubki" which is a German asphyxiation machine apparently resembling a moving van. It is on an automobile body and the rear end is a hermetically sealed gray-colored van with an entrance at back for the admission of an estimated sixty to seventy persons. The walls are covered with steel and in the floor there are holes for the admission of gas fumes from the motor.

Ritz told in detail about his participation in the atrocities. He told of a visit to the Kharkov region in June, 1943, when the Nazis decided to shoot 3,000 Soviet citizens whose only crime had been hailing the Red Army in the previous winter when the Russians recaptured the city for a brief brief period.

He said he went to watch the execution of 300 of them near a small village. The victims, including a woman and one child, were lined up near some trenches in small groups and men with machine guns opened fire. While watching Ritz said a Major Hanenitter, who was the local commander and who was named in the indictment but has not been apprehended, said to him:

"Well, show what you can do."

Ritz continued: "I am an army officer and I did not refuse, so I took a tommy gun from a soldier and fired a burst."

Ritz said he also was on duty in the Rostov area, where he estimated 2,000 to 3,000 were executed. He said he personally led an army group that executed fifty men and women by shooting them. Some were not dead after the bullets hit them, he said, so he used his own revolver to end the suffering of two of the wounded in a trench grave.

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EMBASSY OF THE UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS

Information Bulletin

(Issued Three Times Weekly)

No. 140 Washington, D. C., December 18, 1943

THE CRUMBLING FASCIST BLOC

The following editorial appeared in Number 13 of the Soviet publication WAR AND THE WORKING CLASS:

The radical turn in the course of the World War as a result of the Red Army's victories threatens not only Hitlerite Germany, but her vassals as well, with disaster. In his speech on the 26th Anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution, Joseph Stalin pointed out that the defeats sustained by the fascist troops on the Soviet-German front and the blows our Allies struck at the Italian and German troops "have thoroughly shaken the edifice of the fascist bloc and it is now crumbling before our very eyes."

Facts reveal that the process of crumbling of the fascist bloc has begun. Italy has irretrievably dropped out of the Hitlerite coalition. It is now the turn for the other participants of Hitler's gangster bloc. "Discouraged by Germany's military defeats, Finland, Hungary, Rumania and other vassals of Hitler have now lost all hope of the war ending in their favor, and are anxious to find a way out of the bog into which Hitler has dragged them." (Stalin)

The course of the war has shown that the fascist bloc never had a solid foundation. Hitler's satellites took an active part in fascist Germany's bloody adventure because they hoped to reap the fruits of quick and easy victory. Hitler promised to the rulers of those countries the territories of neighboring na-

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tions and the role of privileged omnipotent vassals of "greater Germany" in the subjugated "new Europe." Hitler's accomplices in brigandage have seized and pillaged foreign lands, primarily the lands of the Soviet peoples, and stained their hands by taking part in the bloody crimes of the Hitlerite brigands. It is natural that the rulers of these robber countries are now filled with apprehension and fear. Now that the time is approaching when they will have to answer for their brigandage, the accomplices of Hitlerite Germany, as Joseph Stalin said, "are looking about for a loophole, waiting for an opportune moment to slip away from this robber gang unobserved."

This finds expression, for one thing, in the fact that the government press and official spokesmen of the countries playing the role of Hitler's vassals now seek in one form or another to disclaim complicity with Hitlerite Germany. They no longer advocate the building up of a "new Europe under the hegemony of greater Germany." They often even avoid mentioning their alliance with Germany. They either claim—as Prime Minister of Hungary Kallay did recently—that they are maintaining a peculiar sort of "neutrality," or as is the case with the rulers of Finland, they insist that they are waging a "separate" war which they pretend has nothing in common with Hitler's war. At the same time they go out of their way to "prove" that it is wrong to regard their countries as "vassals" or "satellites" of Hitlerite Germany.

So much in words. In actual fact, Hitler's accomplices Rumania, Hungary and Finland are still working hand in hand with Germany, rendering her military and every other aid. They would like to slip away from the robber gang unobserved, but at the same time they are afraid to go further than mere words, afraid to take any practical steps along those lines. The rulers of these countries are dealing most ruthlessly with the anti-Hitlerite elements which exist in all vassal countries and reflect the discontent of large masses of the population with the ruinous policy of "alliance" with Hitlerite Germany. It is time that these men who speak in the names of those countries were clearly told: Your dissociation from Hitlerite Germany in words is not worth a farthing; it is not your words, but your deeds that will show which camp you are in, and against which bloc you are fighting. As long as the governments of these states let the Germans lord it over their countries; as long as they send their troops to fight with the Germans against the Soviet Union; as long as they are helping Hitler in his war against the USSR and its Allies, they are demonstrating before the entire world their continuing active participation in the criminal adventure of the Hitlerites, and also the utter falsity of their dissociation from it in words.

In the first place, what is required of the states that are Hitler's vassals is a resolute and complete break with Germany. The present rulers of these states cannot but see that rupture with the Germans is inevitable, but so far they are seeking to delay this decisive step. This behavior is highly characteristic of their present position.

Hitler is, of course, doing everything he can to avert the further disintegration of his robber bloc. Cannon fodder is scarce and he has urgent need for 50 divisions from the vassal countries which are fighting together with the German troops on the Soviet-German front this year. He needs vassal countries also as strategic military bases and as suppliers of food and the necessary strategic raw materials, such as petroleum and timber.

After the bad scare the capitulation of the Italian government gave him, Hitler attacked his erstwhile partners with the ferocity of a gangster, in order that the fate of Italy, as he openly stated, should serve as a lesson to frighten Germany's other allies who might want to terminate their participation in the robber adventure. At the same time, the German fascists mobilized their agents and the most faithful accomplices in Finland, Hungary and Rumania to intensively struggle against the advocates in these countries of withdrawal from the war.

Hitler's agents and henchmen in these countries have begun to hold up the fate of Italy as an example, telling the population: "that is what rupture with Germany and an attempt to get out of the war leads to."

Actually the example of Italy, if analyzed objectively, furnishes grounds for entirely different conclusions. The present plight of Italy, whose territory became an easy prey for the Hitlerite bandits, is due not to the fact that Italy ventured to break with Germany, but that she took this step too hesitatingly and too late. It was this hesitation and delay on the part of the Italian government that gave the Hitlerites time and opportunity to convert the greater part of Italy into areas of savage violence and a theater of hostilities. The conclusion to be drawn is obvious: "The case of Italy proves to Hitler's vassals that the longer they put off their inevitable rupture with the Germans and the longer they allow them to lord it in their respective countries the more will their countries be devastated and the more their people will suffer." (Stalin)

On the eve of the Moscow Conference of the three leading Powers of the anti-Hitler coalition, Hitler's toadies in Finland, Hungary and Rumania, started a campaign to scare the population with "the Russian peril." They spread all sorts of inventions about the Soviet Union's "enigmatical designs," and once more pulled out the bogey of the "Bolshevization of Europe." This campaign bore all the earmarks of its origin in Goebbels' lie factory, and its purpose was to "keep up the spirit" in the vassal countries, as well as to foment dissensions between the Soviet Union and the Anglo-Saxon countries.

Hitler's Finnish accomplices in particular spent a

lot of effort in an attempt to get certain circles in the United States and in Great Britain "to understand Finland's special position" and her participation in Hitler's war. As far back as last September the Prime Minister of the Finnish Government Linkomies, for instance, indulged in hypocrisy and flattery to express his "feelings of friendship" for America and "profound regret" at Finland's war with England, adding: "We have only one enemy, the Soviet Union."

The historic decisions of the Moscow Conference caused dismay and confusion among Hitler's accomplices. These decisions shattered their hopes for a split between the Allies, for the appearance of a rift between them, into which Germany's vassals thought they could insinuate themselves. Hitler's accomplices, his partners in the seizure and the looting of foreign lands, assumed an unnatural pose of offended innocence and began to vociferate about the "unfairness of the Great Powers." The lackeys of "greater Germany" began to whine that they were going to be placed at the "mercy of foreign powers," and that the Allies were ignoring the "rights of small nations." It thus appears that to the present rulers of Finland, Hungary and Rumania the right of small countries is primarily "the right" to seize the lands of neighboring nations with impunity, so that these small countries might swell to the proportions of fantastically great powers: "greater Finland," "greater Rumania" and "expanded Hungary." It is no wonder that these small but vicious robbers howl so much over the decisions of the Moscow Conference which contain a serious warning regarding the inevitable consequence of their wolfish claims.

It is obvious, however, that in spite of this the ruling cliques of the countries that represent Germany's satellites, judging by their press statements, have not completely given up their hopes for the intercession of certain circles in America and England in their behalf. Such hopes are fed, among other things, by the fact that in the Anglo-Saxon countries there are still persons to be found who are prepared to assume the not at all praiseworthy role of champions of Hitler's luckless accomplices. To be sure, the tricks of such irresponsible political brokers cannot logically stem the course of events. They cannot save their hapless Finnish, Hungarian or Rumanian clients; but for the time being these persons, by encouraging them with illusory hopes, unquestionably are doing harmful work which is obviously detrimental to the interests of the common struggle of the Allies for the speediest annihilation of Hitlerism.

The Moscow Conference recognized that the first aim of the Allies is to hasten the end of the war against Germany and her satellites in Europe. Military operations are the first means to this end. But it cannot be denied that it is also important for the Allies to pursue a firm political line to hasten the inevitable crumbling blow to Hitlerites.

It must already be clear to the peoples of Germany's vassal countries that the Hitlerite clique is continuing to wage war without any hope of victory and with the sole purpose of delaying the hour of its doom. By still remaining in the camp of Hitler's coalition, the vassal countries help Hitler achieve this purpose, but they do this only to their own detriment.

The near future will reveal to what extent Germany's vassal countries are still capable of taking the road of an independent policy. The course of events will show whether these states are capable of extricating themselves from the death grip of doomed German imperialism. It is quite obvious that a state which persists in its obstinacy and keeps postponing the moment of its withdrawal from the Hitlerite coalition is seriously prejudicing its own future by this suicidal policy. Those Hitlerite vassals that continue the robber war against the powers of the anti-Hitler coalition to the very moment of Hitler's final defeat, have no reason to expect that the peace-loving powers will treat them less severely than they will treat Hitlerite Germany.

Heavy responsibility rests on the consciences of the present rulers of Finland, Hungary and Rumania for the numerous crimes they have committed against the Soviet people. But by prolonging their participation in the war, they will not diminish but still further increase this responsibility. The longer these countries go on fighting, the more will they share in the hatred which the Soviet people entertains for fascist Germany.

91678

KHARKOV SLAYERS TRIED BY RUSSIA

Four Nazis and 'Traitor' Confess to Mass Murders of Soviet Citizens

By W. H. LAWRENCE

By Cable to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

MOSCOW, Dec. 16—Three German officers and a self-confessed Russian traitor have pleaded guilty to indictments charging personal participation in numerous murders and other atrocities in the Kharkov area and their trial now is under way, it was announced today by the Russian press.

It is the first public trial of Germans accused of atrocities and it is in accordance with President Roosevelt's, Premier Stalin's and Prime Minister Churchill's joint statement of Nov. 1 pledging those responsible for war crimes will be brought back to the locality where they were committed and tried under the laws of that country. Devoting more than two pages of their four-page editions, Russian papers declare the Kharkov trials are of great international significance, heralding the triumph of justice and bearing witness to the fact that criminal violations of international laws and principles will not remain unpunished.

Hans Ritz, 24 years of age, company commander of a special de-

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tachment of S. S. troops, Adolf Hitler Division and a Nazi since 1937. It is charged he personally took part in the murders and tortured Russian citizens to get evidence regarding anti-German activities. He was especially linked by the indictment to mass executions in the village of Podvorki near Kharkov in June 1943.

Michael Bulanov, a Russian who served as a chauffeur for the Kharkov Gestapo and who is charged with participating personally in the shooting of a group of sixty children and driving Russian citizens to an execution place for the Germans.

The trials are progressing before a military tribunal of the Fourth Ukrainian Front headed by Maj. Gen. for Justice A. N. Dunaev. The defense was entrusted to three Russian lawyers, Kommodov, Kasnacheev and Belov (initials and first names not given), who were appointed by the military tribunal. The Moscow radio reported the hearing room was packed by hundreds of Russian workers.

Long dispatches by Russian journalists at the Kharkov trial were published today, but none of the numerous colony of foreign correspondents here was invited to attend the trial.

In the general background for the Kharkov trials it was estimated that more than 30,000 were strangled by the "Dushegudki" or hanged, shot or tortured to death. The papers publish pictures of a mass grave near a Kharkov tractor plant which foreign correspondents were show last August.

A dispatch from Russia described Langheld as a red-faced and unemotional Nazi who told with an expressionless voice how he had beaten to death a young Russian mother while her small child cowered terrified in a corner. The dispatch continues: "And what of the child?" he was asked.

In the same expressionless voice Langheld said, "The child did not want to get away from the body of his mother, so we had to shoot him."

An Izvestia editorial makes the point that Landheld, 52; Restlav, 36, and Ritz, 24, represent "three different generations of German people equally morally controlled by Hitlerite leaders."

It is clear from editorial comments in the Russian press that while this is the first public trial of German war criminals, it is far from the last. Izvestia described it as 'only the beginning of the great trials of Hitler's scoundrels—those two-legged bad wolves." Pravda says the severe punishment for those no wbeing tried will prove that there is "a force in the world that will finish the existence of the Fascist robbers' nest in Europe."

"The sword of the Rred Army and the armies of our allies are victoriously preceding the sword of justice," Pravda added. "The sword will not be sheathed until the leaders of the cursed Fascist band shall answer with their heads for their crimes against humanity."

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THE CALL

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The World's Bitter Disappointment In 'The Word' Handed Down By Big Chiefs At Cairo And Teheran Meets

By Norman Thomas

The Call
Dec. 17, 1943 p. 1

94579

THE whole world waited breathless for the word that would come out of the conference of Stalin, Churchill and Roosevelt. For that word might by its power shorten this war, help to forestall the next and bring healing to the nations.

Well, we heard the word; and it was but a reiteration of high-sounding generalities, already fairly well understood.

But what about their application! Would Stalin insist on drawing his own boundaries and establishing puppet governments in neighboring states? Could Finland hope for anything but national death from surrender? Has Stalin really persuaded his colleagues to act on the wise distinction he once made between the Nazis and the German people, or have they yielded to his other plan which, if correctly reported, would put as many as ten million Germans into the slavery of work camps in which millions of Russians have already perished?

Does Churchill agree with the English editor Voigt, that Britain prefers a weak fascist Germany to a strong liberal Germany? Or with the South African Smuts that she must go on with the old balance of power politics in Western Europe and make alliances to strengthen her in relation to her present allies, the U. S. A. and the U. S. S.R.?

Democracy Not Served; Peace Not Hastened

The answer is silence. And without knowing what the Big Four have concealed under a secrecy more successful than that surrounding their conferences; I assert that however helpful their meetings in terms of their personal relationships and military strategy, they have not told our enemy or ourselves what we are fighting for. Not thus is democracy served or peace brought nearer.

In some ways the Cairo conference was more explicit than that of Teheran. It brought assurance to the world, and particularly to the peoples of the Far East, that Japanese imperialism would be destroyed. Not imperialism, mind you, but only Japanese imperialism.

And I heard a smug-voiced commentator say that this agreement "settled the Asiatic question." What hypocritical nonsense! There were empires before the cruel aggression of Japanese warlords.

Back To Status Quo Seems Aim

Apparently we are to go back to the status quo. Indo-China will remain to corrupt French democracy; the teeming millions of the Dutch East Indies will be returned to the fairly humane but very thoroughgoing exploitation of the burghers of little Holland. Burma and Malaya will go back to the British empire, which lost them by processes which make up one of the least creditable episodes in the history of that empire. England will take back Hong Kong even though it will have little trade or strategic value as against the new China. The government which has found it possible to free the fascist, Sir Oswald Mosley, while it still holds Gandhi and Nehru in jail; the government so largely responsible for the terrible famine whose death rate is one hundred thousand weekly in Bengal alone, will still hold India.

Does anyone believe for an instant that this is the road to lasting peace? Is there any American who does not know that even temporarily to re-establish and maintain the Dutch, French and

Continued on Page Five

Continued from Page One

British empires will cost the lives of unnumbered thousands of our sons?

The very proclamation of the Big Three on Asia is so much ammunition for Tojo. He can say truly to the Burmese, Malayas and others: "We Japanese have promised you and even begun to give you a degree of independence which the arrogant white man disdains to mention." To his own people Tojo can say, "You are promised nothing in defeat except imprisonment in islands too small to support you."

All Should Get Place In World Order

It may suit the immediate interest of Stalin and Chiang Kai Shek to consent to this re-establishment of British imperialism, but to believe that indefinitely a greatly enlarged China and a mighty Russia will permit Hong Kong and South Eastern Asia to remain in the hands of the British and their satellites, even if we Americans are fools enough to underwrite this ignoble experiment, is to believe in inconceivable miracles.

A grammar school boy ought to understand that merely to strip Japan of empire will by no means guarantee American security. It will leave us 85 million cunning Japanese enemies, a China growing more powerful decade by decade, with endless possibilities for Japanese or Chinese leadership among the millions of South East Asia, who will be held under the white man's yoke. This is the road not to peace, but to war!

Am I therefore arguing that unwilling people should be left under Japanese tyranny? By no manner of means! I am arguing that what should have been promised was Asia for the Asiatics; with generous arrangements for co-operation of Asiatics with the rest of the world. I am arguing that the Japanese people should be guaranteed a place in an economic and political order in which empire will not be necessary to give them access to food supplies and markets essential for their prosperity. There is no other road to peace, and it ought to be the glory of America to proclaim that fact.

But alas, America has no effective voice save that of her President, who makes his decisions in secrecy and operates apparently on the single principle of appeasing Churchill and Stalin, who know very definitely what they want no matter at what cost to all our hopes of peace. It is a fine thing that we have so much freedom of speech as we have, but ours is an extraordinarily imperfect democracy when we as civilian and soldiers have so little to say about that for which we must toil and suffer and die.

BENES IN MOSCOW TO SIGN NEW PACT

Czechoslovak President Hailed on Arrival by Leading Soviet Officials

SEES AID TO QUICK VICTORY

New Treaty Is Expected to Parallel Terms of Agreement Between Britain and Russia

By Wireless to The New York Times.

MOSCOW, Dec. 11—Dr. Eduard Benes, President of the Czech Government-in-Exile, arrived here today to sign the Czech-Soviet treaty of friendship and mutual assistance, and expressed the hope that his work here would help the nations fighting Hitler to speed the liberation of those countries under the Nazi yoke.

The arrival of the man who first stood up to Hitler was regarded here as significant for the future of Europe. The presence of Foreign Commissar Vyacheslaff M. Molotoff, Marshal Klementy E. Voroshiloff and other high-ranking Soviet leaders at the railway station to meet him was taken as evidence of the importance Russia attaches to his mission.

The railroad car that brought Dr. Benes from Stalingrad backed into the railroad station decked with flags of Czechoslovakia and Russia. The Czech President was accompanied by Zdenek Fierlinger, Minister to Russia, and shook hands warmly with the Soviet leaders who included N. V. Natalevitch, Vice President of the Praesidium of the Supreme Soviet Council, Supreme Soviet Secretary Alexander E. Gorkin and Vice Commisar of Foreign Affairs S. A. Lozovsky. Other diplomats present included Yugoslav Minister Stanove Simitch and French Minister Roger Garreau.

After informal greetings an Army band played the Czech and Soviet national antheme and Dr. Benes reviewed an honor guard from the Moscow garrison. Speaking briefly by radio transcription he expressed his pleasure at being in Moscow and his hopes for the future.

Received by Kalinin

Dr. Benes was received this afternoon by President Mikhail Kalinin who was host at a dinner tonight.

Accompanying Dr. Benes were Dr. J. Smutny, head of the President's Chancellory; Gen. Anthony Nezborsky, aide de camp, and Dr. Jan Kraus, director of Czechoslovak Information. They are staying at the Soviet Government guest house.

Dr. Benes had been en route to Moscow from London for several weeks, but was halted in Iraq because Premier Stalin was at the Teheran conference. When that meeting concluded he resumed his journey by air. Bad weather forced a landing at Stalingrad on Sunday and the rest of the trip was made by train.

No details of the Czech-Soviet Treaty have been given out here, but it is believed to parallel generally the terms of the Anglo-Soviet Treaty. The history of friendship between the two countries is long. Before the outbreak of the present war, the Soviet had a mutual assistance treaty with the Czechs similar to that of France. When Hitler made his demands for Czech territory the Russians served notice they were ready to implement the provisions of their treaty if France did. But the British and French leaders decided at Munich on appeasement, which sealed Czechoslovakia's fate.

Opposed to "Cordon Sanitaire"

Czechoslovakia's desire for a new treaty with Russia is considered clear notice that she wants no part of any eastern European state federation which the Soviet opposes as a potential "cordon sanitaire."

On Nov. 18, Izvestia, the Soviet newspaper, disclosed that at the Moscow conference of Foreign Ministers, the Soviet delegation "declared sufficiently clearly that the premature and possibly artificial joining of small countries into theoretically planned groupings would have dangerous consequences for those countries themselves, and also for the future peaceful development of Europe." Izvestia said no objections had been raised by the other delegates to the conference.

The main Russian objection to the proposed European federations is opposition to "any attempt to restore a policy of 'cordon sanitaire' against the USSR, no matter in what form it may be camouflaged." Izvestia added that "justice requires the statement that some drafts of federations set forth lately in the west are evidently swelling this policy hostile to the Soviet Union."

Czechoslovakia
Russia

NEW YORK TIMES
DEC. 12, 1943
p. 45

EUROPEAN COUNCIL MEETS IN LONDON

Allied Advisory Commission Discusses Procedure—Polish Question Arises Again

By JAMES B. RESTON

By Cable to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

LONDON, Dec. 15—The European Advisory Commission created at the Moscow conference to help the United States, British and Russian Governments reach a joint policy on common political problems held its first meeting today in its new headquarters at Lancaster House, Saint James' Palace.

Three permanent delegates, Ambassador John G. Winant of the United States, Sir William Strang of Britain and Ambassador Foydor Guseff for Russia, attended the meeting which dealt mainly with procedure to be followed by the commission in the future.

It was disclosed, however, that the commission would make no public announcements. It will study the many complex political problems arising in Europe and will serve as a clearing house for Allied information.

Just how important a place this commission will hold in Allied councils remain to be seen. Officials in London were inclined after the Moscow conference to believe that the creation of this commission had been perhaps as important a decision as any taken by the Foreign Ministers. At that time it was generally expected that delegates to the commission would be officials of Ministerial rank whose advice would readily be taken by President Roosevelt, Prime Minister Churchill and Premier Stalin. The long delay in appointing delegates, plus the appointment, not of Ministers but of ambassadors, has led to a feeling in some quarters in London that the commission would not play as great a part in the relations of the United States, Britain and Russia as was originally thought.

Many Factors in Picture

The importance of the commission will depen on the subjects assigned to Mr. Winant, Sir William and Mr. Guseff, on the degree in which they can achieve unity and on the extent to which their recommendations are followed. Nothing has been said so far about any specific agenda before them and it is doubtful if much will be said on this subject, but certainly there are many technical questions which could usefully be studied.

The Russo-Czech treaty with its protocol inviting participation of Poland, for example, has brought the Russian-Polish boundary question back into news again. There is perhaps no more complicated task in European politics than to determine precisely where the fairest ethnographical boundary between these two states lies. Many commissions have studied it and have produced many different conclusions, and while there is no assurance that Russia would be willing to submit this question to the new commission it certainly would be appreciated in London if this commission or anybody else could help solve the issue.

Polish Issue Involved

Clearly, however, several steps must be taken before the Russo-Polish boundary question could be referred to the commission. In the first place some way must be found for ending the eight-month suspension of diplomatic relations between the Poles and the Russians so they can discuss the problem adequately. Secondly, the Russians must accept the principle that this is a proper subject for discussion by the commission.

The Polish Prime Minister Stanislaus Mikolajczyk who has been ill for the last few days with influenza and the Polish Foreign Minister Tadeusz Romer are expected to see Foreign Secretary Anthony Eden within the next few days for a discussion of the Polish situation in general and the Russo-Czech treaty protocol in particular. The Polish Cabinet met today and discussed the possibility of rapprochement with Russia through adherence to the Russo-Czech treaty but no announcement was made on the results of the deliberations.

In the House of Commons today Mr. Eden said he had discussed the Russo-Czech treaty and its relation to the general European settlement after the war with Russian Foreign Commissar Vyacheslaff M. Molotoff in Moscow last month.

"The British Government," he said "welcomes this agreement against German atrocities between two of her Allies particularly as it provided for the adherence of neighboring countries which have also been the object of German aggression."

91680

Russia

This is a clipping from page 12 of the New York Times for DEC. 16, 1943
Clipped at the Seat of Government.

American and Allied forces, after the r[illegible]apture of the Gilbert Islands (1), took the offensive throughout the southwest Pacific. In the past ten days planes from carriers have [illegible]bed Wotje (2) and the Kwajalein group (3). Army-based bombers attacked Jaluit and Mili (4) and Ruapingamarangi (5). Planes and surface units have pounded Nauru (6). American forces last week advanced on Bougainville (7), while Australian troops [illegible]ured Wareo (8) in New Guinea. Air forces raided regularly Jap[illegible] positions on New Britain (9). Every attack emphasized growing Allied might in this theatre and the possibility of eventual moves against the vital Japanese base on Truk (10).

Who will not accept this theory of Japan at all. In the War Department, for instance, the "official" line apparently is to put out a picture of a strong central Japan, heavily protected by interlocking bases and interior lines of supply. How much of this is actual strategic conviction, and how much is tempered by a psychological belief that it may be better to have the American public expect the worst in the Pacific, cannot be determined.

In the official film "War Department Record," recently released as a stimulant for war-production workers, the Office of Strategic Services, working with the War Department, wrote the following into the script:

"Japan's greatest military strength is her strategic situation. She has spun around herself a web of powerful bases and major strongholds. Every base is supported by all the others. If we destroy planes in Rabaul, a few hours later more planes come from neighboring bases. Whereas our losses in New Guinea or Attu cannot be made up from Midway.

"Interlocking Bases"

"This is the great strength of Japan. This is what is meant by interlocking bases and interior lines of supply. At any one point we attack, we come up against the whole system. So far, we have only dented those defenses. This system is defended to the death."

If the War Department actually believes this, it is highly interesting. It would increase the reasons for expecting a long and costly Pacific war. The same OSS script spoke of America not wishing Russia to give us bases from which to bomb Japan, stating that for Russia to become involved in a two-front war would "endanger American plans."

However, a study of Pacific events indicates that the situation has not worked out exactly as the OSS script describes—or at least that the script is not quite up to date. When we obliterated landing fields and wiped out planes at Bougainville, planes did not flow in from Rabaul to replace the losses. And our "dents" in the system of "interlocking bases" have been permanent.

Certainly, Gen. Douglas MacArthur, who advocates "bold, massive strokes," would not agree that the tentacles of the Japanese octopus have been singed from the tips. There still is good reason to believe that a major blow at the Philippines, which would cut off the Netherlands Indies and provide bases for blows to the north, timed with a push in Burma and perhaps a northern attack from the Aleutians, might expedite the end of the Pacific war. And the Allies, once they have their hands free of the European war, can do it.

Two chief problems that must be overcome are: (1) air bases for strategic bombings, and (2) adequate naval bases nearer Japan to serve our fleet. Both problems are great. Singapore, the Netherlands Indies, the Philippines and Japan's great anchorage at Truk all would serve our Navy well; China, if lifeline of gasoline can be pumped into her, or Russia, must provide the answer to the big dilemma.

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CONFERENCES FIXED SHAPE OF WORLD TO COME

Cairo and Teheran Meetings Assume Vast Importance to All Nations

By C. L. SULZBERGER
By Wireless to The New York Times.

CAIRO, Egypt, Dec. 11—It is now clear that the recent series of military and diplomatic conferences in Cairo and Teheran can be considered far and away the most important parleys of the present world war.

Field Marshal Jan Christiaan Smuts after long conversations with Prime Minister Churchill and President Roosevelt described the meetings as the greatest event of the past century if not of centuries. The British Prime Minister himself in talks with correspondents gave ample testimony to his satisfaction.

The reasons for these conclusions are not yet by any means entirely clear to the world and almost certainly will not be until history discloses in full measure just what the decisions taken were and how they were implemented. But this much is evident: the shape of the world for years to come both in the vast reaches of Asia and condensed and complicated Europe has been architecturally designed. This would seem an enormous task for a relatively few men to accomplish. But there is every indication they were pleased with their rough blueprints for the future.

Categories of Success

The conferences accomplished three categories of success. First, by breaking the welter of red tape and traditions they brought together those men who most certainly can bring about this termination of the present holocaust sooner than any others and permitted them in frank face-to-face conversations to assemble and coordinate their plans without the necessity of referring them to anyone else.

In this way what may be considered the final war plans were laid and even the principals of the recent meetings agreed that not only was the Allied policy correct in demanding the defeat of Hitler first before the full weight of the United Nations' wrath descends on Japan, but that some time next year this initial objective was bound to be accomplished. In other words, the world is well within sight of the termination of the first half of the war.

Secondly, through these personal meetings, marked by cordiality and ability to get on together far exceeding even the poorest hopes of the various national delegations prior to the conferences, foundations for international post-war understanding were firmly laid on which the structure of peace can more easily be based. The fact that the Anglo-American chiefs of staff are in fuller agreement and more perfect accord than ever before as a result of these parleys augurs well not only for the European war, as well as that in Asia, but also for that relationship on which the firmness of the ultimate peace must be laid.

Third, definite and concrete steps have been taken already, still in the midst of battle, to iron out certain special problems affecting the post-war world. Definite progress has been made in charting the future of the troublesome Balkans.

Reibel in The Richmond Times-Dispatch

Britain, America and the Soviet Union all are looking with favor upon the courageous Yugoslav Partisans, for example, although they do not intend entirely to dissociate themselves from other resistance groups.

Iranian Issue Settled

Likewise, one of the great potential stumbling blocks for Allied amity was entirely removed when the post-war territorial integrity of Iran was guaranteed. This ancient but unhealthy state lies athwart what has been described as Russia's traditional quest for warm water ports in the Indian Ocean and a third exit presently occupied by Red Army troops. It contains vast British oil investments as well as passage between India and the western empire and British troops are occupying the southern region. It holds many air bases of great peacetime importance to America, and thousands of United States troops are now in Iran accelerating supplies to Russia. Despite this crisscross of interests the powers ratified an agreement already drawn up at the Moscow Foreign Ministers' conference and under its terms their troops will be evacuated within the first six months after the end of the war. This not only reassures the weak Iranian Government but also all little States in the Middle East, Lebanon and Syria can now far more easily count on their promised independence. One of German Propaganda Minister Joseph Goebbels' greatest propaganda props has been cut down.

Furthermore, in Europe itself it comes far more evident to the lesser smaller powers that actually this is not a war for another imperialism but that promised precepts of the Atlantic Charter are being implemented one by one. The actual frontier between Eastern Europe and Western Russia has not yet been settled. There is no doubt Moscow is still insisting on the re-establishment of those borders existing prior to the German invasion in 1941. But the nervousness over potential vast Soviet expansionism into the Continent's heart or down to the Mediterranean has been vastly assuaged.

Specific problems such as the exact delimitation of Poland's future borders were by-passed at the Teheran meeting. But the Soviet's territorial policy was re-emphasized as no more and no less than what she had before the Nazi attack and willingness to see compensation for other States.

Perhaps a significant human touch, indicative of this mood, was given at Mr. Churchill's distinguished birthday party in Teheran when the Prime Minister toasted "Stalin, the Great." The Soviet marshal, well aware of the implications of such a phrase and its relationship to the imperialistic trends of Peter the Great, declined to drink to this. "Let us drink to the Red Army instead," he said and many read much meaning therein.

A Pacific Charter

But Europe was only one phase of these historic gatherings—in time and sense it was secondary. What is tantamount to a Pacific Charter, outlining the foundations for Asia's future map, was drawn up at the Cairo meeting of Generalissimo Chiang, Prime Minister Churchill, President Roosevelt and their delegations of experts.

Tokyo's co-prosperity sphere, which gingerly commenced with the seizure of Formosa in 1895, will be entirely scrapped. Japan will be shoved to the days of Genro by the Allied planners and when the last shot is fired over the vast Pacific will be placed in such a position that for many decades she will never menace the world's peace.

From the ashes of this empire, which will some day be destroyed, is scheduled to rise a new and greater China, more powerful than perhaps at any time in her history including once again Manchuria, Formosa, the Pescadores and protected by a liberated Korea—which might be regarded as the Austria of the East.

Finally, the connecting link between Europe and Asia—Turkey—has been reassured as to its future position in the world, and in return probably has been bluntly informed that to obtain full rating as a victor in this war she will have to take a full part in it before its conclusion. Turkey has been reassured Moscow does not want the Dardanelles nor a back door to Iran, and Ankara will be somewhat less reluctant fully to aid the Allies if and when the time eventually comes.

Strategically, there is little one can say regarding the conference decisions except that Anglo-American staffs are in greater agreement than ever before, that Mr. Roosevelt and Mr. Churchill, on the one hand, and Mr. Stalin, on the other, have consorted plans for coordinated attacks on Germany and that as much material as possible will be sent to Asia, always remembering that the greatest priorities remain in the European theatre.

Liaison Is Improved

To facilitate these conceptions certain improvements, especially in liaison, have been effected. Maj. Gen. Richard K. Sutherland is now visiting Admiral Lord Louis Mountbatten's headquarters in southeastern Asia before returning to his post as Chief of Staff to Gen. Douglas MacArthur in an effort to improve coordination between the Asiatic mainland and the so-girt theatres. Likewise, Lieut. Gen. Joseph W. Stilwell is being appointed Admiral Mountbatten's deputy commander in chief, thus facilitating the tie-up between Generalissimo Chiang's Chinese theatre and Burma and India.

There are many indications of similar impending moves affecting somewhat the uncoordinated Mediterranean picture, with the separate commands of Gen. Dwight D. Eisenhower and Lieut. Gen. Sir Henry Maitland Wilson, but nothing may be said on that yet.

The most secret Allied war plans have been laid, and no one, Adolf Hitler especially, will know their import until their impact has been delivered. New details of the architectural design for living in our century have been filled in. Leading designers have met, and, what is more, have gotten along famously. That is the substance of the recent series of get-togethers.

Russia — 91682

NEW YORK TIMES
DEC. 12, 1945
p. E-5

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"Smuts Points to
Two Great Dangers"

from an address by
Van Christiaan Smuts

Russia

Smuts Points to Two Great Dangers

One is to over-simplify the problems we face today; the other is the tendency to follow vague slogans.

The perplexing problems involved in making and maintaining world peace were dealt with dramatically in a recent address by Field Marshal Jan Smuts, Prime Minister of South Africa and Britain's elder statesman, before the Empire Parliamentary Association in London. This article is made up of excerpts from that speech.

From an Address
By Jan Christiaan Smuts

THERE are two dangers that face us in a situation such as ours today. One is the danger of over-simplification in a world where the problems are so complex. Thus we falsify the real character of the problems before us and miss the real solutions. The other danger is what I may call the danger of following slogans or catchwords and so missing the real inwardness of the problems before us.

These two dangers are really the same, though I wish to keep them separate for the moment. Let me refer briefly to the first danger of over-simplification. Where you are faced with a situation and problems such as we are faced with, you dare not over-simplify. You can only proceed toward a solution step by step in the old empirical British way, for if you begin to theorize and rationalize and simplify you are lost.

I think particularly of several occasions when we have been confronted with such a situation. Take our situation at the time of the last peace, twenty-five years ago. We had before us very grave problems, but we proceeded to solve them in a few months. The peace conference met in January, 1919, and it dissolved in May. Within that period, by a process of sidetracking real issues and over-simplifying others, we produced the peace treaty, and I am sure if we were to follow the same procedure in the situation before us today—or the situation which will be before us at the end of this war—we shall move to even greater disasters than we have seen in the past.

When I look at the sort of problems that we shall have to deal with at the end of this war, the problems of the new Europe and the world, I doubt whether any peace conference will be able to settle those questions in a reasonable time unless it proceeds by the process of over-simplification and falsification.

It may be that we shall be faced with questions so vast, so complicated, so difficult and intractable, that in the end we shall have to be satisfied with making a pretty comprehensive armistice dealing with the general military question of ending the war and leaving the rest of the problems to a long series of conferences —to a long process of working out solutions—without coming to any general peace conference at all.

Field Marshal Jan Christiaan Smuts.

THEN take the other danger: the danger of following slogans and catchwords. Today we hear a great deal of "democracy." We are fighting the battle of democracy, we are fighting for freedom; of course we are. But these words become clichés, they become catchwords and vague slogans which in the end do not lead you very far. Our opponents have another set of formulas: They fight for the leadership principle, the Führer principle. With them the objective has also become a catchword, a cliché.

It must be quite clear to anybody who thinks of the real problems that you will only get to practical solutions, in the end, if you have a good mixture of both democracy and freedom on the one hand and of leadership on the other. It is no use simplifying your problem and using one simple formula and thinking that you will reach the solution in that way. Here in this country you are a great democracy, perhaps the most outstanding democracy of history. But here, too, we have learned what leadership means in a great emergency. Without leadership, freedom by itself will not help you. Freedom, like patriotism, is not enough. We shall want not only freedom, but also discipline. Discipline is just as essential. We shall have to bear that in mind in the days before us.

I mention another case of one-sided simplification. I remember before the last war, and during the last war, we were very much concerned with the danger of what was called "the balance of power." We wanted to get away from it because it was the old system in Europe that had led to wars before. We were determined to avoid the balance of power and so went in for another formula. We wanted a universal, all-in system of security, a system of universality and of idealism, and we followed it in the League of Nations. We recognized equality, we brought all the nations together, and in the end there was a very large number of them. In that way we thought we would avoid the problem of the balance of power. But we fell into the opposite danger. This war has taught us not only that idealism is not enough and that universality is not the solution for our security problem, but it has also taught us that we cannot get away from the problem of power.

THAT is where this greatest war in history had its origin. We have found that all our idealism, all our high aspirations for a better world and a better human society, stand no ghost of a chance unless we reckon with this fundamental factor and keep power well in our minds when we search for the solution of the problem of security. The question of power remains fundamental and it is, I think, the great lesson of this war. Peace not backed by power remains a dream.

Therefore, looking at the situation that faces us in the near future, I would say that in arranging for a new world organization for security we shall have to provide not only for freedom and democracy, which are essential, but we shall also have to provide for leadership and for power. If we leave the future security of the world merely to loose arrangements and to aspirations for a peaceful world, we shall be lost.

We shall have to attend to the lesson we have learned and see to it that in the new organization to preserve peace for the future we give a proper place to leadership and to power. To my mind that can be done much more effectively than in the Covenant of the League of Nations by giving a proper place to the three great powers now at the head of our United Nations.

GREAT BRITAIN, the United States and Russia now form the trinity at the head of the United Nations fighting for the cause of humanity. And as it is in war, so will it have to be in peace. We shall have to see to it that in the new international organization the leadership remains in the hands of this great trinity of powers. These three powers must retain the leadership in war and in peace and be responsible in the first instance for the maintenance of security and for the preservation of world peace, and this primary responsibility will not be affected by any duties resting on the rest of the United Nations.

I think it was largely because in the League of Nations, as constituted after the last war, we did not recognize the importance of leadership and power that everything went wrong in the end. What was everybody's business in the end proved to be nobody's business. Each one looked to the other to take the lead and the aggressors got away with it. Leadership had not been firmly settled by the constitution of that organization, and it all went to pieces in the general hesitation and confusion, and that is why we are fighting this war now.

Apart from this flaw, I should say, judging from my own reading of events, that there was nothing much amiss with the League of Nations. It was a well-thought-out scheme and it worked well, and for the first ten years in the league it was a surprising success. Until aggression and the question of power turned up, the League of Nations functioned very well indeed. In the league organization, however, we did not pay sufficient attention, or, indeed, any particular attention to the economic question. The Covenant much too exclusively followed political lines; we looked too much to political solutions.

Just as we have learned our lesson that power is fundamental in the international order; so we have learned that unless the new organization which we are going to erect after this war attends sufficiently well to the economic conditions among mankind, we shall again get into the troubles which ruined world recovery after the last war.

I NOW come to much more explosive things.

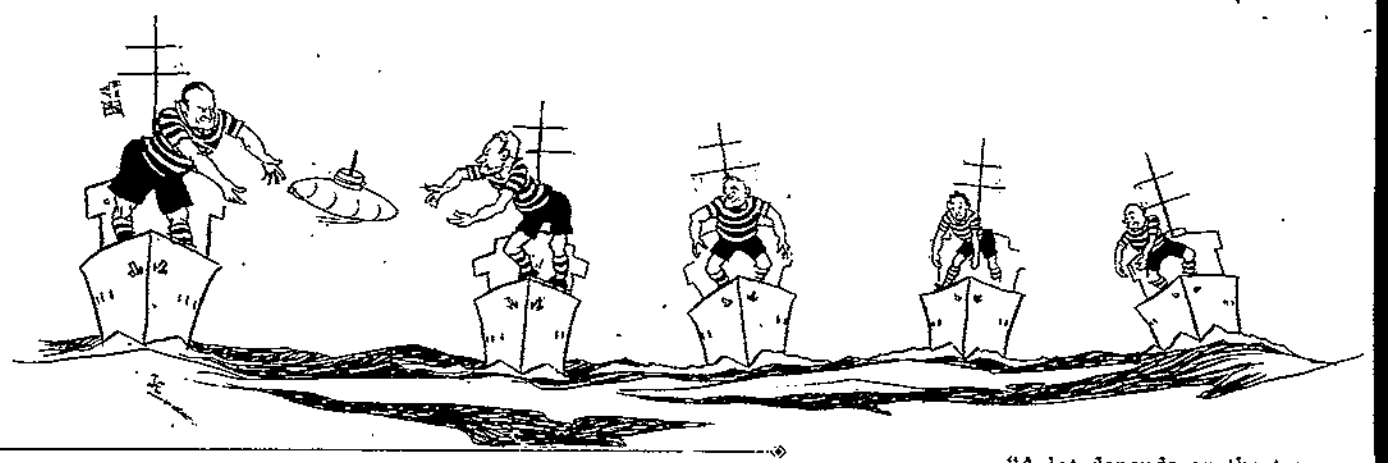
We have moved into a strange world, a world such as has not been seen for hundreds of years, perhaps not for 1,000 years. Europe is completely changing. The old Europe has gone. The map is being rolled up and a new map is unrolling before us. We shall have to do a great deal of fundamental thinking and scrapping of old points of view before we find our way through that new continent which now opens up before us.

Just look, for a moment, at what is happening and what will be the state of affairs at the end of this war in Europe. Three of the five great powers will have disappeared. That will be a unique development. France has gone, and if ever she returns it will be a hard and a long upward pull for her to emerge again. A nation that has once been overtaken by a catastrophe such as she has suffered, reaching to the (*Continued on Page* 34)

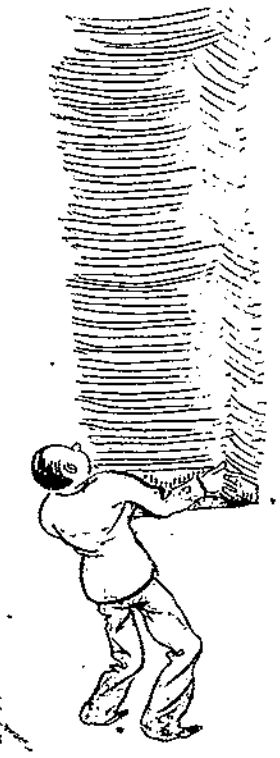
DO NOT FORGET
The Hundred Neediest.

Convoy Humor

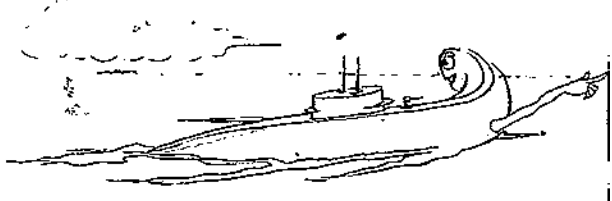
Wintertime on the cold North Atlantic is no joke, yet the grim sea captains enjoy a hearty laugh every time they look at their convoy instructions and see the sketches which illustrate the secret text for the conduct of the Battle of the Atlantic. Reproduced on these pages are a few of these humorous drawings. They are the work of Captain J. E. Broome of the Royal Navy, now on duty in the Pacific.

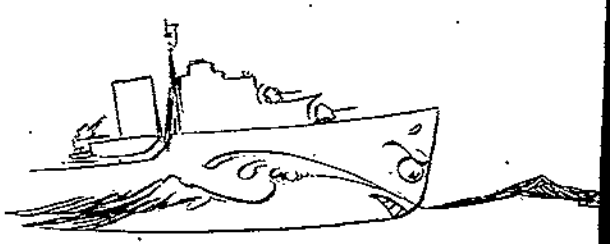


"A lot depends on the teamwork of an escort group."

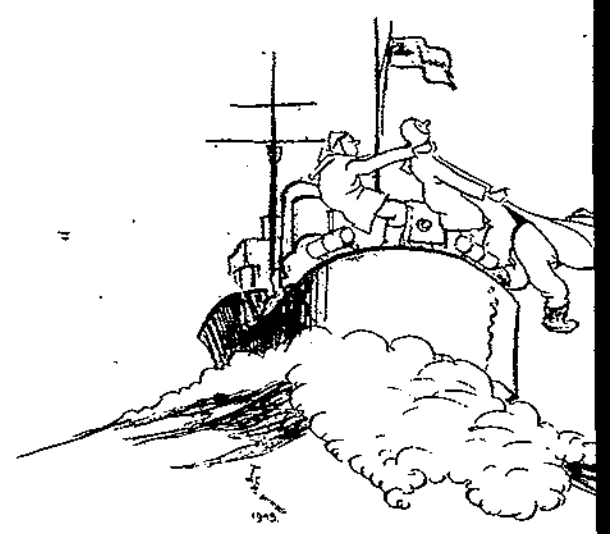


"Reports should b made as brief as pos sible. If you hav nothing interesting t say on paper, don say it."



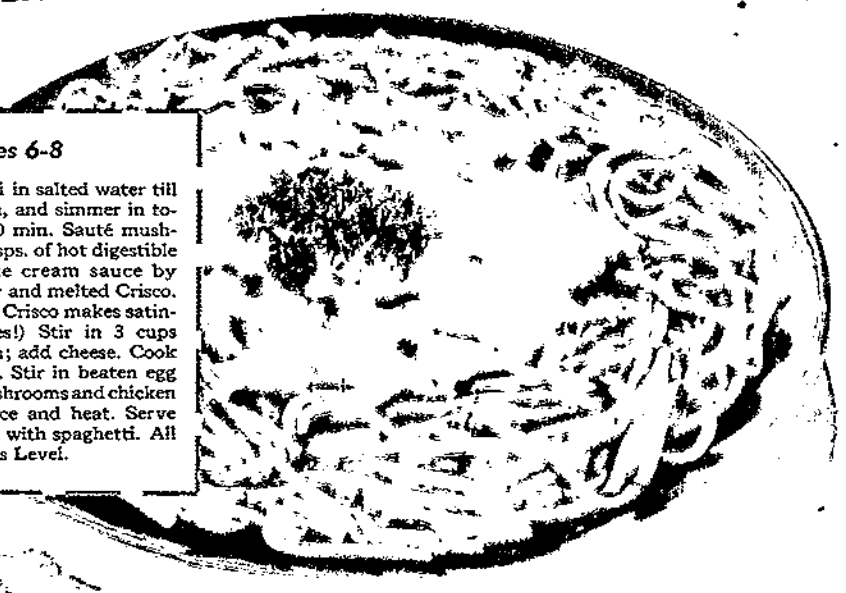


"Never hes itate to attack immediately."



Company Fare—with a FLAIR!

SEE HOW CRISCO HELPS YOU STRETCH A POINT FOR A PARTY!

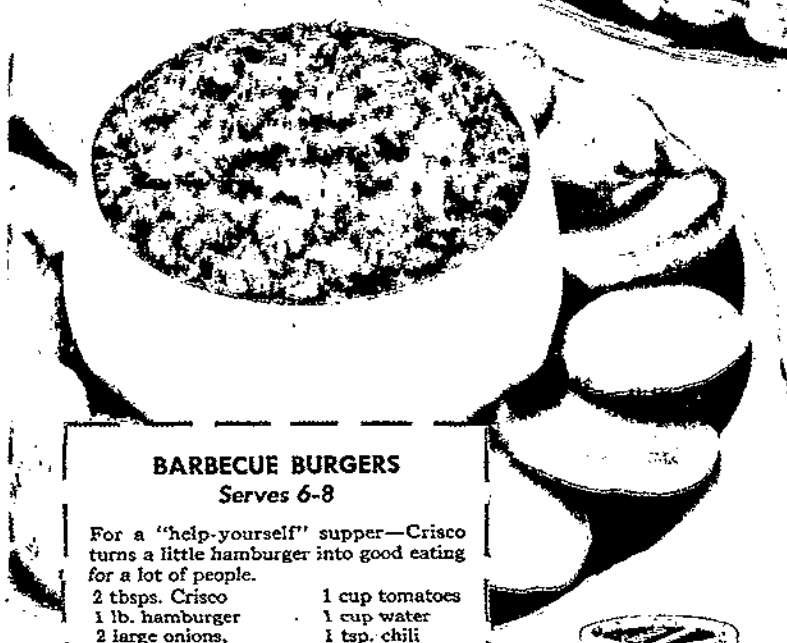


CHICKEN TETRAZZINI—*Serves 6-8*

Party look—party flavor! Chicken and mushrooms in a creamy Crisco cheese sauce served over "pink" spaghetti.

- 1 box spaghetti (9 oz.)
- 2 cups tomato juice
- 1 cup sliced mushrooms
- 2 tbsps. Crisco
- 3 tbsps. flour
- 2 tbsps. melted Crisco
- 3 cups milk, or chicken gravy
- ½ cup grated cheese
- 1 egg yolk
- 2 cups cold chicken, cut in cubes

Boil spaghetti in salted water till tender. Drain, and simmer in tomato juice 10 min. Sauté mushrooms in 2 tbsps. of hot digestible Crisco. Make cream sauce by blending flour and melted Crisco. (Pure, snowy Crisco makes satin-smooth sauces!) Stir in 3 cups liquid. Season; add cheese. Cook till thickened. Stir in beaten egg yolk. Add mushrooms and chicken to cream sauce and heat. Serve on large plate with spaghetti. All Measurements Level.



BARBECUE BURGERS
Serves 6-8

For a "help-yourself" supper—Crisco turns a little hamburger into good eating for a lot of people.

- 2 tbsps. Crisco
- 1 lb. hamburger
- 2 large onions, chopped
- ½ cup diced celery
- 1 cup sliced mushrooms
- ¼ cup catsup
- 1 cup tomatoes
- 1 cup water
- 1 tsp. chili powder
- Salt—Pepper
- 2 tbsps. tapioca
- Soft rolls

Fry hamburger, onions, celery and mushrooms in hot Crisco till brown. (It's a joy to fry with Crisco. No heavy smoke or smell—no off-taste. And Crisco-fried foods are *digestible*—even for youngsters.) Add catsup, tomatoes, water and seasonings. Cover; simmer 15 min. Add tapioca; cook till slightly thick. Split rolls; brown in frying pan in a little hot Crisco. (A grand trick for saving butter!) To serve, surround bowl of "burger" mixture with pan-toasted rolls. All Measurements Level.

Made with CRISCO these Party Rations are as EASY on DIGESTIONS as on POINTS!

Rationing or no—company's an easy problem to a Crisco cook. For Crisco works magic with low-point foods. It gives you good eats you'll be proud to serve—cooking you know is digestible.

You'll take a bow for those Barbecue Burgers if you used Crisco in your skillet. When foods are Crisco-fried, they not only taste better—they're so digestible children may eat 'em! And see what Crisco does for that Chocolate Cake. Yes, digestiblé Crisco cakes are lighter, higher than those made with the most expensive shortening!

Pure, *all-vegetable* Crisco does more for your cooking than any other shortening. Get Crisco today and use it for baking—frying—to make *all* your cooking better-tasting—really digestible.

CRISCO is the only shortening you need—BEST for ALL your cooking!

CHOCOLATE CAKE WITH CARAMEL FUDGE ICING

This velvety, light-as-a-feather Crisco chocolate layer cake will do you proud when company comes!

- ½ cup Crisco
- 1¼ cups sugar
- ½ tsp. salt
- 1 tsp. vanilla
- 2 eggs
- 1¾ cups sifted cake flour
- 1 tsp. soda
- ⅓ cup cocoa
- 1 cup sour milk or buttermilk

Blend Crisco, sugar, salt, vanilla and eggs. (No call for expensive shortening! Crisco makes cakes lighter, higher, so digestible!) Sift flour with soda and cocoa and add alternately with sour milk. Bake in two "Criscoed" 8-inch layer pans in moderate oven (350° F.) 30-35 min. Cool and frost with rich *Caramel Fudge Icing:* Boil together 1⅓ cups brown sugar, 2 tsps. Crisco, 2 tsps. corn syrup and ⅓ cup milk to 238° F. or till soft ball forms when dropped in cold water. Combine ¼ cup Crisco, 1⅔ cups confectioners sugar and 2 tbsps. hot milk; beat till smooth. Pour hot syrup over Crisco mixture; beat till creamy-thick. (If icing gets hard, add a little hot milk.) Ice between layers and on top of cake. Top with pecans. All Measurements Level.

Crisco

9 OUT OF 10 DOCTORS SAY:

"It's Digestible!"

Smuts Points to Two Great Dangers

(Continued from Page 9)

foundations of her nationhood, will not easily resume her old place again. We may talk about her as a great power, but talking will not help her much. We are dealing with one of the greatest and most far-reaching catastrophes in history, the like of which I have never read. The upward climb will be a bitter and a long one. France has gone and will be gone, in our day and perhaps for many a day.

Italy has completely disappeared and may never be a great power again. Germany, at the end of this war, will have disappeared perhaps never to emerge again in the old form. The Germans are a great people with great qualities, and Germany is inherently a great country, but after the smash that will follow this war Germany will be written off the slate in Europe for long, long years, and after that a new world may have arisen.

WE are, therefore, left with Great Britain and with Russia. Russia is the new colossus in Europe, the new colossus that bestrides this continent. When we consider all that has happened to Russia within the last twenty-five years and we see Russia's inexplicable rise, we can only call it one of the great phenomena in history. It is the sort of thing to which there is no parallel in history, but it has come about.

What the after-effects of that will be, nobody can say. We can but recognize that this is a new fact to reckon with, and we must reckon with it coldly and objectively. With the others down and out and Russia the mistress of the continent, her power will not only be great on that account but it will be still greater because the Japanese Empire will also have gone the way of all flesh. Therefore any check or balance that might have arisen in the East will have disappeared. You will have Russia in a position which no country has ever occupied in the history of Europe.

Then you will have Great Britain, with a glory and an honor and a prestige such as perhaps no nation has ever enjoyed in history, recognized as possessing a greatness of soul that has entered into the very substance of world history. But from a material economic point of view she will be a poor country. She has put in her all. The British Empire and the British Commonwealth remain as one of the greatest things of the world and of history, and nothing can touch that fact. But you must remember that the empire and the commonwealth are mostly extra-European. Those are the overflows of this great British system to other continents.

OUTSIDE Europe, you have the United States, the other great world power. You will therefore have three great powers: Russia, the colossus of Europe; Great Britain, with her feet in all continents but crippled materially here in Europe; and the United States of America, with enormous assets, with wealth and resources and potentialities of power beyond measure. The question is, how are you going to deal with that world situation?

Many people look to a union, or closer union, between the United States of America and Great Britain with her commonwealth and empire as the new path to be followed in the future. In this world which I am describing as facing us, I myself am doubtful about that. I attach the greatest importance to Anglo-American collaboration for the future. To my mind, it is beyond all doubt one of the great hopes of mankind. But I do not think that as what I might call a political axis it will do. It would be a one-sided affair. If you were to pit the British Commonwealth plus the United States against the rest of the world, it would be a very lop-sided world. You would stir up opposition and rouse other lions in the path; you would stir up international strife and enmity which might lead to still more colossal struggles for world power than we have seen in our day. I do not see human welfare, peace or security along those lines.

So we come back to where we started; namely, the trinity. We shall not act wisely in looking to an Anglo-American union or axis as the solution for the future; we shall have to stick to the trinity to which I have referred.

But I am troubled with this thought, and this is the explosive stuff I am coming to. In that trinity you will have two partners of immense power and resources --Russia and America—and you will have this island, the heart of the empire and of the commonwealth, weak in her European resources in comparison with the vast resources of the other two. An unequal partnership, I am afraid.

The idea has repeatedly floated before my mind, and I am just mentioning it here as something to consider and to ponder, whether Great Britain should not strengthen her European position —apart from her position as the center of this great empire and commonwealth outside Europe— by working closely together with those smaller democracies in western Europe which are of our way of thinking, which are entirely with us in their outlook and their way of life and in all their ideals, and which, in many ways, are of the same political and spiritual substance as ourselves.

SHOULD there not be a closer union between us? Should we not cease, as Great Britain, to be an island? Should we not work intimately together with these small democracies in western Europe which, by themselves, may be lost as they are lost today and as they may be lost again? They have learned their lesson. They have learned that, standing by themselves on the continent, dominated by one or other great power—as will be the future position—they are lost. Surely they must feel that their place is with this member of the trinity, their way of life is with Great Britain, their outlook and their future is with Great Britain and the next world-wide British system.

We have evolved a system in the commonwealth which opens the door for developments of this kind. Today in the commonwealth we have a group of sovereign States working together, living together in peace and in war under a system that has stood the greatest strain to which any nation could be subjected.

They are all sovereign States; they retain all the attributes and functions and symbols of sovereignty. Other neighboring nations, therefore, living the same way of life and with the same outlook, can with perfect safety say: "That is our group. Why are we not there with full retention and maintenance of our sovereign status? We choose that grand company for our future in this dangerous world."

IT is naturally a question for the States of western Europe to settle themselves. It is for them to say whether in the world as they have learned to know it, as history has proved it to be, it is safe for them to continue in the old paths of isolation and neutrality, or whether they should not help themselves by helping to create—out of closer union with Great Britain—a great European State, great not only in its world-wide ramifications, great not only as an empire and a commonwealth stretching over all the continents, but great as a power on this continent and an equal partner with the other colossi in the leadership of the nations.

I think this trinity will be the stabilizing factor, the wall of power behind which the freedoms and the democracies of the world can be built up again. It will be the protecting wall. But I should like to have that trinity a trinity of equals.

We are living in a world where we are forced to fundamental thinking and to a fundamental revision of old concepts. The old world that we knew has gone and it will not return. To my mind, it is a question whether those who think alike and feel alike, whose interests and whose safety rest on the same broad human political basis, should not be together in building up that splendid trinity to which we look forward for the future leadership.

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P.M. Three short dinner dresses that anticipate spring. Left: Figure-molding black rayon crêpe with sweetpeas at the neck. About $50. Center: The white piqué bodice sparkles with brilliants. The skirt is black crêpe. About $70. Both dresses are at Milgrim's. Right: Checked red, white and blue sequin-embroidered gingham bodice. Black rayon skirt. About $70. Macy's Little Shops. Dresses by Charles Armour.

NEW YORK TIMES
DEC. 12, 1944
MAG. PP. 9-07

This is a clipping from
page _____ of P M

for _____
Clipped at the Seat of
Government

ALL RUSSIA HAILS TEHERAN RESULTS

Joyful People Now Expect an Early End of the Conflict and a Lasting Peace

WAR EFFORT REDOUBLED

By WILLIAM H. LAWRENCE
By Wireless to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

MOSCOW, Dec. 11 — All Russia celebrated this week the good news from Teheran that Premier Stalin, President Roosevelt and Prime Minister Churchill had agreed completely on the scope and timing of new military operations from the east, west and south designed to crush the German Army.

To the average Russian these decisions simply are translatable thus: The war against Hitler will be over in 1944.

That single thought was the keynote of comments of most Russians. It is a reflection of the simple fact that the Russians who proved themselves the most patient people in adversity and reverses are contrariwise the most impatient people for complete victory after a series of successes.

British and American diplomats and other representatives of the United Nations in Moscow shared with the Russians the delight that the second front issue now was dead. Differences over the second front have irritated relations more than a year following Foreign Commissar Vyacheslaff M. Molotoff's trip to London and Washington after which it was announced the three countries had agreed "on the urgent tasks of creating a second front in Europe in 1942."

Hoped for 1942 Blow

Whatever may be history's verdict on the exact meaning of that phrase it can not be doubted that the rank and file of Russians thought it meant British and Americans definitely would establish a land front in western Europe during 1942. When they did not, there naturally was disappointment, which was reflected in the Soviet press editorials calling for a more aggressive stand against Germany by the western Allies and by Premier Stalin's declaration that the Soviet people would be helped most if the Allies met their obligations "fully and on time."

The Allied North African campaign tempered Soviet disappointment but it did not remove it completely, for the bulk of the German Army remained on the eastern-most front where Russia stood alone. That was a difficult period in Anglo-American and Soviet relations.

But that is all past history now, for there is the clearest evidence here that all three countries accept the Teheran declaration at full face value.

That being the case the military and political significance of the Teheran talks is practically unlimited. For accurate appraisal of its effect on the world at war and the peaceful world to follow, the Teheran sessions must be considered with the preceding and subsequent conferences of Mr. Roosevelt and Mr. Churchill with Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek and President Ismet Inonu of Turkey.

Russia is not at war with Japan and therefore did not participate in the first meeting where plans were mapped for the complete defeat of Japan. But about the time the China meeting ended, War and the Working Class, outspoken Soviet journal of international relations, published an interesting and significant military survey, "Two Years of War in the Pacific," by Col. M. Tolchenov.

Says Allies Are Superior

"The armed forces of the United States and England have reached such a stage of development that the successful conduct of the war in the Pacific does not at all interfere with the immediate development of decisive operations on the continent against the main enemy —Germany," Colonel Tolchenov wrote.

"The ratio of the forces of the belligerents in the Pacific has changed decisively to the advantage of the Allies who possess there forces quite sufficient for a solution of their tasks.

"The war in the Pacific is mainly a war on sea and in the air combined with landing operations of ground troops. Consequently the result depends on the strength of the fleet, air force and transport. In all these fields the Allies have absolute superiority, and from that point of view the further prospects of the war in the Pacific cannot be bright for Japan." It was significant, too, that the Cairo communiqué, after the Turkish conference, emphasized that the Soviet Union joined the United States and Britain in the "cordial invitation" directed to President Inonu, asking him to go to Cairo for a full discussion of the general political situation. Afterward it was said in Cairo the Turkish conversations were most "useful and fruitful" to future relations among the four countries concerned.

There was no elaboration here of that generalized declaration nor was there any editorial comment on it.

Concerning the Teheran talks, however, there was widespread publicity all week on its results and most favorable comments on it were made in the Soviet press by many citizens, and papers republished favorable editorials of British and American newspapers. All reflected confidence that the war will soon be over and satisfaction at the firmness and friendliness of relations between the three leaders of the anti-Hitlerite coalition.

Teheran Spurs Workers

One interesting reaction from Teheran was an effort to use the Allied concord as a means of speeding up war production and obtaining greater efforts from workers already toiling at top speed. From workers all over the Soviet Union came pledges of still greater production and A. Yelian Stalin factory director and hero of Socialist labor, in effect challenged factory workers in America and Britain to vie with Soviet workers in an arms race insuring "everything necessary for victory in the coming decisive battle against the common enemy, Hitlerism." The comment of Maria Stepanova, a war factory worker, was most typical—heard again and again from Soviet women in Moscow and elsewhere. This is what Stepanova said: "Together with our Allies the glorious Red Army will erase from the face of the earth the German invaders. Now we have not long to wait for the end of the war. Let us give to the front more shells, planes, guns, everything that's necessary for victory."

There were meetings in the army, navy and air force to explain the important Teheran decisions and the resultant effect was a tremendous increase in morale and new pledges of loyalty to and support for Premier Stalin. A typical comment from the armed forces was that of Captain Demenkov, who has won the coveted "hero of the Soviet Union" decoration, and who declared: "The last hope of the German Fascist clique for dissension in the camps of the democratic powers has collapsed and it is now clear that Hitlerite Germany will not escape from the merciless sword that the Allied armies will hurl at her."

It is a source of pride to the Soviet Union that the war's two great turning points occurred on a single front less than 1,000 miles apart. Militarily the war's turning point was Stalingrad. It is generally believed here as well as in England and America that the success of the Teheran conference was the war's turning point from a political standpoint.

93684

NEW YORK TIMES
DEC. 12, 1943
P. 5

This is a clipping from
page _____ of P M

for _____
Clipped at the Seat of
Government

Russia Wants Germans to Pay

By Owen L. Scott.

The question is being raised once again concerning whether Germany and Japan, after losing the war, will be required to pay for at least part of the damage they have caused. Russia is raising the question this time by making very clear that she expects reparation from Germany.

The United States and Great Britain apparently had hoped to avoid a new reparations problem. They remember their experiences after the last war. At that time Germany was presented with a big bill, to be paid in British pounds and French francs, not in goods. So long as the United States lent Germany the money with which to make payments, reparations were paid. When the loans stopped, so did the payments.

All early British-American plans were based upon avoidance of that type of situation following the present war. The Russians, with their socialistic economy, look at the problem in a different light, however. They think that the Germans should pay reparations after this war about 12 times as large as after the last war and they want to take payment in goods, services and in direct labor, not in money.

In brief, what the Russians propose is the following:

First, the Russians want from Germany a direct transfer of machinery, of locomotives, freight cars, machine tools and other industrial equipment that will enable Russian industry to get going. The Germans destroyed a large proportion of the industrial equipment in the most highly industrialized part of Russia.

Next, the Russians propose that Germany devote as much of her production effort in the years following the war to turning out goods for shipment to Russia as she devoted in the prewar period to producing armament. It is figured that the Germans readily can pay reparations of about $4,500,000,000 a year—in the form of goods—for many years after the war. German industry, in effect, would be working for Russia to this extent.

Finally, Russia expects that Germany will send her between 1,000,000 and 5,000,000 workers who will work under Russian direction to restore areas destroyed by the Germans.

* * * *

This is a very harsh and very practical program, from the Russian viewpoint. It is based upon the very simple proposition that if the Germans would work to destroy Russia, taking away Russian industrial equipment and conscripting Russian labor, they can work equally hard to build up Russia when the fighting stops. The fact that there is no private industry in Russia which would face competition in the production and sale of its products through importation of German goods simplifies the reparations problem for the Russians.

The situation facing the United States and Great Britain, however, is very different. Importation of great quantities of free German goods after the war would complicate what at best is to be a difficult problem of finding markets for the goods that private industry will be ready to produce for peacetime consumption. When the Germans, after the last war, proposed that reparations owed to France be paid in goods, not in money, the French turned down the offer because of the competition it would create for French industry and French labor.

In the light of this situation the Russians now are suggesting that this country and Britain take over the German foreign investments which are estimated to be worth about $1,500,000,000. That would represent a return payment for about six days of war for the United States alone.

The fact is that Russia's reparations ideas raise many very profound problems for this country and Britain.

* * * *

It is clear that if Germany is to fulfill any such program as the Russians suggest, then Russia must have a rather strong hand in the postwar internal operation of Germany. It also is clear that if German industry is geared to supply Russian needs to the extent proposed, then that industry will be oriented to Russia in a way that will make difficult any future orientation. Furthermore, it is most difficult to see how Germany could do what Russia proposes without maintaining a planned economy of the type that this country and Britain have hoped could be avoided after the war.

Another point is that Russia would expect Rumania, Hungary, Finland and Italy to do some work for her as well. The result would be that much of Europe, economically, would be geared to supplying Russia and would be a very poor market for British or American goods.

Of course, Russia might be willing to let Germany off more easily, if this country and Britain would supply her, free of charge, with goods that she expects to get from Germany free of charge. It seems highly improbable that this type of postwar proposition could be sold here, however. Russia probably will be a market for considerable quantities of American industrial equipment on a cash or barter basis after the war, even if she draws heavily upon Germany.

In the light of what Russia proposes for Germany, Japan probably will get off rather easily by comparison. Britain and this country apparently do not intend to demand reparation from Japan in money or goods. The plan, instead, is to leave Japan so stripped—with her industry badly battered by air attack—that she will have a hard time making any sort of a living after the war.

The Germans, if Russia has her way, not only will be hard up in the future but will be working definitely for Russia and not for themselves.

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Russia

WASH. STAR
DEC. 12, 1943
p. C-2

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Teheran Seen as Anti-Climax, Political Decisions Avoided

By LISTON M. OAK

THE historic conferences between the Big Three and the Big Four, at Moscow, Cairo and Teheran, ensure military victory, but not peace. The agreements reached are a guarantee that the Big Three willl wage united coalition warfare against the common enemy. There is no guarantee that international cooperation for the maintenance of a just peace will be realized in the post-war world.

The Teheran meeting of Stalin, Churchill and Roosevelt was something of an anti-climax. No "epochal declaration" emerged. The joint declaration leaves everyone in the realm of speculation. Rumors are flying fast. No one knows whether or not any agreement was achieved on any of the complex problems of the peace. No one knows certainly whether these tough problems were even discussed.

Perhaps the promised supplementary declaration will clarify these issues. Possibly the conflicting national interests of the world's dominant powers were resolved and a compromise was reached in line with our professed war aims. But more probably discussion of these, the real and vital issues of the war, was postponed until the war's end for the sake of maintaining unity in waging war.

There has been a certain sequence of events which may have significance.

While the Cairo conference was in session, Sumner Welles, ex-Under-Secretary of State, wrote in the New York *Herald-Tribune* that it is unreasonable to presume that all the small nations of Western Europe, South America, and other areas, will support decisions affecting their sovereign rights and their future, in the making of which they had no voice. "I do not believe," Welles wrote, "that after this war is won free men and women will for one instant willingly submit themselves to a four-power dictatorship, however benevolent, however paternally wise, it might at first prove to be."

"If a lasting international organization supported by public opinion—and no other kind will work—is to spring from the union of the nations at war against the Axis, the nucleus of such an organization must be created now. In such a body not the four powers alone, but all of the United Nations must have some form of representation when political decisions are made."

Welles hoped that the Big Three at Teheran would set up at once a United Nations Council in which the small nations would participate. This hope has not yet been fulfilled.

On December 4 the "Free Yugoslav" Radio, located in Russia, announced that the Communist-led Yugoslav Partisans under Joseph Broz (Tito) had set up a provisional government in opposition to the existing government-in-exile sitting in Cairo and recognized by the Allies, including Russia, which is headed by King Peter, whose military chieftain is Mikhailovitch. This poses before the United Nations a sharp Balkan problem, about which the Big Three were silent. It foreshadows similar maneuvers elsewhere within occupied countries by Russia and its Comintern. It reflects Stalin's determination to dominate the Balkans and all of Eastern and Central Europe.

A day later the Soviet paper, *War and the Working Class*, denounced the Polish government-in-exile in London as "pro-Nazi." For the first time the Kremlin attacked, by name, Stanislaw Mikolajcyzk, the Polish Premier, and Gen. Kazimierz Sosnkowski, War Minister, as fascists and "murderers of Polish Partisans." Reiterating the hypocritical Soviet position for a "free, strong, democratic Poland," the Kremlin spokesman, Eugene Tarle, demanded that Poles support the Red Army and its Kosciusko division and the Communist Union of Polish Patriots who will form the government of Poland when the Red Army marches in to liquidate the anti-fascist Polish underground. "Not Sosnkowski, but the Partisans . . . ' represent Poland's future. . . ."

Those who imagine that the pact of Moscow and subsequent conferences at Cairo and Teheran cancel or replace the Moscow Free German National Committee and its program should read an article in the CP's *Sunday Worker* of Dec. 5, by the well known German Communist Paul Merker, secretary of the Latin American Committee of Free Germany. He first gives a distorted outline of the history of the German democratic republic, forgetting the di

New London Day, Dec. 11, 1943 p. 1

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ruptive and treacherous role played by the Communist Party, then in its ultra-revolutionary "third period." He does not repeat the fact that the Comintern considered the Social Democrats "social-fascists," and more of an enemy than the Nazis; nor does he say that the Communists made a united front with the Nazis on several occasions and rejected a united front with the socialists and liberals. Merker attempts to blame the Social Democrats alone for the triumph of Hitlerism.

Then this Soviet agent proceeds to defend the Free German Committee in Moscow and its Union of German Officers, including General Walther von Seidlitz and other Prussians who served Hitler until captured at Stalingrad. Merker predicts that this Free German movement will have "the strength to unite the representatives" of the German people, and "to fulfill its historic mission . . . to lead the democratic revolution in Germany to victory."

Everywhere Russia is laying plans for "free, democratic governments," "national fronts," "people's fronts," in which the Comintern is the decisive influence, finding stooges of all political trends from liberals to reactionaries, to camouflage the real character of such "governments." They have the nucleus of such governments for Spain, for Greece, for France, for Germany, for Yugoslavia, for Italy, for Poland, and for other countries.

Stalin engages in double-talk and plays a double game of power politics; while employing all the devices known to diplomacy, he simultaneously organizes committees and governments-in-exile and "people's" movements with the perspective of controlling as many European governments as possible as soon as occupied countries are liberated from the Nazis. The Communists also have the greatest organized strength in most of the underground movements. Stalin plans no democratic socialist revolution in post-war Europe, but he does plan "democratic (palace) revolutions" which will displace the Nazi authorities.

The pact between Czechoslovakia and Russia

(Continued on Page Seven)

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is another triumph for Soviet diplomacy. C. L. Sulzberger in the New York *Times* praises this pact, and comments that "it signifies that Russia is eager to guarantee the independence and security of Czechoslovakia, as well as the future of other small eastern countries, but wishes to assure that they will not be dominated by other great powers. . . ." Stalin prefers pacts with the Eastern and Central European nations to a federation of these nations, because such pacts assure the predominant influence of Russia. After pro-Soviet governments have been established throughout this region, Russia will then promote a federation which she will control, for economic, political, and military purposes.

The perplexing problems faced by the peace conference at Versailles twenty-five years ago are still very much in evidence, in aggravated form. The conferences at Moscow, Cairo, and Teheran, despite their promises of international cooperation, offer no guarantee, as yet, that the settlement will be more satisfactory in 1944 than it was in 1919. In the naked clash of national interests, the imperialism of Russia constitutes the main danger to World federation and to the spread of democracy.

Apropos of Teheran

"Seldom in the history of human conflict have so few kept so much from so many."

Dorothy Thompson in her column.

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Eastern Europe

By Paul Winkler

94688

Federation Plans

REPORTS FROM informed observers indicate that Russia, until recently opposed to the various projects for eastern European federations is now giving them the green light. What is the reason for this change?

Up to the time of the Moscow Conference, Russia considered that the plans for Danubian confederations, Balkan federations, or combinations of them, were directed specifically against her—that the object was to build up a cordon sanitaire under the influence of some other large power or powers which might be dangerous to her own security in the future.

Today that picture has changed. Not only is Russia no longer afraid of the cordon sanitaire, but she now envisages federations of states whose individual members will have pacts with herself. Thus she herself would wield the influence over these federations which she had feared would fall into the hands of some other power.

The beginning of her attempt to combine the settlement of the problems of eastern Europe with the safeguarding of her own security is to be seen in the Russo-Czech Treaty, which may well be one of the most concrete results of the recent conferences in Cairo and Teheran. Its importance resides not only in the fact that it is likely to be the first of a series of treaties, and hence the pattern for the rest, but also in the probability that Czechoslovakia may now become the activating agent for extending the system to other countries.

Logical Federations

For instance, the most logical country to enter into negotiations for an eastern European federation next is Poland—and it is precisely through Czechoslovakia that Poland can most easily be drawn into them. These two countries had, indeed, made a very considerable start toward confederation on their own initiative before Russia's fear of its meaning to her caused her to apply her influence on Czechoslovakia to halt the process. Previously, Czechoslovakia had discussed federation with Poland as far back as 1940, and on November 10 of that year, a joint declaration of the two governments laid the foundation for postwar unity between them. There were further conversations in January, 1942, but they did little to tighten political ties, though they did produce military agreements between Poland and Czechoslovakia.

Poland today seems ripe to renew discussions with Czechoslovakia, but there may be a hitch in that she will probably have to come to some sort of an understanding with Russia on the frontier question first. This is a ticklish problem—but it is not the only difficulty which is going to be encountered in attempting to organize the very diverse eastern European nations into a federation.

It is too early yet for there to be much clarity on the territory which such a federation would cover—and particularly whether it would extend to the Balkans.

Austria, when detached from Germany, as the Moscow Conferences promised that it would be, might very well find a place in it. Hungary, geographically, would be a natural member, but politically more doubts might be expressed. Czechoslovak leaders themselves have expressed reservations about bringing Hungary in—even a Hungary freed from the influence of Germany—because that country is ruled by a feudal-minded group of aristocrats, and it would require a considerable internal evolution to make it possible to fit her within the framework of a large federation based on democratic principles. However, Czech statesmen in the United States and England are in constant touch with democratic Hungarian emigres, and if they succeed in providing guarantees for a truly democratic transformation of Hungary, her inclusion would become probable.

Rumania and Bulgaria

Similar difficulties, and similar possibilities of solution, exist for Germany's other two reluctant allies, Rumania and Bulgaria, who are likewise possibilities for the eventual federation.

However the confederation is established, it is certain that much of its territory will be congruent with that of the former Austro-Hungarian empire, which, however unwieldy it may have been politically, was economically a sound structure whose destruction was harmful to many of the succession states which had once belonged to it.

The effect of the dissolution of the Austro-Hungarian economic combination is easy to see from figures on import duties which are not widely known. The tariffs on a series of 20 major commodities entering the former country over its outer borders used to amount to an average of 12 per cent ad valorem. By 1925, the duties on the same commodities, as they passed inner borders which had formerly been inside the Austro-Hungarian customs frontier, amounted to from 40 per cent to 70 per cent ad valorem in the various succession states. This was the result of competition among the small countries, causing the strangulation of interstate trade, and, finally, economic misery for the populations of many parts of the affected territory. The elimination of this situation is one of the strongest arguments which can be put forward for the constitution of an eastern confederation.

WASH. POST. DEC. 9, 1943 p. 16

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'Straits Question'

By William Philip Simms

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THERE is reason to believe that at long last the problem of the Dardanelles—which for more than two centuries pestered Europe and provoked wars—is on the way to settlement.

Russia, Turkey and Great Britain, which have shed blood and sweat and tears over this historic waterway ever since Peter the Great made its possession a primary plank in Russian foreign policy, are said to have reached an agreement for the duration capable of extension after the war.

As a result, Turkey's traditional fear of the Soviet Union has diminished to the point where she is expected to enter the conflict soon—by next spring at the latest.

* * *

EARLY in the 18th Century, Peter I of Russia began to look for a warm-water outlet for his practically landlocked country. The Black Sea-Dardanelles route seemed to be his best bet. So he fought the Turks and, tho his ambition remained unfulfilled at his death, he made it a part of his famous testament and willed it to the Russian people.

Ever since, possession of Constantinople and control of the Straits have been two of Russia's greatest dreams. She wanted them for sentimental, religious, political and economic reasons. For decades it was a widely accepted notion that the Ottoman Empire was on the verge of breaking up and Russia wanted to be the principal heir. Britain, France and western Europe dissented and, the Crimean War was one of the many harsh results.

Marshal Stalin, like Peter the Great, is a cold realist. He is aware that conditions have materially changed in the last 20 years. He knows that Russia couldn't exit from the Black Sea today even if the Dardanelles belonged to her. The Nazis are in Greece and all over the Aegean. He knows that if Russia could get past the Aegean, she would still be bottled up in the Mediterranean—unless Britain and France were her friends—for Britain holds each end and France the middle. Thus Russia stands to gain far more by pacts of friendship and mutual assistance with Turkey and the Allies than thru control of the Dardanelles.

Moreover, after the war Russia will be dominant thruout most of the Balkans. Her influence will be a controlling factor in Yugoslavia, Bulgaria and Romania, almost certainly, and perhaps in Greece and in the smaller countries of eastern Europe.

* * *

THE extent of Turkish influence after the war, on the other hand, will depend upon her attitude from now on. If she helps throw the Axis out of the Balkans, she and Russia will share prestige there. And she will sit at the peace table with the other powers when the future of the Balkans and the Middle East comes up for decision.

This probably has been the deciding factor these last few days in Ankara and at Cairo. The "Straits Question," as such, has lost much of its importance. The Ottoman Empire was broken up 25 years ago. The Turkish Republic, strong, modern-minded and forward-looking, is its successor. And the integration of this fine new nation with the post-war world is now Ankara's principal preoccupation.

Wash. Daily News Dec. 10, 1943 p. 33

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Clerical Schools Return to Russia

By United Press

MOSCOW, Dec. 9.—The Holy Synod of the Russian Orthdox Church recently decided to establish a theological institute in Moscow for the training of clergymen in all the bishoprics of the Soviet Union, it was disclosed today.

The synod's project would re-establish theological schools for the first time since the revolution.

The synod's announcement said the curriculum will consist of the usual subjects taught before the revolution, plus Canon law and the constitution of the USSR. Libraries and reading rooms will be organized throughout the country.

Students must be of "proper religious and moral background" and determined to serve the church for life. Tuition will be free and the students will receive stipends from the church.

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End of Tehran Conf.

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Eden Sees Great Invasion Near; Denies Secret Treaties at Parleys

By The Associated Press.

LONDON, Dec. 15—Buoyant and confident, Foreign Secretary Anthony Eden gave the House of Commons a broad hint today that the grand assault on the Continent is "very near" and asserted that the Allies would throw everything they had into it.

"Military plans which we laid down at Teheran call for all our Allied resources in every respect," he declared. "There will be no margin, and it is going to take all our energies to fulfill the demands which will be made upon us in the very near future."

Speaking in the House of Commons' two-day war debate, Mr. Eden said that no secret agreements or treaties were made at the Teheran or Cairo conferences and declared "our Russian Allies attach the greatest importance" to American and British long-range bombing of Hitler's Europe.

While declaring that American and British bombing had a "high place" in Allied plans and would be continued in the hope of shortening the war, Mr. Eden clearly indicated it would be only one phase of the climactic assault.

Underscoring again the unity of Britain, the United States and Russia, Eden brought cheers as he declared, "Before the conferences I was not sure there was a common foundation on which we, the United States and Russia could work. Now I am sure there is."

He stressed that the main results

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of the Teheran and Cairo conferencees—"particularly the Teheran conference," where Prime Minister Churchill and President Roosevelt were believed to have reassured Premier Stalin by setting the zero hour for the invasion of Western Europe—were military.

To critics of the Allied Mediterranean strategy, he replied that it was only with regret that he restrained himself from saying many things he was longing to say because that would reveal future strategy. He said in reference to Italy:

"We have never said King Vittorio Emanuele and Marshal Pietro Badoglio are going to stay. But when a change comes it will be better to have the change when we are certain the new elements truly represent the views of the Italian people. I doubt whether we could do that at the present moment."

Eden disclosed that "pretty regular supplies" had been sent the Yugoslav Partisans since May. He said he was studying new proposals to unit the guerrilla bands in Greece.

The Foreign Secretary paid tribute to American delivery of war supplies to China as a "remarkably unique performance" and said the figures of United Statees shipments were rising month by month.

Eden Parries Questions

By Cable to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

LONDON, Dec. 15—Foreign Secretary Anthony Eden parried a number of sharp criticisms of the British Government's French policy and of military and political operations in Italy in the House of Commons today, blanketing Prime Minister Churchill's critics with the assurance that the results of the Cairo and Teheran conferences would answer their questions.

The Foreign Secretary's statement that the reconstruction of France could be achieved only from within did not fully answer the series of sharp questions raised over the government's attitude toward France. Harold Nicholson, considered one of the most valuable friends of the French democracy in the House of Commons, said he was mystified when the government, having adopted a policy of supporting France, appeared in all its actions to run contrary to it.

Mr. Nicholson said the criticism of France by Field Marshal Jan Christiaan Smuts, South African Prime Minister, was "not only cruel and ungenerous but quite untrue."

Aneurin Bevan, a consistent critic of the government, said the Smuts speech had done the British "deadly damage" at a moment when "we had just concerted plans, so we are told, for a military attack in France."

This was the time, he said "selected by General Smuts to wound all our friends in France. It is disgraceful."

Leslie Hore-Belisha, former member of the War Cabinet, said the Smuts speech was an anachronism when viewed from the economic point of view. Mr. Hore-Belisha, probably one of the Commons' leading internationalists, suggested that railways, through highways, post offices and telegraph systems of Europe be internationalized after the war, followed by creation of a common currency.

Mr. Bevan voiced criticism of the Italian campaign and of Allied strategy as a whole, which Mr. Eden answered by emphasizing that military decisions had been made at Teheran and asking Mr. Bevan to wait patiently for the last act of the military drama. Bevans ironic criticisms, however, drew laughter.

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ALLIES BACK PLANS OF OCCUPIED LANDS

Greek and Yugoslav Shifts From Exiled Governments Meet Favor of Big Powers

By Wireless to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

CAIRO, Egypt, Dec. 13—After more than two years of occupation, Greece and Yugoslavia are slowly beginning to shap the rudiments of their political futures and there is every evidence that such developments as have already occurred are favorably viewed by the great Allies.

The announcement of a new Yugoslav Constitution definitely establishes the future intentions of Marshal Josip (Tito's) Broz regime, which would be based on a federative democratic system. It would seem fairly well to remove the possibility of the return of King Peter or any representative of the Karageorgevitch dynasty, although this is not yet definitely or formally excluded by any official statement and could be superseded by some swift compromise.

The recent publication of the letter of King George of Greece, announcing that he would reconsider his intention of returning to Greece with his Cabinet indicates very strongly that he realizes the extent of his present unpopularity and is beginning to face the possibility that he may never return to Athens. Informed Greek circles believe that it may soon be followed by a still stronger statement of policy along the lines previously set—in effect that only should the Cabinet believe that the people are ready to accept his return and advise it would the ruler come back.

It is evident that at last the Allies are commencing to realize the alteration in the attitude of the peoples within these occupied lands and the widening gap in their sentiments vis-a-vis their exiled governments. For some months the Allies have been steadily increasing their aid to Tito's Partisans, who claim to have twenty-four to twenty-six divisions in the field against the enemy and are admittedly containing a large number of enemy troops.

It is known that Prime Minister Churchill and Foreign Secretary Anthony Eden are taking an increasingly favorable view of the Partisan movement and are becoming gradually more convinced that, despite their obligations to King George of Greece as an ally, they cannot in any way aid his return should his subjects not desire it. This represents a definite forward move in the general Allied concerting of policy on the lines of the Atlantic Charter, further clarified by the conferences in Moscow, Cairo and Teheran.

The ground is being slowly broken for the erection of an entirely new series of governments in the Balkans that will be in line with popular movements, though perhaps at odds with the situation prevailing when those countries were occupied more than two years ago.

It will be exceedingly interesting to see whether Premier Stalin, President Roosevelt and Prime Minister Churchill reply to the messages sent to them by Tito's "Presidium of the Yugoslav Anti-Fascist Council for National Liberation." A reply by any of the recipients will be tantamount to de facto recognition of that body's existence and in this sense it was a clever move by Tito to sound out the great powers.

British Press Backs Tito

LONDON, Dec. 13 (AP)—The decision of the American and British Governments to give the bulk of their military aid to the Partisans instead of to the Chetniks of Gen. Draja Mikhailovitch, War, Air and Navy Minister of the Yugoslav Government in Exile, received wide press commendation today on the ground that Tito's men were doing most of the fighting against the Germans.

That the exiled Government, thus far enjoying the official recognition of the Allies, was apprehensive where this cordial collaboration would end was indicated by a statement that it issued in Cairo saying:

"Does the nation that, with extreme unselfishness, ranged itself on the side of Great Britain when that power was alone on the battlefield and that paid for its faithfulness to the Allied cause with proportionately greater losses than any other Allied people in Europe deserve this?"

The statement asserted that "innumerable sections of Yugoslav life" wanted King Peter back.

Russians to Send Mission

LONDON, Dec. 13 (Reuter)—The Moscow radio announced today that the Russian Government had decided to send a military mission to Yugoslavia.

British Groups' Aid Asked For Victims of Influenza

By Cable to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

LONDON, Dec. 13—Many local organizations formed during the 1940-41 air assaults are now being marshaled to meet the shortage of household and nursing aid that has been made acute by the influenza epidemic.

Henry Willink, Minister of Health, suggested today to local authorities that school nurses, first-aid post markers, rest-center staffs and members of youth organizations set up "mutual help" schemes on a local basis. Besides lending a hand with household tasks in homes hit by influenza, these groups would do shopping and, on a cash-and-carry basis, bring in meals to families unable to prepare them.

A Columbia Broadcasting System correspondent reported from London last night that "more Britishers died of flu last week than were killed in several weeks of fighting on the Italian front." He added that there was a new demand "for more ships to bring in more oranges and lemons to fight off the flu epidemic."

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THE TEHERAN CONFERENCE

By Academician Eugene Tarle

The Teheran Conference winds up a very interesting page in the history of the gradual disillusionment of the Hitlerite hordes. After the German debacle at Stalingrad, Hitler pinned his main hopes not only on total mobilization, but also on a split between the Soviet Union and the Anglo-Saxon powers, which seemed to him possible. Recourse was had to an old ruse: the threat of the "Bolshevization" of Europe in the event the Allies continued to support Russia. Of Hitler's flunkeys, it was the Finns who most assiduously helped in this propaganda during 1943.

Today it must be admitted that just as hope in "total mobilization" collapsed, along with the collapse of the German summer offensive and subsequent military reverses, so the hope of the Germans for a split between the Allies ignominiously collapsed at Teheran.

In November in Moscow was published the declaration of Stalin, Roosevelt and Churchill to the effect that the vile German butchers who are burning alive prisoners of war and burying alive Soviet children and their parents, will not escape trial and punishment, and that the hand of justice will pursue them even to the uttermost ends of the earth. In Germany every effort was made at that time to keep this declaration from the army and from the German population. And in Finland, where the monstrous crimes of the Schutz Corps are well-known, the Tanners and Rytis tried to cheer themselves and their hoodwinked people by indulging in sham humor, by making light of these threats, and by discourses to the effect that "once an armistice is concluded," international law would not permit the meting out of punishment for acts committed during the war.

The contemptible German and Finnish beasts who have exterminated hundreds of thousands of utterly innocent civilians have the audacity to talk of international law!

But even after the declaration of the three leaders published in November, Germany's satellites and criminal accomplices derived their main comfort from the still remaining hope, weak as it was, that there might develop differences of opinion among the Allies regarding the necessity of utterly smashing the Hitlerite gang. They did not foresee that the Moscow declaration of November would soon be followed by the Teheran declaration in December.

The three leaders left as friends. This phrase, uncommon in diplomatic usage, is very characteristic and highly significant. Roosevelt, Stalin and Churchill know that the great work which history has laid upon them and with which their glorious names will be associated for ages to come—the work of utterly crushing accursed German and every other fascism—can be consummated successfully only on the condition of their close and truly friendly cooperation.

Now we are definitely confirmed in our hope that this time the Germans will not be able to deceive their victors. This time they will suffer their deserved punishment.

Info. Bull. Emb. of USSR Dec. 14, 1943 p. 3

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Common Plan of Action Forged at Tehran---Izvestia

(By Wireless to Inter-Continent News)

MOSCOW.—When "carried out in practice," the decisions arrived at in Tehran by Premier Stalin, President Roosevelt and Prime Minister Churchill will bring mankind liberation from fascism and a "durable peace," Izvestia said this week.

The text of the editorial follows:

Several meetings and conferences of leading statesmen and military figures of the great democratic countries which head the struggle of the United Nations against Hitlerite Germany and her vassals have been held in the course of the war. These meetings played a highly important role in the history of the liberation struggle of the peoples. A common understanding of the aims and tasks and a community of views and actions were forged at them.

The course of the war dictated the need of joint actions on increasingly bigger scales: understanding and good will led the three greatest world powers to ever closer cooperation.

In the war against the common enemy it was always considered necessary to attain the fullest coordination of actions and concerted military operations. Relations between the participants of the Anglo-Soviet-American coalition developed precisely along these lines. As in the past, so this year too, the blows struck by the Red Army were supported by military operations of our Allies in North Africa, in the Mediterranean and in Southern Italy. The successes of the Red Army as well as of Allied arms hastened the course of the war, still further strengthened the fighting alliance of the Allied states and brought closer victory over Hitlerite Germany.

FIRM ALLIANCE

The recent Moscow Conference has conclusively shown that the most complex tasks in the conduct of the war and the organization of peace can be solved in a firm alliance of the United States, the USSR and Great Britain. The moment arrived in the course of the joint struggle and the development of cooperation when the President of the U.S.A., the leader of the peoples of the USSR and the head of the British Government met for the first time to settle fundamental questions relating to war and peace.

For four days the most prominent statesmen of our times conferred at the round table, exchanged views and took decisions reaching complete agreement both on questions of the conduct of the war and on important problems of post-war organization of the world.

This meeting had been awaited with hope by all freedom-loving peoples, and with fear by our enemies.

Those who carefully read and give thought to the Three-Power Declaration signed by Roosevelt, Stalin and Churchill will understand that the fate of the war has been irrevocably decided. The mutual understanding reached between the leaders of the three powers—quoting them directly—"guarantees our victory."

As is known, from the beginning of the war the material resources and potential possibilities of the U.S.A., the U.S.S.R. and Great Britain, supplied a stable basis for achieving victory over the enemy. It was a question of realizing these possibilities to the full, of using the existing resources to the utmost.

Practically on the eve of the Tehran meeting, Stalin, in his report on November 6, 1943, stated: "The victories of the Red Army have had results and consequences far beyond the limits of the Soviet-German front; they have changed the whole further course of the world war and have acquired great international significance. Victory of the Allied countries over the common enemy has come nearer. . . . Now our United Countries are filled with determination to deal the enemy common blows which will result in victory over him." This clearly expressed the confidence which was brilliantly confirmed at Tehran.

CONCERTED PLANS

In a joint declaration the leaders of the three powers declare: ". . . We have concerted our plans for the destruction of the German forces. We have reached complete agreement as to the scope and timing of operations which will be undertaken from the east, west and south." This decision is the greatest triumph of the principle of concerted coalition strategy against the common foe.

The realization of such principle was at all times considered the most difficult of all the tasks in the conduct of joint war. Now the military staffs of the Allies have elaborated plans for decisive operations, have reached agreement as to the scope and timing of the operations, have received the sanction of the leaders of the three powers who have approved these plans and the time has been set. The date of the decisive battle has been appointed. It is a question of a general offensive on Germany from the east, west and south, of the final rout and destruction of German armed forces.

The conference fully weighed the strength of the enemy. And after this the leaders of the three greatest armies in the world, conferring with their highest military experts, declare: "No power on earth can prevent our destroying the German

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armies by land, their U-boats by sea, and their war plants from the air. Our attacks will be relentless and increasing."

It is with a feeling of the greatest satisfaction that all freedom-loving peoples will receive the confirmation of a common policy of the Allies in the solemn statement of the President of the United States, the Premier of the Soviet Union and the Prime Minister of Great Britain: "We express our determination that our nations shall work together in the war and in the peace that will follow."

Numerous facts of international life in the recent period have gone to show that the U.S.A., the U.S.S.R., and Great Britain, together with other United Nations, are prepared to take upon themselves the responsibility to make a peace which would command the good-will of the overwhelming mass of the peoples of the world. Allied cooperation, also in this sphere, grew stronger and more encouraging daily. **The decisions of the Three-Power Conference taken in Tehran are the biggest and most far-reaching historical step in this respect.** The leaders of the three powers express confidence that the existing concord between the Allies will ensure a durable peace. Here the declaration mentions new, weighty words: Durable peace is considered a peace "which will banish the scourge and terror of war for many generations."

GULF OF WAR

Millions of people will read these words with deep emotion, words which contain the fate of entire generations.

The savage forces of German imperialism hurled the whole world into the gulf of war, subjected dozens of nations to agonizing bloody trials, doomed hundreds of millions of people to torments and sufferings. Supreme responsibility for the future inspired the leaders of the great democratic countries in their decisions. Unquestionably the way to the realization of durable peace lies through the cooperation and active participation of all countries, large and small, and the Three-Power Declaration voices its desire for such cooperation.

The declaration of the three powers concerning Iran, adopted at the Conference in Tehran affords a vivid example of such cooperation with one of the Allied countries. This Declaration expresses recognition by the Allies of the assistance which Iran has given in the prosecution of the war against the common enemy and also recognition of the need of further economic assistance to the people of Iran by the Allies, and again proclaims the desire of the Allied Powers to see the maintenance of the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Iran.

Stalin recently said that "relations among the Allies, the fighting partnership of their armies, far from weakening have, contrary to expectations of our enemies, grown stronger and more enduring." **In Tehran the great figures of our epoch, who are shouldering the burden, cares and responsibility to their peoples and to all the peoples of the world for their fate and their future, met and established personal contact.**

Roosevelt and Stalin met for the first time at Tehran, Churchill and Stalin had met before during the British Prime Minister's visit to Moscow, but this was the first time that all three statesmen had the opportunity to hold talks together.

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Undertaking long trips from their capitals for the sake of this meeting, the leaders of the three countries held their conference in an atmosphere of complete understanding and friendly accord.

The Conference was attended by [V. M.] Molotov, [Anthony] Eden, [Harry] Hopkins and [K. E.] Voroshilov, by the Chiefs of the General Staffs of the United States and Great Britain and by advisers and experts of the three countries.

A sentiment of accord, mutual understanding and close cooperation was expressed in the extremely moving words that close the declaration of the leaders of the three powers:

"We came here with hope and determination. We leave here friends in fact, in spirit and in purpose."

The historical meeting in Tehran was imbued with the firm will and determination of the Allies to smash bloody fascism within the earliest possible time by means of combined blows and to open up to mankind the path to a long period of peaceful collaboration.

The declaration of the leaders of the three Allied Powers will have a tremendous positive influence on the future of mankind. The decisions which the Soviet people see signed by their great leader will be received with unbounded satisfaction and will be supported by the peoples of the USSR with all their will and efforts.

These decisions will be hailed with great satisfaction by the freedom-loving peoples of the whole world. These decisions carried out in practice will bring mankind liberation from Hitlerite tyranny and will give them long years of durable peace.

This is a clipping from page _____ of the New York Times for

Clipped at the Seat of Government.

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EMBASSY OF THE UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS

Information Bulletin

(Issued Three Times Weekly)

No. 137 Washington, D. C., December 9, 1943

CONFERENCE OF LEADERS OF THREE ALLIED POWERS IN TEHERAN

From November 28 to December 1, 1943, a conference of the leaders of the three Allied Nations—Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars of the USSR Stalin, the President of the United States of America Roosevelt and the Prime Minister of Great Britain Churchill—took place in Teheran.

Participating in the work of the conference were:

From the USSR—the People's Commissar of Foreign Affairs Molotov and Marshal Voroshilov;

From the United States of America—special assistant to the President, Mr. Harry Hopkins; United States Ambassador in the USSR, Mr. W. Averell Harriman; Chief of Staff of the United States Army General George C. Marshall; Chief of the Naval Forces of the United States Admiral Ernest King; Chief of Staff of the United States Air Forces General H. H. Arnold; Chief of the United States Army Supply Service General Brehon B. Somervell; Chief of Staff to the President Admiral William Leahy; Chief of the United States Military Mission in the USSR Major General John R. Deane;

From Great Britain—Foreign Secretary Anthony Eden; Ambassador to the USSR Sir Archibald Clark-Kerr; Chief of the Imperial General Staff General Sir Alan Brooke; Field Marshal Sir John Dill; First Lord of the Admiralty, Admiral of the Fleet Cunningham; Chief of Staff of the Air Forces of Great Britain, Air Chief Marshal Sir Charles Portal; Chief of Staff to the Minister of Defense Lieutenant General Sir Hastings Ismay; Chief of the British Military Mission in the USSR General Martel.

The Conference accepted the Declaration on actions in the war against Germany and on postwar collaboration of the Three Powers, and the Declaration on Iran.

Texts of the Declarations are being published.

THREE-POWER DECLARATION

Following is the text of the declaration by President Roosevelt, Prime Minister Churchill and Premier Stalin, signed at Teheran, Iran, December 1, 1943:

We, the President of the United States of America, the Prime Minister of Great Britain, and the Premier of the Soviet Union, have met in these four days past in this the capital of our ally, Teheran, and have shaped and confirmed our common policy.

We express our determination that our nations shall work together in the war and in the peace that will follow.

As to the war, our military staffs have joined in our round-table discussions and we have concerted our plans for the destruction of the German forces. We have reached complete agreement as to the scope and timing of operations which will be undertaken from the east, west and south. The common understanding which we have here reached guarantees that victory will be ours.

And as to the peace, we are sure that our concord will make it an enduring peace. We recognize fully the supreme responsibility resting upon us and all the United Nations to make a peace which will command good will from the overwhelming masses of the peoples of the world and banish the scourge and terror of war for many generations.

With our diplomatic advisers we have surveyed the

DEC. 9, 1943

problems of the future. We shall seek the cooperation and active participation of all nations, large and small, whose peoples in heart and in mind are dedicated, as are our own peoples, to the elimination of tyranny and slavery, oppression and intolerance. We will welcome them as they may choose to come into the world family of democratic nations.

No power on earth can prevent our destroying the German armies by land, their U-boats by sea, and their war plants from the air. Our attacks will be [illegible] and increasing.

Emerging from these friendly conferences we look with confidence to the day when all the peoples of the world may live free lives untouched by tyranny and according to their varying desires and their own consciences.

We came here with hope and determination. We leave here friends in fact, in spirit, and in purpose.

Teheran, December 1, 1943

(*Signed*) ROOSEVELT, STALIN, CHURCHILL

THREE-POWER DECLARATION ON IRAN

Following is the text of the Three-Power statement [illegible] Iran, signed on December 1, 1943:

The President of the United States of America, the Premier of the USSR, and the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom, having consulted with each other and with the Prime Minister of Iran, desire to declare the mutual agreement of their three Governments [illegible] relations with Iran.

The Governments of the United States of America, the USSR and the United Kingdom recognize the [illegible] which Iran has given in the prosecution [illegible] war against the common enemy, particularly [illegible] the transportation of supplies from [illegible] to the Soviet Union. The three Governments [illegible] that the war has caused special economic [illegible] for Iran and they agreed that they will [illegible] to make available to the Iran Government [illegible] assistance as may be possible, having [illegible] the heavy demands made upon them by [illegible]-wide military operations and to the world-[illegible] of transport, raw materials and sup[illegible] civilian consumption.

With respect to the post-war period, the Governments of the United States of America, the USSR and the United Kingdom are in accord with the Government of Iran that any economic problem confronting Iran at the close of hostilities should receive full consideration along with those of other members of the United Nations by conferences or international agencies, held or created, to deal with international economic matters.

The Governments of the United States of America, the USSR and the United Kingdom are at one with the Government of Iran in their desire for the maintenance of the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Iran. They count upon the participation of Iran, together with all other peace-loving nations, in the establishment of international peace, security and prosperity after the war, in accordance with the principles of the Atlantic Charter, to which all four Governments have continued to subscribe.

December 1, 1943

(*Signed*) ROOSEVELT, STALIN, CHURCHILL

Exchange of Visits Between Leaders of USSR and Iran

[illegible] December 1 the Chairman of the Council of [illegible] Commissars of the USSR Stalin visited the [illegible] Iran, Mohamed Reza Pekhlevi, in his palace [illegible].

The conversation with the Shah was of a friendly [illegible] nature and continued for more than an [illegible]

[illegible] Commissar of Foreign Affairs of the USSR [illegible] and the Charge d'Affaires of the USSR in [illegible], were present at the conversation.

° ° °

[illegible] 1 the Chairman of the Council of [illegible] Commissars of the USSR Stalin received in [illegible] Embassy in Teheran the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of Iran Soheli.

People's Commissar of Foreign Affairs of the USSR Molotov, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Iran Saed and the Charge d'Affaires of the USSR in Iran Maximov, were present at the conversation.

° ° °

On November 27 the People's Commissar of Foreign Affairs of the USSR Molotov visited the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Iran, where he had a conversation with the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of Iran Soheli and Minister of Foreign Affairs of Iran Saed.

The Charge d'Affaires of the USSR in Iran Maximov was present at the conversation.

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Common Plan of Action Forged at Tehran---Izvestia

(By Wireless to Inter-Continent News)

MOSCOW.—When "carried out in practice," the decisions arrived at in Tehran by Premier Stalin, President Roosevelt and Prime Minister Churchill will bring mankind liberation from fascism and a "durable peace," Izvestia said this week.

The text of the editorial follows:

Several meetings and conferences of leading statesmen and military figures of the great democratic countries which head the struggle of the United Nations against Hitlerite Germany and her vassals have been held in the course of the war. These meetings played a highly important role in the history of the liberation struggle of the peoples. A common understanding of the aims and tasks and a community of views and actions were forged at them.

The course of the war dictated the need of joint actions on increasingly bigger scales: understanding and good will led the three greatest world powers to ever closer cooperation.

In the war against the common enemy it was always considered necessary to attain the fullest coordination of actions and concerted military operations. Relations between the participants of the Anglo-Soviet-American coalition developed precisely along these lines. As in the past, so this year too, the blows struck by the Red Army were supported by military operations of our Allies in North Africa, in the Mediterranean and in Southern Italy. The successes of the Red Army as well as of Allied arms hastened the course of the war, still further strengthened the fighting alliance of the Allied states and brought closer victory over Hitlerite Germany.

FIRM ALLIANCE

The recent Moscow Conference has conclusively shown that the most complex tasks in the conduct of the war and the organization of peace can be solved in a firm alliance of the United States, the USSR and Great Britain. The moment arrived in the course of the joint struggle and the development of cooperation when the President of the U.S.A., the leader of the peoples of the USSR and the head of the British Government met for the first time to settle fundamental questions relating to war and peace.

For four days the most prominent statesmen of our times conferred at the round table, exchanged views and took decisions reaching complete agreement both on questions of the conduct of the war and on important problems of post-war organization of the world.

This meeting had been awaited with hope by all freedom-loving peoples, and with fear by our enemies.

Those who carefully read and give thought to the Three-Power Declaration signed by Roosevelt, Stalin and Churchill will understand that the fate of the war has been irrevocably decided. The mutual understanding reached between the leaders of the three powers—quoting them directly—**"guarantees our victory."**

As is known, from the beginning of the war the material resources and potential possibilities of the U.S.A., the U.S.S.R. and Great Britain, supplied a stable basis for achieving victory over the enemy. It was a question of realizing these possibilities to the full, of using the existing resources to the utmost.

Practically on the eve of the Tehran meeting, Stalin, in his report on November 6, 1943, stated: **"The victories of the Red Army have had results and consequences far beyond the limits of the Soviet-German front; they have changed the whole further course of the world war and have acquired great international significance. Victory of the Allied countries over the common enemy has come nearer. . . . Now our United Countries are filled with determination to deal the enemy common blows which will result in victory over him." This clearly expressed the confidence which was brilliantly confirmed at Tehran.**

CONCERTED PLANS

In a joint declaration the leaders of the three powers declare: ". . . We have concerted our plans for the destruction of the German forces. We have reached complete agreement as to the scope and timing of operations which will be undertaken from the east, west and south." This decision is the greatest triumph of the principle of concerted coalition strategy against the common foe.

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Date Dec. 9, 1943
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The realization of such principle was at all times considered the most difficult of all the tasks in the conduct of joint war. Now the military staffs of the Allies have elaborated plans for decisive operations, have reached agreement as to the scope and timing of the operations, have received the sanction of the leaders of the three powers who have approved these plans and the time has been set. The date of the decisive battle has been appointed. It is a question of a general offensive on Germany from the east, west and south, of the final rout and destruction of German armed forces.

The conference fully weighed the strength of the enemy. And after this the leaders of the three greatest armies in the world, conferring with their highest military experts, declare: "No power on earth can prevent our destroying the German armies by land, their U-boats by sea, and their war plants from the air. Our attacks will be relentless and increasing."

It is with a feeling of the greatest satisfaction that all freedom-loving peoples will receive the confirmation of a common policy of the Allies in the solemn statement of the President of the United States, the Premier of the Soviet Union and the Prime Minister of Great Britain: "We express our determination that our nations shall work together in the war and in the peace that will follow."

Numerous facts of international life in the recent period have gone to show that the U.S.A., the U.S.S.R., and Great Britain, together with other United Nations, are prepared to take upon themselves the responsibility to make a peace which would command the good-will of the overwhelming mass of the peoples of the world. Allied cooperation, also in this sphere, grew stronger and more encouraging daily. The decisions of the Three-Power Conference taken in Tehran are the biggest and most far-reaching historical step in this respect. The leaders of the three powers express confidence that the existing concord between the Allies will ensure a durable peace. Here the declaration mentions new, weighty words: Durable peace is considered a peace "which will banish the scourge and terror of war for many generations."

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The Great Pravda Mystery

THE SENSATIONAL REPORT from Cairo, published in Pravda, that "two leading British personalities" and German Foreign Minister von Ribbentrop had recently met in an Iberian coastal town in order to "clarify the conditions of a separate peace with Germany," has fortunately died the same quick death as the host of similar peace rumors which from time to time pop up in the Allied and neutral press. Nevertheless, in the first few days after its publication the Pravda story gave rise to an amazingly large amount of comment. For it seemed pretty clear that the publication of the Cairo rumor was not a journalistic blunder on Pravda's part. Blunders of such far-reaching importance simply do not occur in the strictly supervised Soviet press, especially not in the official organ of the Communist Party.

Yet the authenticity of the report is questionable. How could Greeks and Yugoslavs in Cairo, credited with the information of the report, possibly know of a secret meeting held on the Iberian Peninsula? The Cairo dateline of the Pravda dispatch is equally doubtful. How could it have ever passed through the stringent British military censorship? If the story actually originated in Cairo, it must have reached Pravda by way of uncensored Soviet diplomatic channels. Hence the assertion of Soviet Vice Foreign Commissar V. G. Dekanozov that the Soviet government had no previous knowledge of the Pravda report does not entirely repudiate the generally accepted interpretation that it represented a move of Soviet diplomacy.

Indeed, there is some circumstantial evidence that the publication of the Cairo report was in line with similar manifestations of Soviet foreign policy. The Soviet press has evinced in recent weeks a certain uneasiness over political developments in Great Britain and the United States which, justifiably or not, recalls the Soviet Union's traditional suspicion of the Western powers. The rebuke administered to Wendell Willkie, for instance, who in an otherwise highly sympathetic article had asked what the Soviet Union intends to do about the political integrity of the small states around its borders, was excessive in proportion to the alleged offense. It betrayed a touchiness, even an inferiority feeling, which can only be understood in terms of the Soviet Union's long-standing sense of isolation in the last two decades and its violent resentment against this outcast status. Moreover, while the question of the second front was presumably settled at Teheran, and while Anglo-American preparations for the invasion in the west have been intensified since the appointment of General Eisenhower as commander-in-chief, the continued delay in the opening of the second front keeps alive Soviet fears and the ingrained mistrust of Anglo-American intentions.

Soviet fears are not just imaginary. The Soviet government is keenly aware of the still very strong forces in Great Britain and the United States which are hostile, outspokenly or surreptitiously, to Soviet-Anglo-American unity. If the supposition is correct that the Pravda report from Cairo was a stroke of Soviet diplomacy, it was undoubtedly meant to be a warning to Great Britain and the United States against jeopardizing Soviet friendship by giving in to these anti-Soviet elements. Even prior to the Pravda report, the Soviet press has repeatedly excoriated American anti-Soviet forces in recent weeks. The authoritative Soviet magazine, War and the Working Class, has frequently slapped at The Chicago Tribune and the reactionary groups for which it speaks. A recent article, for instance, stated that one could believe that The Tribune "is published in a country which is at war against the USSR, not against Germany." Similarly there have appeared in Soviet journals condemnations of the anti-Soviet outbursts of such American trade-union leaders

New Republic
Jan. 31, 1944 p. 135-136

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Government.

as Mathew Woll and David Dubinsky. The Soviet government is obviously concerned with these anti-Soviet elements. It knows that a change of administration following the election might easily give the reactionary and isolationist anti-Soviet groups the upper hand and thus undermine, if not destroy, the whole structure of Soviet-Anglo-American unity.

The conferences of Moscow and Teheran and the agreements reached there were tremendous steps forward in the direction of coalition war and coalition peace. Unfortunately, the enthusiasm over the newly achieved unity in the weeks immediately following the conferences frequently got the better of a detached and balanced, even though sympathetic, understanding of still existing differences and points of friction. These were often glossed over or taken too lightly. Unity between the Soviet Union and the Anglo-American powers is not something that can be "established" once and for all by a couple of conferences and a number of documents. Unity in international politics, like unity at home, is essentially a process, not a static phenomenon, something that must be fought for from day to day by the statesmen as well as by the common people. Unity cannot be achieved without recognition of differences, precisely because it must overcome these differences. We have not yet reached the ideal of "open diplomacy," diplomacy which publicly admits differences as much as agreements. But if the Pravda story was intended to remind the Anglo-American bloc that there are still profound differences in the policies and political objectives of the major Allied powers, it has in fact had a sobering effect. While it was a rather blunt move which temporarily and superficially may seem to be a setback for the unity sought after at Moscow and Teheran, in the long run it may contribute to clearing the air.

This is borne out by the Polish-Soviet boundary dispute. It was apparently not a historical accident that the Pravda story synchronized with the Soviet government's refusal to deal with the Polish Government-in-Exile. We do not know whether the statesmen in London and Washington, especially Mr. Churchill and Mr. Roosevelt, were as light-hearted over Allied unity as was the public. Or did they think they had Mr. Stalin in the bag? Did they actually believe, for instance, that the Soviet Union would accede to the Polish request for Anglo-American mediation of the boundary controversy, a request which was obviously encouraged by the Foreign Office and the State Department? If they did, they certainly misunderstand Soviet foreign policy. It has been clear for many months now that the Polish-Soviet boundary question is closely linked with the problem of the political composition of the exiled Polish cabinet in London, and that the Soviet government is unwilling to negotiate with this cabinet, which includes many reactionary, violently anti-Soviet members. Yet James B. Reston, reporting from London in The New York Times of January 21, 1944, once again speaks of "the mystery of the Soviet government's rejection of the Polish government's proposal to submit 'all outstanding questions' to the judgment of a four-power conference."

There is nothing mysterious and enigmatic about the Soviet Union's foreign policy.[1] On the contrary, it is simple, straightforward and down-to-earth. It is built on two mutually not antagonistic courses. On the one hand, the Soviet Union seeks international coöperation with the Anglo-American powers and China in a system of collective security. It has given ample proof of this in both word and deed. The dissolution of the Communist International, long an obstacle to coöperation, paced the way. The agreements of Moscow and Teheran are milestones along the road. On the other hand, the Soviet Union plans

[1] For a sympathetic study of Soviet foreign policy see Joachim Joesten's "What Russia Wants," just published by Duell, Sloan and Pearce, Inc. $2.50.

to occupy a dominant position in the political future of central and southeastern Europe. Its opposition to regional federations of the *cordon-sanitaire* variety, its reluctance to deal with the reactionary Governments-in-Exile of Yugoslavia, Poland and Greece, its insistence on the 1941 boundaries, its treaty of alliance with the Czecho-Slovakian Government-in-Exile which leaves the door open for other states to join, its support of the Partisan movement in the Balkans, its sponsorship of the Free Germany Committee and the Union of Polish Patriots—all of these actions indicate the trend of Soviet foreign policy. They in no way preclude coöperation in a system of collective security.

Soviet foreign policy in central and southeastern Europe will undoubtedly be decried as "imperialism" or "expansionism." But Soviet policy is no more "imperialistic" than our own "good-neighbor" policy. The Soviet desire to have friendly governments in the countries around its borders is as understandable as our own desire to have friendly regimes in Latin America. British and American support of the Polish Government-in-Exile suggests that we have not as yet recognized the Soviet claim for a "security sphere" of its own. To call such recognition "appeasement" *is* preposterous. But it would certainly remove points of friction which might otherwise destroy the entire edifice of Soviet-Anglo-American unity. And it would also help to remove the continuing mistrust of Anglo-American intentions which was once more manifest in the Pravda story.

UNDERGROUND SETS INVASION PROGRAM

Series of Coordinated Blows at Nazi Communications in Europe to Be First Phase

LONDON, Jan. 29 (U.P.)—Acting on instructions from Allied western front headquarters, Europe's vast underground army has launched a pre-invasion campaign to help pave the way for the coming assault by British and American forces, it was learned tonight.

Allied intelligence reports made available to The United Press disclosed that the first phase of a planned attack inside Hitler's fortress is a series of coordinated assaults throughout the occupied territory to destroy Nazi communications between the existing and potential invasion fronts and areas from which reserves and supplies must be drawn.

It now may be revealed that picked men—not paratroop forces—are being dropped by parachute into the territories occupied by the enemy.

With upward of 500,000 European patriots partially armed, Allied planes were reported to be pouring guns, ammunition and hand grenades in increasing number into the Allied fifth column, particularly in Yugoslavia and Greece where a "third front" already has forced the Germans to concentrate more than thirty divisions.

Many Activities Under Way

Activities of the Partisans and guerrillas range from skirmishes in Czechoslovakia and Norway to pitched battles in Yugoslavia and the vast spaces of Nazi-occupied Russia. In Holland and Belgium patriots have been organized on a large scale. In France there are the Maquis. Poland has its miniature army and in the mountain fastnesses of Greece strong bands of guerrillas are operating.

An Inter-Allied Committee spokesman said patriots throughout Europe were beginning their pre-invasion campaign, in addition to a continuation of sporadic acts the purpose of which are to harass the Nazis and generally interfere with their operations.

The Polish Government here announced that "while awaiting the order from its commander in chief in London to put into operation vast plans which have been drawn up, the Polish underground army is carrying out military attacks, realizing they contribute to the Allied war effort, weaken the Germans and strengthen the home front of Polish resistance."

Sabotaging Belgian Rails

A Belgian spokesman said that sabotage of Nazi-operated railways in Belgium and the attacks by Allied air forces have compelled the Germans to devise new measures for speeding up the construction of locomotives.

Belgian saboteurs were reported to have blown up a signal box in the marshalling yard at Muysen, near Malines, forcing the Germans to operate the signals by hand and thereby reducing trains to a speed of three miles an hour. Six Belgian patriots, entering the railway station at Renaix, were said to have dynamited three locomotives.

Dynamiting of railway tracks and bridges was reported increasing throughout France, and a German military train carrying supplies for the Eastern Front was revealed to have been destroyed by French patriots near Lyon.

In Greece, a railway bridge was blown up a few miles south of Djevdjeli and a freight train of thirty-seven cars pulled by two engines was wrecked. In addition, the railway line was cut in six places north and south of the bridge.

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This is a clipping from page 19 of the New York Times for Jan. 30, 1944
Clipped at the Seat of Government.

DE GAULLISTS SEE GAIN IN POLISH ROW

Hope Western Allies' Dispute With Russia Will Aid Their Interest in France

19.

By HAROLD CALLENDER

By Wireless to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

ALGIERS, Jan. 29—De Gaullist circles hope that the ill wind of the difficulties between Russia and the western Allies over Poland may blow to the advantage of the French Committee of National Liberation by sharpening the British and American interest in good relations with France. To that end, the recognition of the Committee as the provisional regime for France is regarded in these circles as a prerequisite.

To this hope two facts are related. One is that the French Communists are considered the sole real opposition to Gen. Charles de Gaulle in the recognized French groups here, notably in the Provisional Consultative Assembly. The other is that it is generally believed that, at the Moscow conference of the Allies' Foreign Ministers, the Russian Government virtually abandoned that special interest in French affairs that it had so markedly manifested in sending Andrey Vischinsky to Algiers. It is assumed that the western Allies have deferred to Russia regarding all eastern and central Europe, while Russia has more or less agreed to regard France as a western power lying outside Russia's sphere of influence.

Divergent Views on Communists

Some argue that the French Communists here have become nationalists. Others point out that they were not nationalists until Russia was attacked in 1941, and that they might again cease to be Frenchmen first and Communists second.

The de Gaullists not long ago appeared to be willing to play Moscow against the west, for their feelings toward Prime Minister Churchill and President Roosevelt were then bitter. Consequently there seemed to be some ground for the belief that the de Gaullists represented what the French called continental orientation — orientation toward Russia—as opposed to the consolidation of close relations with Britain and the United States. To some this appeared, at the time, as a clever doplimatic maneuver to which the Moscow conference seemed to put a sudden end.

Today the de Gaullists' eyes are turned westward again. General de Gaulle, in a speech in the Assembly, praised Mr. Churchill, who sponsored and aided his movement in 1940. On Thursday, at Dakar, the general seemed to have adopted the Allies' attitude toward the French purge when he called for the union of all Frenchmen, saying: "That some were more farsighted than others has little importance in view of the duties that face all." This was interpreted here as expressing a desire for tolerance toward those who had mistakenly followed Vichy and who, some de Gaullists insist, merit no forgiveness.

Transformation Held Needed

Frenchmen here commented that the question was whether General de Gaulle, who began as a modern version of the uncompromising Jeanne d'Arc, could transform himself into an Henri IV—the King who succeeded in uniting the French after the division of the religious wars. This remark goes to the heart of the problem. A Jeanne d'Arc was necessary in 1940, but an Henri will be necessary in 1944 if the French are to recover their national strength and not waste it in internal strife.

This problem and the new circumstances in which it arises are closely related to France's foreign orientation. The French Communists, who are feared by French moderates as much as they are supposed to be feared by the Allies' Governments, are widely regarded as offering the principal obstacle to that domestic reconciliation toward which General de Gaulle apparently desires to lead the way. At any rate, some of his associates emphasize the danger of the disorders that might be provoked by the Communists as one argument for quick Allied recognition and support of the Committee, which alone can insure order, in their opinion.

The fact that Moscow appears to be making trouble for the Allies in the diplomatic field seems to these observers likely to open the ears of Washington and London to this argument for linking up with the Committee, which they think equivalent to linking up with France. For France seems to them to acquire added importance in the future European constellation of power because of current signs pointing to divergent European policies in future on the part of the western Allies and Russia.

Russia

This is a clipping from page 19 of the New York Times for Jan. 30, 1944
Clipped at the Seat of Government.

OVIET 'AUTONOMY' TROUBLES ALLIES

lan to Increase Power of Republics Held Aimed at Peace-Table Control

By JOHN MacCORMAC
Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

WASHINGTON, Jan. 29—Much terest and some mild consterna on were caused in diplomatic rcles here—and also in London— yesterday's announcement from oscow that a meeting of the Su eme Soviety Council would soon held to consider legislation anging the Russian Constitution increase the powers of the mem r republics of the Union Soviet cialist Republic in defense and reign affairs.

Harmless though the announce ent seemed—and inclining in e general direction of more de ocracy—Anglo-American official rcles here tended to read into it design to increase Russia's voice post-war international councils. It was believed that the chief rpose of increasing the autonomy the sixteen Soviet republics in rtime would be to seek separate lomatic representation abroad each instead of only for Russia rself, as at present. Russia would

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SOVIET 'AUTONOMY' TROUBLES ALLIES

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then be able to eclipse even the British Commonwealth, each of whose six dominions is represented in most world capitals. They insisted, after the First World War, on having separate representation at the peace table, and got it after a good deal of opposition, some of it American.

It was learned that Foreign Commissar Vyacheslaff M. Molotoff had recently expressed to a British representative great interest in the organization of the British Commonwealth and had obtained a detailed explanation of the manner of its representation abroad.

Between a Commonwealth setup, each of whose members enjoys real independence but all of whose members are united by a certain community of interest, and sixteen Russian republics, enjoying what might be nominal autonomy under a tight central control, there might be little kinship. But sixteen sets of foreign representatives who could be allowed to pursue inconsistent polices when that was more convenient might lend a useful flexibility to Russian foreign policy as that came to be applied in Europe and Asia. Such a development, however, would not necessarily make life easier for the foreign officials of other countries.

SOVIET GETS 1944 BUDGET

First Session Has No Mention of Scheme for Republics

By Wireless to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

MOSCOW, Jan. 28 (Delayed)—In the presence of Premier Stalin, the Supreme Soviet convened tonight in the Grand Palace of the Kremlin for its second wartime session. It heard the Government propose a 1944 budget totaling 245,600,000,000 rubles, of which 128,300,000,000 would be devoted to the prosecution of the war.

In the presence of th[illegible]atic corps, including the United States Ambassador, W. Averell Harriman, more than 1,100 members of Russia's two legislative chambers—the Council of the Soviet Union and the Council of Nationalities—held a one-hour-and-ten-minute opening session devoted entirely to the budget report. Marshal Stalin received a sustained ovation as he entered the white marble hall and took a place on the dias with Mr. Molotoff, President Mikhail Kalinin and other leaders.

Finance Commissar Arseny Gregorevitch Zvereff presented the budget report. His recommendation represented a 17.3 per cent increase over the 1943 budget. It compared with a budget of 174,300,000,000 rubles in 1940 and of 216,000,000,000 in 1941.

The greatest interest of foreigners centered on the proposal for increasing the autonomy of the individual republics within Russia in dealing with defense and foreign affairs, but this was not mentioned at tonight's meeting. There have been no details beyond the bare announcement that last night the Communist party's Central Committee had approved the proposal, which came from the Council of People's Commissars.

This is a clipping from page 1 of the New York Times for Jan. 30 1944
Clipped at the Seat of Government.

Communists Keep 'Internationale'

A Moscow broadcast said last night the Central Committee of the Communist Party, meeting in Moscow, had voted to keep the "Internationale" as the "anthem of the all-union Communist Party of Bolsheviks." The broadcast was reported by the Federal Communications Commission.

WASH. TIMES-HERALD JAN. 29, 1944

This is a clipping from
page _____ of the
New York Times for

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Clipped at the Seat of
Government.

Soviet Supreme Council Meets

MOSCOW, Jan. 28 (UP).—The Supreme Council of the Soviet Union convened at 7 P. M. tonight in St. Andrews Hall of the Kremlin for its second meeting since the invasion of the USSR and there were indications that it would act on matters of possibly far-reaching international importance.

The meeting of the Supreme Soviet, the Soviet equivalent of the U. S. Congress or the British Parliament, was heralded earlier today by intimations in the official Moscow press that proposals of historic significance would be submitted to it by the Council of People's Commissars, headed by Marshal Joseph Stalin.

This is a clipping from page 1 of the Daily worker for

Jan. 29, 1944

Clipped at the Seat of Government.

BRITAIN AFTER THE WAR

What will be Great Britain's status in the post-war world? This is a question which troubles many of the little people of Britain just as it bothers her statesmen. While it is generally recognized that the responsibility for maintaining the peace will rest chiefly upon Britain, the United States, Russia and China, there are many who fear that economically and militarily the British nation, a pygmy compared with her major partners in the Grand Alliance, will be accepting a commitment somewhat beyond her capacity.

The population of the United Kingdom is only 47,000,000 people. That of the United States is 130,000,000; of Russia, 190,000,000 and of China roughly 400,000,000. But the population of the whole British Empire and Commonwealth is approximately 450,000,000 if India with its more than 300,000,000 people is included. Doubtless it was these figures which were predominantly in Lord Halifax's mind when he delivered his plea at Toronto for a common empire policy in foreign relations, economics and defense.

Britain never could have stood up against Nazi Germany if she had not had the support of the Empire. Lord Halifax makes the point that this support was given freely by independent, sovereign nations without duress on the part of the mother country, and cites Eire's neutrality as proof. That is true of those parts of the Commonwealth which enjoy Dominion status, but it is not true of India, which does not control its foreign policy. What Lord Halifax no doubt envisages when he asserts that the Statute of Westminster was a declaration of "interdependence," as well as of independence, is an even closer association of members of the British family of nations in the interest of presenting a common front to the rest of the world before rather than after the time has come to choose between war and peace.

One cannot help feeling that in advocating greater unity among the Dominions and Colonies—a unity which would be impossible of achievement unless London were to invite a greater measure of responsibility on the part of the Dominions for the direction of Empire affairs as an offset against their necessary loss of sovereign rights in their foreign relations—Lord Halifax was offering a counter-proposal to the one recently advanced by Jan Smuts, Premier of South Africa. Both statesmen start with the premise that Great Britain faces the risk of becoming a lesser partner of the United States and Russia, and ultimately China; but where Field Marshal Smuts looks abroad for the means of strengthening Britain's position, Lord Halifax would achieve the same result by strengthening the family ties. Where the South African statesman favored a restoration of the balance of power through alliances with the Netherlands, Denmark, Belgium, Norway and presumably a reconstituted France, the British Ambassador believes that Britain contains within herself the strength to achieve equality with her present major partners, so that with Empire help she can play as large a part in the peace as they have enabled her to play in war.

This is a clipping from page 18 of the New York Times for

Dec. 26 1944

Clipped at the Seat of Government.

HOPE FOR SUPPORT OF RUSSIA ON GOLD

Our Experts Look to Monetary Leader in Soviet for Aid in Currency Stabilization

By JOHN H. CRIDER

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

WASHINGTON, Jan. 25—A possibility that Soviet Russia will side with United States experts to break the deadlock with British monetary negotiators on the question of post-war currency stabilization is being hopefully considered in some official quarters. Mr. Chechulin, deputy president of the State Bank of Russia and chairman of the Soviet Monetary Dele-

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HOPE FOR SUPPORT OF RUSSIA ON GOLD

Continued From Page One

gation, is expected to arrive in Washington soon for talks with our experts.

The basis for speculation that the Russians will be more agreeable to the White (American) Plan than to the Keynes (British) Plan is twofold: First, that the only apparently official Soviet utterance on the subject indicates Russia wants something like the old gold standard, and, second, that the White Plain would provide something much more like the old gold standard than the Keynes Plan.

The seemingly official Russian statement appeared in an issue of the magazine, War and the Working Class, and was contributed by Professor Vargas, whom The Economist of London describes as "the leading Soviet economist." So far as can be determined there is no full text of the article available in this country, but several summaries of it, and some quotations from it, are available.

Quotation From Article

The Associated Press quoted the article as follows:

"As a country which participates in foreign trade the Soviet Union, like England and the United States, is interested in the stability of currencies in those countries with which it carries on trade relations. If Soviet trade with other countries could be conducted in gold currency, undoubtedly this circumstance would facilitate trade operations."

That quotation, which indicates Soviet agreement with the Anglo-American objective of post-war currency stabilization and suggests the desirability of gold as the key medium of exchange, does not, however, contain the parts of the article which formed the basis for appraisals by some foreign experts, such as editors of The Economist.

The Economist of Dec. 11 said Professor Vargas apparently was not impressed with either the White or Keynes plan, but wrote in his article that his country preferred a return to the old gold standard. It also quoted him as saying that beyond stability of exchange Russia wanted "a fixed world price of gold."

Opinion on Russian Views

Moreover, The Economist reported that the Russians would suspect the Keynes plan "because it envisages the possibility of changing the Unitas price of gold, and thus endangering the world price on which Russia depends for her output of the metal, while the White plan, with its stress on freedom from exchange controls, can hardly be expected to make any appeal to them."

British opinion, as reflected by The Economist, that the White plan would have no appeal to the Russians is not shared here. If it is true, as seems to be so, that Soviet Russia wants something like the old gold standard, there is virtual unanimity among economists here that there is much more similarity to the gold standard in what the White plan proposes than in the Keynes scheme.

Indeed, one economist, Prof. Jacob Viner of the University of Chicago, thinks the White plan would give the world the gold standard with some improvement. Writing in the Yale Review for last fall, he said:

"It seems to me, indeed, that if the White plan were to be put into successful operation, it would result in fact, if not in form, in an international gold standard, strengthened, moreover, by additional legal sanctions international in character, reinforced by the establishment of additional facilities for international short-term credits, and improved in its functioning by virtue of the supervisory activities of the new international monetary board."

Keynes-White Plans Compared

At another point Professor Viner declared that the White plan did not present "any obstacles to the operation of a traditional gold standard, and in some respects provides it directly or by implication with additional sanctions."

Of the Keynes plan Professor Viner said that it "sanctioned and facilitated" a much more fundamental departure from the traditional gold standard than does the White plan, but, nevertheless, leaves open the possibility that the international monetary system under it would operate very much like the traditional gold standard."

What is of interest to monetary experts here is that the most conservative financial opinion in this country has expressed itself in favor of a return to the gold standard, just as the Russians apparently do.

Russia, however, has severe currencies and uses gold only externally, so that, with a completely controlled interior economy, Russia would not be subject, under the workings of the old gold standard, to the repercussions which it sometimes had upon domestic economies. Russia is ordinarily the second largest gold producer in the world.

Clipping from page ____ of the New York Times for Jan. 26, 1944
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HOUSE GROUP ASKS SOVIET PULPWOOD

Urges Roosevelt to Arrange for Reverse Lend-Lease to Ease Shortage of Newsprint

WASHINGTON, Jan. 25 (U.P.)—Representative Lyle H. Boren, Democra, of Oklahoma, chairman of the House subcommittee investigating newsprint, revealed tonight that his group has urged President Roosevelt to implement reverse lend-lease shipments of pulpwood from Russia to help alleviate the critical shortage of newsprint.

He said that the President and Premier Josef Stalin discussed the shortage at Teheran and that he had been informed that 16,000 cords of Russian pulpwood recently reached this country under reverse lend-lease.

The subcommittee asked Mr. Roosevelt to appoint a special assistant "charged with the responsibility of investigating the matter with a view to working out necessary arrangements with the Russian Government."

Asserting that the Soviet Union's timber resources could "supply us adequately with pulp," Mr. Boren said that it seemed apparent that arrangements could be made "to utilize for return movement a part of the shipping capacity that goes to Russia with the supplies our Government is furnishing that country."

E. W. Tinker, executive secretary of the American Pulp and Paper Association, testified that development of Russian supplies "may help tide us over the war period and also prove an exceptionally valuable source in post-war years."

Arthur R. Treanor, director of the War Production Board's printing and publishing division, disclosed in testimony that newsprint appeal grants this year would be "drastically reduced" because estimated showed that only 1.3 per cent of the total newsprint available could be used for appeals and other contingencies.

He was called to explain a statement by Donald M. Nelson, chairman of the WPB, that extra newsprint tonnage promised by Canadian manufacturers would be used as a government "stockpile" and to answer answer charges that the plan would endanger freedom of the press through "direct government control of vital material."

Mr. Treanor, echoing a later WPB statement that the stockpile might better have been described as "a reserve inventoryl," said that the WPB had no intention "to take any action seeking to create a stockpile."

Domestic and Newfoundland supplies, plus 200,000 tons a month from Canada, he said, would make a total supply of 819,000 tons in the first quarter of 1944. Estimated consumption totals 720,121 tons, leaving a balance of only 10,979 tons for appeals and other contingencies. Any tonnage remaining after these requirements have been met will be credited to newspapers, he said.

He estimated second-quarter supplies at 819,000 tons and consumption at 720,398, leaving a balance of only 10,602 tons.

The WPB, he said, is working on a formula whereby relief might be given to papers in cities showing substantial population growth since the beginning of 1943.

"This will be the major basis for appeal grants in 1944. We can assure you that appeal grants in 1944 will be drastically reduced, but no one can accurately predict the tonnage needed. Tolerance of a little more than 1 per cent is as small as can safely be provided."

This is a clipping from page 5 of the New York Times for Jan. 26, 1944.
Clipped at the Seat of Government.

ALLIED UNITY DEFIES HITLER, PRAVDA SAYS

Paper Mocks at 'Maneuvers'— Nazis Invent Another Rumor

LONDON, Jan. 24 (AP)—The Russian newspaper Pravda, which published a Cairo-dated "rumor" a week ago about alleged British-German peace talks, declared today that Adolf Hitler had failed in "all his political and diplomatic maneuvers" to destroy Allied unity.

A Moscow broadcast recorded by the Soviet monitor quoted Pravda as saying:

"The Moscow and Teheran conferences * * * are a splendid illustration of the bankruptcy of the Hitlerite calculations; they evidence the strengthening of a new unity between the countries of the anti-Hitlerite coalition."

Sir Archibald Clark Kerr, British Ambassador to Russia, who has been in London only a week, will return to Moscow as soon as possible, it was reported last night.

This is a clipping from page 3 of the New York Times for Jan. 25, 1944

Clipped at the Seat of Government.

FILE

All-Slav Group in Moscow Calls on Bulgarians to Oust Puppets, Join Allies

MOSCOW, Jan. 23 (UP).—Pravda, newspaper of the Soviet Communist Party, published today a new appeal to Bulgarians from the All-Slav Committee here to revolt against their government, expel their German overlords and ally themselves with the Balkan victims of Hitler, especially their "brother Yugoslavs."

The appeal was a follow-up to the recent warning by Georgi Dimitrov, Bulgarian who was secretary of the disbanded Communist International, that Bulgaria must get out of the war or share Germany's fate.

(The All-Slav Committee's appeal was broadcast to Bulgaria by Moscow Radio, London reported.)

In the same edition Pravda editorially said:

"The day is not far off when all conquered lands will be cleared of the enemy.

"The time is approaching when the war will be carried into enemy territory and the steadily 'shortening' German front will run alongside Berlin."

Pravda said that the last German hope of sowing disunity among the Allies had been dashed by the Moscow and Tehran conferences, "as the result of which agreement was reached on the scale and time for military operations planned by the three powers designed to defeat Germany conclusively."

ACCUSES BETRAYERS

The All-Slav Committee's appeal was signed by Alexei Tolstoi, Russian writer; Petro Panch, Ukrainian writer; Yakub Kolas, White Russian writer; Wanda Vassilevskaya, Polish novelist; Prof. Zdenek, Czechoslovak and Bozhidar Masalarich, Yugoslav.

The appeal was addressed to Bulgarians as "brothers." It emphasized the historic friendship of Russia and Bulgaria and Russia's part in liberating Bulgaria from Turkey. But it accused the present leaders of Bulgaria of ingratitude in aiding Germany against the Slav nations of Russia and Yugoslavia and of "suicidal" declarations of war against two of the world's greatest powers, the United States and Great Britain (Bulgaria and the USSR are not at war.)

Bulgarian peasants, workers, soldiers and clergymen were asked to force Bulgaria's immediate exit from the war and the establishment of a democratic regime.

LONDON, Jan. 23 (UP).—"The suitable moment for action has come," the All-Slav Committee established in Moscow said today in an appeal to Bulgarians to quit the war. As broadcast by Moscow and recorded here the appeal said:

"Bulgaria can now break away from the despicable alliance with Germany. . . . Bulgaria still has time to save herself and to make a worthy place among freedom-loving nations after the war. . . .

"We representatives of All-Slav peoples appeal to you to extricate yourselves from the influence of German intrigue. Prevent by all means the export of your products to Germany. Refuse any other help to the German slave holders. Develop guerrilla fighting. Oppose the Hitlerite plan of exploiting the Bulgarian army as cannon fodder against freedom-loving people. Let Bulgarian troops in Yugoslavia extend their arms to the people and join them in brotherly union against the German barbarians."

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Soviet Paper Asks Speed on UNRRA

(By Wireless to Inter-Continent News)

MOSCOW, Jan. 23. — Dealing with the urgent tasks confronting the UNRRA in its vital role of bringing relief to the liberated peoples of Europe, we reprint below an excerpt from Professor I. Voskresensky's article in the War and the Working Class, entitled "What Is the UNRRA?":

The UNRRA has been set a quite definite and concrete task of rendering first aid to the population of liberated districts. It is still necessary to ensure the actual fulfillment of this task, which of course will not happen if matters are left to drift for themselves.

The UNRRA engages in the restoration of industry, agriculture, transport and municipal economy, only to the extent that it is necessary to satisfy the urgent needs of the population. The full restoration of economy is beyond its competence.

VOICES IN THE PRESS

The foreign press, however, points out that some of the big capitalist circles in the United States and Britain are in favor of the extension of the UNRRA's field of activity.

Voices for example, have been raised urging the inclusion in its field of activity, in one form or another, of immediate aid to occupied countries. One may also meet the argument that inasmuch as its purpose is to devise measures for the restoration of industry in order to aid in satisfying the urgent needs of the population, from the measures of the restoration of economy as a whole, UNRRA, must allegedly have control of almost all of world trade.

There is even talk of such things as utilization of the reparations "within the framework of aid," that is, actually subordinating the problem of reparations to the UNRRA organization.

Lastly, some even go so far as to attempt to substitute for the problem of reparations the problem of aid — by the mutual utilization through the medium of the UNRRA, of the "surplus commodities" of all countries, both the United Nations as well as Germany and her satellites.

Yet it is entirely obvious that the problem of reparations is an independent problem.

The proposed extension of the field of activity for the UNRRA may only lead to the disruption of aid to liberated districts, to the transformation of UNRRA into a universal organization which will vainly try to "encompass the incompassable."

TENDENCIES WITHIN

Inside the UNRRA two tendencies are apparent. On the one hand, the sense of duty before the peoples who have fallen prey to German aggression and by their heroic struggle are ensuring victory over the common enemy of the United Nations, unquestionably finds expression there.

On the other hand, there is no need to conceal that the organization of this aid is influenced by more prosaic considerations, reflecting the interests of certain political and business circles in the United States and Britain.

Above all, there is fear of "post-war chaos." Some statesmen frankly suggest that "aid" must forestall "civil" war, "revolutionary changes in Europe," etc. Other circles are inclined to use the UNRRA's resources and the whole matter of aid to the liberated peoples of Europe as a political weapon.

Yet it is clear that the entire work of aid must be permeated with respect for the principles of democracy and the sovereignty of nations.

In organizing the UNRRA, leading circles in America and Britain were guided not only by the principles of humaneness, but also by fully realistic business considerations.

ROLE OF U. S.

The organization of relief and aid in the restoration is one of the attempts of American leading circles to avert the danger of a post-war economic crisis, or at any rate, to weaken it. This desire is coupled with certain humanitarian feelings, political considerations, etc.

Account is also taken of the expediency of rendering urgent aid to the population of the liberated districts before the end of the war, with a view to rendering easier military operations, thus strengthening the support of the population and its participation in the struggle against the common enemy.

The United States is faced with the difficult task of ensuring the development of its foreign trade in the post-war period, particularly, in preventing its disastrous decline during the period when world economy will be shifted back to peaceful production.

If an international stabilization fund, planned by the Americans aims at stimulating trade for a long period in the post-war world, UNRRA can render definite aid to American trade immediately after the war and continuing under new conditions during the period of the transfer of economy to peaceful production—a policy underlying the lease-lend law.

Under present world condition, it is impossible to organize aid on a large scale as a purely American undertaking, modelled on the ARA which functioned during the first world war. Moreover, the

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Clipped at the Seat of Government.

ARA's activities aroused no small amount of suspicion in a number of countries, towards such undertakings. The organization created by the United Nations and the nations joining them is an incomparably more acceptable form of organization.

ALL STATES MUST JOIN

It must also be borne in mind that with the tremendous damage caused by the German fascist invaders and their associates to the peoples of Europe, the scope of aid required is beyond the capacity of any one country. To render effective aid, it is necessary to combine the efforts of the democratic states.

The basic principle underlying the UNRRA's activity must be the just distribution of aid to the various countries and districts which have been liberated from the enemy. This was stressed by the President of the United States in his speech on the day when the argument instituting the UNRRA was signed.

Judging from the reports at the UNRRA Council sessions which have been published in the foreign press, this principle, however, has not been expressed with adequate precision in the Council's decisions.

Just distribution, implies, aid within the limits and possibilities of the UNRRA and in accordance with the needs of the different countries, but the scope and character of these needs are determined by the scope and the character of the damage sustained by each country, as a result of the occupation and military operations on its territory.

However, the great damage in all occupied districts, differs both in volume and in proportion to the country's national wealth. Consequently, the need for aid will not be the same everywhere. Therefore, the just distribution of aid must actually imply granting to the countries which have suffered most from the occupation and military operations, certain privileges, with regard to priority in receiving aid, as well as favorable terms for the payment of this aid.

The reports which have been published, regretfully do not contain such a precise formulation of the question.

SOVIET INTEREST

At one session, it was decided that the just distribution of deliveries will be effected between the civil population of various districts, taking into account their real or potential participation in military operations, evading a clear formulation of this important question. This formulation about the potential participation in military operations leaves room for various wide interpretations.

The Soviet country, which has suffered the most from the occupation forces and military operations, is faced with gigantic tasks of the restoration of liberated areas.

It is therefore easy to understand the interest of the Soviet public in the activity of the UNRRA, which is called upon to play its role in aid to areas and countries which have been liberated from the German invaders. The Soviet public is of the opinion, like the public opinion of other democratic countries subject to German invasion, that the closest attention must be given to the activity of the UNRRA.

Only then, will it be possible to ensure the correct direction of its activity and obtain really positive results.

This is a clipping from page _____ of the Daily Worker for

Clipped at the Seat of Government.

Charge Defeatists Try to Block Invasion Mapped at Tehran

(By Wireless to Inter-Continent News)

MOSCOW.—The full text of the editorial in the latest issue of War and the Working Class, Soviet labor journal, entitled "Hitler's European Fortress on the Eve of the Assault," reads as follows:

There can be no two opinions in estimating the prospects for the current year. The year started out under conditions exceptionally favorable to the anti-Hitlerite coalition and is pregnant with mortal dangers for the robber fascist bloc.

But the full use of the forces of all the members of the anti-Hitlerite coalition, the urgent, decisive and skillful operations of their armed forces are needed in order to take advantage of the favorable conditions for the speedy victory over Hitlerite Germany and its accomplices in Europe.

It is now clear to all who are really prepared to fight for victory over the common enemy, that the freedom-loving people are not afraid of any sacrifices, without which no major struggle is possible.

How to destroy the enemy, can be seen above all from the fighting experience of the Soviet people and their Red Army. The beginning of the present year is marked by new and big successes for Soviet arms.

In the stiff defensive battles of some weeks ago, the Red Army disrupted the German offensive on Kiev. Large forces had been mobilized by the Hitlerite command for this offensive and high hopes had been placed on them. A German success was as necessary as air—to raise the spirit of the Hitlerite troops and the population of Germany and to hearten Hitler's dejected satellites. But there were no successes.

SOVIET OFFENSIVE

What is more, the Red Army, after wearing down the enemy in the defensive battles, passed over to the offensive. The troops of the First Ukrainian Front smashed the enemy front along a 300 kilometer stretch and swept forward in a mighty avalanche.

In the first few days, the entire territory, which had taken the Hitlerites six weeks to capture at a price of terrific losses, was again swept clear of Germans.

The troops of the Second Ukrainian Front pierced the defense of the Germans along a 100 kilometer stretch. Soviet troops are sweeping westward and are wiping out and driving out the Hitlerite invaders from Ukrainian towns and villages.

One after another, the strong points of the German defense on the right bank of the Dnieper are falling.

After the memorable July battle in the Kursk salient, the battle in the Kiev bulge, once again showed the world that the day of German offensives has irrevocably passed, that it is the Red Army which is now on the offensive, that the initiative has been wrested from the hands of the enemy and that it is the task not only of the Red Army but also of the troops of our Allies to firmly retain the initiative and to allow the enemy no respite.

This is what the Red Army is doing.

Future historians, when evaluating the contribution of the Soviet people and their Red Army to the common cause and the struggle against the German fascist invaders, will stress, above all, the fact that from the very first days of Hitler's predatory attack on the Soviet Union, the main forces of the German were tied down on the Soviet-German front.

For this very reason alone, the notorious "European Fortress" of Hitler, proved to be the most vulnerable from all other sides.

In the course of the war, the Red Army has inflicted terrific losses on the enemy in manpower and equipment, losses far exceeding all the German casualties on the other fronts during the whole war.

The vigorous resistance of the Soviet people and their armed forces, not only frustrated Hitler's plan of world conquest but also broke the backbone of the German army. As a result of the victories of the Red Army in the past year and the successful operations of our Allies, Hitlerite Germany and its army have been driven to the brink of disaster.

The grounds for the invasion of Hitler's notorious "European fortress" could not be better prepared. The population of this "fortress" who have been languishing under the German fascist yoke are eagerly awaiting the assault on this "fortress."

The courageous patriots of the occupied countries in Europe, who speak to the Hitlerite invaders in the language of grenades and machine-guns are only the vanguard, behind whom stand big reserves ready to move at the moment of the decisive action.

Hitler's allies have been swept by disintegration and despondency, and the fear of the tomorrow is mounting, as Soviet troops draw closer to the western frontiers of the Soviet Union.

The enemy who carefully prepared for the war long in advance is placing large human and material resources at the service of his war-machine and is still strong.

ATTACK IS COMING

But there is also no doubt, that now more than ever before, the enemy can be defeated. United hammer blows, struck by the Allies from the east, west and south will result in his inevitable destruction. These blows are not far off.

This is a clipping from page 3 of the ~~Daily~~ Worker for

JAN. 23, 1944

Clipped at the Seat of Government.

As the press of the Allied countries reports, the final preparations for the invasions have been completed. Large Anglo-American forces, plentifully armed with modern military equipment are concentrated in Britain. The ground troops for the invasion are ensured of powerful support by naval and air forces. Transport facilities which are necessary for the invasion are in full readiness. The united command of the Allied forces that will invade Europe has been established. All the prerequisites for attacking the enemy are at hand.

Troops which have been well trained in the experience of the present war and which are headed by a command that has been tested in battle, are waiting for the signal to launch the assault.

Gone is the time when the Hitlerite swindlers chattered about the "impossibility" of the Allies invading Europe, about the "invincibility" of German fortfications on the western and southern coasts of Europe. There is not a single German who believes any such twaddle today.

Now, after the Tehran and Moscow conferences, it is obvious that the Allied powers have taken a firm decision to carry out the offensive against the common enemy, the offensive which will increase and be relentless.

Now, after the German defeat in the Soviet Union—from Stalingrad to Sarny—it is clear to all that Hitler does not nor can possess the forces which could in any way be compared with the enormous fresh forces of our Allies, which are ready for action in western Europe.

Millions of Hitlerite grenadiers, who could have barred the road of the British and the Americans met their death on Russian and Ukrainian soil. Millions more are pinned to the Soviet-German front, from which Hitler does not dare to remove his soldiers without risking the debacle of his army.

SPEEDY ACTION

Now it is obvious that the all important thing is not to give the enemy a chance to recover from the blows which have been struck at him by the Red Army, that will guarantee victory in their swift and decisive skillful operations on the battlefield where the fate of the war is being decided; that any further delay could only multiply the sacrifices which are inevitable in the assault on Hitler's "European Fortress."

The suffering, peoples in Europe are fully justified in expecting that the operations of the Allied troops on the invasion front, not be marked by slowness, which hitherto has weakened the effectiveness of the Allied forces in Italy, regarding which, we have already written about in our magazine.

On what have the Hitlerites placed their hopes in the present situation, which holds such danger for them? They cannot place hopes on their forces—these hopes have eternally been buried in Russian expanses.

They cannot hope for insoluable differences and a split among the Allies—these hopes have eternally been buried by the decisions taken at Moscow and Tehran.

The Nazis are now staking all their hopes on their favorite weapon of deceitful blackmail and provocation, on the intrigues of their agents, paid and unpaid, on the willing and unwilling who are sowing poison, doubt, indecision and disbelief in victory.

On the threshold of their doom, the Hitlerites are placing hopes on the defeatist and "peace-making" elements in the Allied countries. One cannot fail to note that these, a small number, but very vociferous elements, have lately markedly increased their activities. They are straining considerable efforts to undermine the morale of a nation and to sow discord in the Allied camp.

From their backyard comes incessant snarling in the direction of the Soviet Union, whose prestige is growing and strengthening daily, with every new Red Army victory.

TRY TO DISRUPT

These elements have long been fishing in muddy waters to invent increasingly new "problems" and plots and ever new intrigues for the sole purpose of driving a wedge between the Soviet Union and its Allies. They are the ones who are trying to frighten the trusting people by regaling them with stories about anarchy and civil war in the event of an Allied invasion in Europe, as if one could imagine greater anarchy and more bloody civil war than the occupation regime of the Hitlerite robbers in European countries!

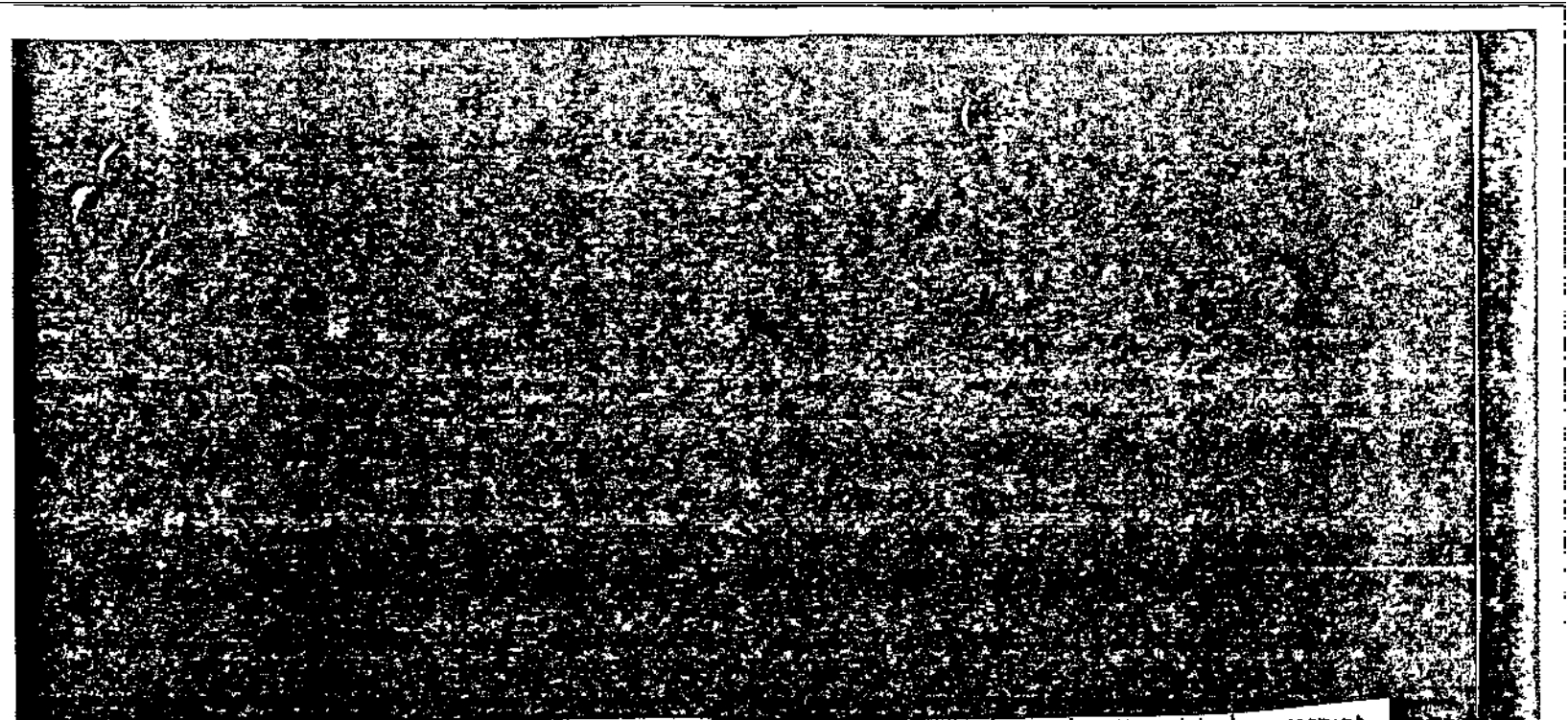
They are the ones who are babbling about the losses the Allies will sustain on the European coast. They are the ones who give the treacherous advice to postpone the invasion in an effort to disrupt the preparations under way to open the second front.

It is to be regretted that these provocative sorties have not been fittingly rebuffed, when it is an indisputable fact that armies are getting ready to assault the enemy decisively and have a right to demand that an end be put to the disintegrating intrigues of the barely concealed agents of the enemy at home.

The political atmosphere must be cleared of the poisonous fumes of the enemy's provocation in order to score a victory for the common cause of the Allies and in order to cut down the number of sacrifices which is the price for this victory.

The last hopes of the Hitlerite bandits—the hopes and the intrigues of the defeatists in America and Britain—undoubtedly will suffer the same fiasco as their earlier calculations.

The peoples of the countries allied with us and their leaders cannot fail to understand the meaning of the intrigues of the pro-Hitlerite elements. The question of storming Hitler's "European Fortress" has been decided upon irrevocably. The fatal letters forecasting the inglorious doom of Hitler and his robber band are more clearly appearing on the walls of the "Fortress."



tinuance of a Roosevelt regime in Washington and in post-war economic stability.

Other, more long-range, considerations point the same way. The ending of Democratic control in Washington is likely to mean a sharp swing to the right, with extreme reactionaries riding into power on a wave of resentment against war-time taxes and controls, against labor, against every remnant of the New Deal. In place of pre-war isolationism the country might move into a period of intense imperialistic competition. Antagonism to Russia would certainly rise; plans for international cooperation would go by the board—and a new war would come striding out of the future.

So the Russians presumably argue. And faced with such alternatives they prefer to take no chances. The Communist Party offers at least a modest obstacle to Russia's interests in America; consequently it must go.

The end of the party was foreshadowed when the Comintern was dissolved. At that time the Communist parties in Canada, Cuba, and Costa Rica died and came to life in new, presumably less objectionable, forms. The same fate seems to have been designed for the American party, but its liquidation was delayed. For several months the Communists in this country tried to ingratiate themselves with all sorts of persons and political tendencies, from Frank Hague on the right to their opponents on the left. The Party was apparently doing its best to prove that it could serve the aims described above.

It didn't work. As always the attempt to lure corrupt reactionaries into the same bed with political progressives further alienated both elements. The suspicion and hostility generated by Communist behavior during the past and by the gyrations of the party line could not be overcome. And the Administration itself showed not the least gratification over the activities of the Communists in its behalf. In short, the unity move was a flop.

The party's transformation into an association may also be a brief expedient. Under any name communism smells about the same to the people who don't like it. The new set-up, too, may prove to be more nuisance than help to Moscow. Or it may die for lack of nourishment. A radical party wins support by militant, aggressive action in support of a radical program, not by serving as an uninvited handmaiden to the party in power.

But the fate of the Communist Party in America is far less important than the plans of Moscow for the Communist movement in the rest of the world. Does the present move mean that the party everywhere is to dissolve? Does it mean that Communists will everywhere work for capitalist stability? These questions cannot yet be answered. It is possible that the policy announced by Browder was designed particularly for America and will not be applied fully anywhere else. Already one can find some evidence that it is adopting a varied, *ad hoc* policy to fit conditions, and Russia's interests, in each country.

Obviously Russia's interests in America are very different from in Europe. In America the danger of reaction and the desirability of returning Roosevelt to power may seem to outweigh the dubious services of the Communist Party. In Europe the leading elements in the underground are largely recruited from the ranks of Socialists and Communists. Their desperate struggle is animated by more than a determination to drive out the Nazis; they fight for a new Europe and an end to the domination of interests that gladly made deals with fascism. To ask them to avert class conflict and work for the stabilization of capitalism would be to take the life and meaning out of their movement. It will be very difficult to apply one strategy to America and a contrary one to Europe, but it would seem that Stalin has no other choice.

This is a clipping from page ... of the New York Times for

Clipped at the Seat of Government.

NAZIS SPREADING MORE PEACE TALES

Free Hand in East Rumored to Fan Controversy Begun by Pravda Report

PERIL TO FUEHRER BRUITED

Letter Circulated by Deputy in East Prussia Used to Heighten Truce Fiction

By JAMES B. RESTON
By Cable to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

LONDON, Jan. 21—Germany distributed through her overseas agency today a series of peace rumors designed to prolong the controversy among the Allies over the recent peace report published in Pravda in Moscow.

According to these rumors, which were supposed to be circulating in neutral capitals, the Germans are supposed to have proposed giving up their conquests, their fleet and their Fuehrer and establishing a new government of generals, who would have some new measure of "liberty in the East."

Ignoring the fact that the Pravda peace rumor created a sensation not because it originated in a "neutral" country but because it was published in an official Allied newspaper, the Germans listed the alleged proposals as follows:

1. Germany is prepared to evacuate occupied territories.
2. Germany agrees to security conditions imposed by the Allies.
3. Germany agrees to hand over her Navy, including her submarines, to Britain.
4. The Rhineland is to be demilitarized.
5. Germany, as compensation, is to receive some freedom in the East, after which she would remove Adolf Hitler and replace him with a supreme council of German generals.

The source of these reports was said to be the Ankara correspondent of the Swiss newspaper Gazette de Lausanne, who was said to be relaying them from the Moscow radio.

The British, whose representatives were supposed to have received these terms, denied any such offers had been made; no such Moscow broadcast has been recorded, and of course while the rumors were energetically repeated in German foreign broadcasts for the benefit of the gullible abroad, they were carefully kept from the German people at home.

Further evidence that German missions abroad are trying to build up this peace fiction was contained in the following letter also printed in Gazette de Lausanne and said to have been circulated by Erich Koch, Gauleiter for East Prussia, several weeks ago.

"Dear Comrade:

"The Fuehrer is in danger. The reactionaries are trying to eliminate the Fuehrer and subject the Reich to a military dictatorship which would immediately initiate peace negotiations against the people's will. Certain quarters who like to air their Prussianism, but have nothing in common with the heroic spirit of the Seven Years' War, are spreading carefully calculated rumors. They say the Fuehrer's impaired health no longer allows him to bear the heavy burden of his position. The reactionaries thus are attempting to provoke a Putsch which would remove the Fuehrer from supreme command of the Wehrmacht, replacing him by one of the traitorous generals."

The attempt to suggest that Germany should be allowed to withdraw from the countries she has overrun and, by getting rid of Hitler, establish a new government under the generals who carried out the devastation of great parts of Europe was dismissed in London as a fantastic effort to divert the Allies from the central task of smashing Germany, including Hitler and his generals and the Wehrmacht, in a decisive invasion "from the west, east and south."

This is a clipping from page 2 of the New York Times for Jan. 22, 1944
Clipped at the Seat of Government.

FILE

Lenin and Tehran

TWENTY years after Lenin's death the historic stature of the founder of the Soviet State needs no special pleading. It has become evident to everyone, friend and enemy alike, that the present glory of the Soviet Union is the greatest tribute that can be paid to Lenin and his teachings. The freeing of Leningrad from the last vestige of the Nazi siege on the anniversary of Lenin's death is a supreme act of tribute.

The system established by Lenin's creative leadership and developed to its present solidity by Stalin has proved its real worth to all humanity. It need no longer be argued that the immense effort of millions which protected the young Soviet Republic against the first armed interventions and then built it to what it is today was a contribution benefiting the whole world. The victories of the Red Army make it plain for everyone to see. In other ways also Lenin's development of Marxism has left an immense heritage for the use of all peoples.

From Brest-Litovsk to Tehran is an historic epoch. During this epoch a basic change in world relations has taken place. The most important indicator of this change is the new role of the Soviet Union, as an established and powerful Socialist State, and the new relations to it which have emerged as a result of this war.

The whole period after Brest-Litovsk is characterized by the dominance of an anti-Soviet policy among the major capitalist powers. The aim and purpose of that policy, after the first armed efforts to destroy it failed, was to isolate it and prepare new ventures against it. That was the aim in building up Hitler Germany and then appeasing fascism. But this policy failed miserably bringing disaster to the whole world.

During the war a new policy became dominant among the anti-Axis nations. It is the policy of cooperation with the Soviet Union, of Coalition for the war and the peace. Tehran marks the establishment of that policy upon a firm basis. From a policy of encirclement to a policy of collaboration—that is the span from 1917 to 1944. And it must change the face of the whole world.

Lenin's great contribution consisted in elaborating basic policies for the establishment of socialism in a period of hostile capitalist encirclement. Stalin's great contribution was to make socialism strong against the resistance of the whole world and to establish policies for the new period of peaceful co-existence of the capitalist and socialist worlds.

Thus we see Marxism-Leninism as a living force, changing the world, helping create new conditions for historic progress. To see these new changes, to take advantage of new historic possibilities, to make whole nations see them is the task of creative Marxist-Leninists in all countries.

This is a clipping from page 6 of the DAILY WORKER
Date Jan 22 44
Clipped at the Seat of Government

FIVE

Stalin's Choice

BY FREDA KIRCHWEY

IF THE Communist Party indorses the recent proposals of Earl Browder, it will cease to exist as a party and will become a "political association," and its purpose "for many years into the future" will be to encourage national unity through the support of free enterprise. In this role it will do its best to help avert an explosion of class conflict when the war ends. It will run no candidates for public office but will operate through the accepted medium of the two-party system. Mr. Browder came out flatly for the reelection of President Roosevelt next fall, but he made it clear that Communists are now free agents and may join either the Democratic or the Republican Party.

But the pivotal point of the Browder encyclical was Teheran. It is to further the aims announced at that historic meeting that the Communist Party is now divesting itself of its name and its character and its principles. Indeed, Browder's whole position is founded on the premise that, just as victory in the war necessitated an intimate union of forces among the great allied powers, so a "coalition peace" is the only alternative to "the spreading of civil wars over vast areas, culminating . . . in a new world war between nations." To prevent this utter catastrophe it is necessary to abandon the fight for socialism—at least in America.

Such is the Browder thesis, abbreviated but I think not distorted. What is the reality behind it?

The war will end with Russia the strongest power on the Eurasian continent. The only other power in the world comparable in strength will be the United States. Russia's two chief problems after the war will be the restoration of its shattered industrial plants and security against new wars. The first problem can be met by long-term commercial agreements with the Western nations, particularly the United States. The second problem can be met by the creation of a sound working system of collective security. This, in turn, requires a stable Europe dominated by states friendly to Russia and not infected with expansionist ambitions.

It is in the light of Russia's basic needs and desires that Browder's speech should be examined. It has no meaning apart from them.

Toward America, Stalin's course is clear. The Roosevelt Administration is well disposed toward Russia. At Moscow and Teheran the Secretary of State and the President agreed to a common course of action. Their political prestige is tied to the fulfilment of the agreements reached with Russia. Already, without any doubt, specific plans for expanded trade between the two countries have been discussed. Russia's best hope for the crucial years immediately following the war lies in the con-

The Nation Jan. 22, 1944 p. 89 & 90

WHY DID PRAVDA PRINT SEPARATE PEACE LIE?

By William H. Chamberlin

THE Soviet Government's official daily newspaper bears the name, inappropriate for a completely controlled and heavily censored publication, of *Isvestiya* ("News"). The official organ of the Russian Communist Party was still more ineptly christened *Pravda* ("Truth"). One of the oldest of contraband Soviet wisecracks is that there is no truth in "The News" and no news in "The Truth." One might add the suggestion that *Pravda* would be a good runner-up in lying competition with the kept organs of all the totalitarian countries. In this matter of prevarication there is no comparison between democracy at its worst and dictatorship at its best. The most irresponsible, sensational loosely edited American or British newspaper would have more of the fresh air of truth in its pages than the most sober and restrained newspaper operating under the rules of totalitarian dictatorship.

William H. Chamberlin

Most of *Pravda's* lies have little effect on public opinion outside of Russia. They are read by Russians with credulity, indifference or bored skepticism, depending on the individual's intelligence rating. But *Pravda's* latest lie has been heard around the world, like the shot fired at Lexington. Indeed it was told in such a way that it was obviously the intention of the Soviet rulers to bring it to the attention of the outside world. Besides being printed in this very influential newspaper it was put on the air by Tass, the official Soviet news agency. And its contents were calculated to awaken with a startled jerk people who had been lulled to sleep with soothing suggestions that everything had gone beautifully at Teheran and that all we had to do was to trust Stalin and build a brave new world with him:

CAIRO, January 12.—"According to a report from trustworthy Greek and Yugoslavian sources, a secret meeting of two leading British personalities with von Ribbentrop took place in a coastal town of the Iberian peninsula. The purpose of the meeting was to ascertain the terms of a separate peace with Germany. It is believed that the meeting has not remained without results."

* * *

ONLY three sentences. But sentences loaded with dynamite. The importance of the appearance of this message, and of its official radio publicity, is enhanced, not diminished, by its fantastically unconvincing character, measured by professional journalistic standards. An old-fashioned American managing editor would have tossed such a despatch into the wastebasket, and sent a sizzling wire to any correspondent so stupid or inexperienced as to have sent it. Why on earth should anonymous Greeks or Yugoslavs in Cairo be authoritative sources of information about a mysterious meeting that supposedly took place in Spain?

Moreover, such a message would never have got past the severe British censorship in Cairo. I think there is strong reason to believe that this message never originated in Cairo at all, but was "made in Moscow" and passed on to *Pravda* from some source high enough to be able to command its immediate publication.

And this makes the publication all the more significant. There is not one chance in a million that this was a mere error of judgment on the part of the editor of *Pravda*, preening himself on a journalistic scoop as a result of the enterprise of his Cairo correspondent. People are shot in the Soviet Union for much smaller errors of judgment. No, the *Pravda's* latest lie was a deliberate and calculated insult.

It is not merely a matter of balancing a *Pravda* rumor against official British denials. British separate

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peace negotiations would run counter to the whole logic and spirit and purpose of British policy during the war. If the British Government had been willing to give Hitler a free hand in Eastern Europe it need never have gone to war at all. On this same basis it could have obtained a peace that would have left the Empire intact at the time of the flight of Rudolf Hess to England in May, 1941, when the military outlook for the British cause was certainly dark. It simply does not make sense to suppose that now, when the Nazi military power is beginning to totter, there would be faltering on the home stretch.

Every totalitarian state is largely based on orfganized lying, both in its internal administration and in its foreign relations. What is the purpose of this particular lie at this particular moment? In judging the workings of a mind so devious and cunning as Stalin's it is usually safe to assume that several considerations may be operating simultaneously.

* * *

FIRST and most obvious, there is the Soviet dictator's intention to annex a large part of Poland and to impose a puppet government on what may remain under nominally independent Polish sovereignty. American and British support of the legitimate Polssh Government has been painfully feeble and ineffective, ominously reminiscent of British and French "support" of Czechoslovakia on the eve of Munich.

But even this feeble and ineffective support, this expression of willingness to use good offices in bringing about discussion between the Soviet and Polish Governments, has enraged Stalin. It is in the nature of a totalitarian dictator to carry off a program of treaty-breaking annexation with much bluster and loud noises. Among the loud noises in this case are the ostentatious slapping down of Stalin's admirer and would-be friend, Wendell Willkie, in *Pravda*, and this latest canard.

There are also other possible background elements. The insult was phrased in such terms as to affect Great Britain, not the United States. The effect will certainly be to create anti-British sentiment among the Russians. This perhaps portends post-war anti-British designs in Europe, or in Asia, or perhaps in both continents.

Moreover, I understand from private informants who are, I believe, somewhat more reliable than *Pravda's* mysterious "Greeks and Yugoslavs" that there was a calculated attempt by Stalin at Teheran to flatter Roosevelt and to snub Churchill. One purpose of the canard may be to pursue this offensive with cruder and more open methods.

Finally, it is a habit of dictators to accuse others falsely of doing what they plan to do themselves. Stalin methodically killed off the leading veteran Communists and the leaders of the Red Army on the charge of planning to come to an agreement with Hitler, and then signed his own agreement with the Nazi dictator in August, 1939. Was the publication in *Pravda* of a false report of a meeting between Ribbentrop and "two prominent British personalities" a hint, in the kind of cipher that a fellow-dictator would understand, that Ribbentrop would find two high Soviet personalities waiting should he arrange a rendezvous somewhere in Poland or in the Baltic States? Time will show. In the case of such a shifty political figure as Stalin nothing can be ruled out as "impossible."

Contrary to its tradition and intention Pravda has been serving the cause of truth in its recent exploits. It must be convincing great numbers of Americans, hitherto confused by propaganda, that Lenin was right when, in his political testament, he characterized Stalin as a rough and disloyal man. No two adjectives could better sum up the Soviet dictator's character, as revealed in his actions at home and abroad.

WORLD LABOR GROUP SEES SOVIET RETURN

Chairman Reviews Progress Made at Recent Conference

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

WASHINGTON, Jan. 20 — Hope that Soviet Russia would return to membership in the International Labor Office was expressed today by Secretary of Labor Frances Perkins and Carter Goodrich, chairman of the Governing Board of the ILO, after a conference with President Roosevelt.

Mr. Goodrich said that he reported to the President what took place at the annual meeting of the board in London from Dec. 16 to 20, especially regarding the agenda prepared for the twenty-sixth International Labor conference to be held April 20 in Philadelphia, the first such conference since one held in New York in 1941.

Like other nations belonging to the League of Nations, Russia automatically became a member of the ILO when she joined the league. Likewise, she lost her membership when she was expelled from league membership in 1939.

Russia could have, but never did apply for membership in the ILO apart from membership in the league. Developments are looked for which will see a return of Russia to the labor organization.

This is a clipping from page 3 of the New York Times for Jan. 21, 1944

Clipped at the Seat of Government.

Soviet Officials Wash Hands Of Pravda's Peace Story

LONDON, Jan. 20 (U.P.).—Britain has received assurances that Russian government officials were not responsible for the publication by the Moscow newspaper Pravda of a report that Britain and Germany had emerged in separate peace talks, diplomatic quarters said tonight.

V. G. Dekanozov, Russian deputy foreign commissar, was reported to have told John Balfour, charge d'affaires of the British embassy at Moscow, that the government had no previous knowledge of the Pravda report before it was in print.

Expressing surprise at the excitement caused by Pravda's publication of the story, Dekanozov was said to have told Balfour that he himself knew nothing of it before he read it in the newspapers.

British officials here seemed to hope that the entire matter might be dropped as merely a regrettable incident.

However, discussion of peace talk rumors received some stimulation when the Berlin radio reported that Baron Franz von Papen, German ambassador to Turkey, had given a dinner at Ankara for Turkish cabinet members.

Turkish Foreign Minister Sukru Saracoglu was a guest at the dinner, the Nazi report said.

It was recalled that Moscow newspapers had republished a London Sunday Times report that two months ago Papen made peace feelers through Turkey.

However, there was no reason so far as was known here to believe that Papen's dinner was anything more than an ordinary diplomatic function.

[U. S. Government listeners heard the German Agency D.N.B. broadcast that Turkish Defense Minister Gen. Ali Riga Artunkal, the transport and trade ministers and high foreign office officials were among Papen's guests.]

Wash. Times-Herald Jan. 21, 1944 p. 5

Lippmann Weighs Reasons for Pravda's Publication of 'Peace Rumor' Story

Walter Lippmann, the authoritative political commentator for the N. Y. Herald Tribune, hazarded a guess yesterday on what the publication of the Pravda "negotiated peace" rumor was all about.

Coming from Lippmann a "guess" about a "rumor" is of some interest, and here's how his thoughts go:

The Russians really believe, he says, that Germany is preparing a trap for the Allied world by offering to retreat behind her pre-war frontiers, renounce claims to colonies, scrap her fleet and submarines, retire Hitler and his party, in return for a "free hand in the East."

Not only does the Soviet Union believe such a trap is being prepared, says Lippmann, but it wants us "make very sure that the British and we do not fall for it."

What is it, after Tehran, that can be worrying the Russians? asks Lippmann.

Admittedly there were differences of the past with reference to the British attitude toward the second front and many other matters, but these, says Lippmann, have been essentially eliminated by the Moscow and Tehran agreements.

Since the Russians have proven time and again to have better information about Europe than we often have, especially about Germany, they must have something concrete in mind.

"If they think that the Germans are laying a trap and that the danger is great enough to warrant a public demonstration which puts everyone, and not only officials on guard, we had better look to what Germany might do and overlook the disconcerting manners with which the Russians have treated their allies."

NAZI MANEUVER

Well, then, what can this worry be?

"It is common knowledge," he says, **"that most Germans dread above all else the entry of the Red Army. It is common knowledge that when the time comes to surrender, the Germans would like to surrender to the British and ourselves, and to be occupied by us as a protection against being occupied by the Russians."**

"While we may and must assume that Stalin does not think we would make such a faithless deal behind his back, it is not impossible that he thinks the Germans will maneuver us into a position where, without a deal, a similar result would follow.

"How might the Germans do that? By making a token resistance in the West while they resisted the Red Army fiercely in the East in order that General Eisenhower should get to Berlin before the Russians, and impose an armistice before the Russians were fighting on German soil."

Lippmann stresses that if the Germans should try something like that, the effect from the Russian point of view would "be truly alarming."

For it "could mean that they who had borne the brunt of the battle would be in a secondary position to settle with Germany."

"It may well be," he concludes, again emphasizing all this is just the best theory he has, that "the Russians are trying to make very sure that we realize fully, before we are enmeshed in Germany as we are in Italy, how such a German scheme might work out. Their anxieties may be accentuated by the feeling that in our political planning in regard to Italy, France and the Balkans we have not been adequately informed and have been naive, and that our political head is not always as hard as our heart is pure."

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Letter to Litvinoff

Maj. George Fielding Eliot

I wish I could sit down and write a private letter to Maxim Livinoff, one that would go through uncensored and intact. If I could, I would say something like this:

Dear Mr. Vice Commissar of Foreign Affairs: You have twice been your country's Ambassador to my Country. You know America well; probably better than any other Russian in official life. A great part of your life's work has been devoted to trying to bring about better understanding, based on mutual confidence and good will, between the Russian and the American peoples.

You have seen the slow but steady growth of that confidence and good will on both sides, partly as a result of your own labors, partly as a result of the magnificent victories of your countrymen against the common foe, partly as a result of our own contributions to your war effort, partly as a result of the endeavors of our President and Secretary of State on the one hand, and your Premier and Foreign Commissar on the other, culminating in the historic meetings at Moscow and Teheran.

You know that this growth was from very small beginnings on both sides. You know that there was a vast ignorance of and a vast prejudice against Russia in this country, and a similar ignorance of and prejudice against the United States in Russia. You know that these conditions have not yet been overcome by any means. You know that many influences are still at work in America to prevent any real understanding with Russia.

You also know that many of us here in America who have the public ear—among whom the writer of these words takes a humble place—have been doing what they could to dispel these doubts and these distrusts of Russia, have been assuring their readers and listeners that the Russian people and their leaders are fully worthy of America's trust and friendship, that Russia can be counted on to play her part as a loyal and co-operative member of the great family of law-abiding States who, after this war must forge out of the white-hot iron of victory the unbreakable pillars of a lasting peace.

So, all this being true, and as well known to you as it is to myself, I would like to ask you whether you cannot explain to some of your associates the importance of not doing those things which make it more difficult for this tender growth of Soviet-American confidence to flourish and prosper and come to bear useful fruit.

* * * *

You know that we do not have a controlled press in this country. You know that every American is well aware that your press is controlled; that it does not say those things which your government does not desire to have said. When your newspaper Pravda publishes a baseless rumor about British agents seeking a separate peace, that does nothing but stir up suspicion and distrust of your government here and in Great Britain.

It makes many Americans wonder what your motives may be. It permits those organs of our press who are violently opposed to American co-operation with Russia to ask whether this is a smoke screen behind which Russia is hiding some sinister intention of her own. It makes it immensely more difficult for those of us who do believe in American-Russian co-operation to tell their fellow Americans that Russia can be trusted. We shall have that little item thrown in our teeth at every turn of the road for the next six months. Can't you explain this to your colleagues, so that they will understand.

We know full well that your government has certain views with regard to your western frontier which it regards as essential to Russian interests. On the whole, I think it may be fairly said that the question of your frontiers with Poland has been examined in the American press with a considerable degree of sympathy for your point of view.

* * * *

Could it not have been possible for your government to make a frank and clear and temperate statement on the subject, setting forth the really excellent case which can be made for the Curzon Line, instead of taking the "chip-on-the-shoulder" attitude which has characterized Soviet official utterances on this point? We don't ask Russia to submit to our arbitration, or to British arbitration in every question that arises between Russia and her neighbors: But would not Russian interests be better served in the end if you managed to convey the idea that American and British public opinion, goodwill and confidence were considered matters of some importance in Russian official circles?

Personally, as you well know, Mr. Vice Commissar, I have long believed that the future peace and security of the world in general and of my country in particular, must be based on a sound understanding and wholehearted co-operation between the British Commonwealth, the Soviet Union and the United States.

Many other Americans believe the same thing. You believe that, too. But no understanding between governments or statesmen is worth very much, or will last very long, unless it is backed by the confidence of the people. Can't you persuade your official associates that there is some virtue in the old American proverb about the respective virtues of vinegar and molasses for the catching of flies?

Sincerely yours,

(Signed) George Fielding Eliot.

That is what I would like to write to Maxim Litvinoff—if I could.

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Reuss

Washington Star
January 20, 1944
page 10

Britons Warned Against Wave Of Nazi-Inspired Peace Rumors

Moscow Magazine Joins British Press In Admonitions; Repercussions Continue

By the Associated Press.

LONDON, Jan. 20.—Britons were warned today to be on guard against a wave of insidious peace-talk propaganda inspired by the Germans as rumors printed earlier in the week by Pravda continued to have repercussions in both London and Moscow.

The warning, voiced by the London press, coincided with a similar admonition by the Moscow magazine War and the Working Class, which called for cleansing the political atmosphere from "poisonous gases" spread by the Nazis in an effort to split the Allies.

The Soviet publication declared that recent Moscow and Teheran conferences had foredoomed German attempts to sow disunion, but added that "the peoples of the countries allied with us and their responsible leaders must understand the efforts being made by Nazi elements."

The article appeared on its face to be an attempt to dispel the impression created by the Communist organ Pravda, which Monday published a rumor that the British had secretly been discussing possible peace terms with German Minister von Ribbentrop.

(The German-controlled Paris radio said today that Turkish Premier Sukru Saracoglu had granted an interview yesterday to Franz von Papen, German Ambassador to Turkey.

(Several other members of the Turkish cabinet attended the meeting, said the broadcast, which was recorded by the Associated Press.)

Although the rumor printed in Pravda was denied immediately by the British Foreign Office, a dispatch from Associated Press Correspondent Eddy Gilmore in Moscow last night said the relationship between Russia and her Allies—Britain and the United States—was the biggest single topic of conversation in the Soviet capital.

"The subject has the whole town jittery," Mr. Gilmore wrote.

Biggest Political News of War.

He said the Pravda rumor had developed into the biggest political news in Russia since the beginning of the war, excepting perhaps the Teheran conference, and that foreign observers were disturbed by the situation—chiefly because they did not know what to make of it.

Russian newspapers have informed their readers of the British denial of the Pravda rumor, but the Soviet government has remained silent.

The London Daily Express, owned by Lord Beaverbrook, led the British press in warning Britons to be on guard against German peace-talk propaganda.

"Maneuvers that emanate from the brains of Nazi leaders require our closest observation and our open discussion," the Express said. "Let us come right out into the open on these machinations, confident that discussion will serve a good purpose."

Peace Rumors Long Expected.

Britons have been expecting a flurry of peace rumors for months. As long ago as last Thanksgiving Information Minister Brendan Bracken told the American Society in London that German generals had small hopes of victory on the battlefield and were looking to Hitler to save them through "a litter of separate peace treaties."

The Moscow radio, meanwhile, early today broadcast Foreign Secretary Anthony Eden's statement to the House of Commons yesterday on Russian-Polish relations, in which he emphasized that Britain was hopeful of bringing about a friendly settlement between the two countries.

The broadcast, recorded by the Soviet monitor, was at dictation speed for the benefit of the Russian provincial press.

Russian

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This Changing World

Constantine Brown

There is a feverish activity on the part of American diplomats to mend the political fences which have been torn here and there by Pravda's publication of the unsubstantiated report that the British and Germans have been talking peace terms.

In recent months diplomatic strategy has become even more difficult than military strategy. The military has a direct approach in its objective to knock out the enemy. The diplomats have more complicated problems which are dealt with in a tortuous manner.

Despite official pronouncements that there is a solid unity among the United Nations, it is inevitable that there shall be divergences of interests regarding territorial and political divisions after the war. The United States alone has no such interests. Our only aim is to create a warless world.

Europe is a hotbed of intrigues. The recent dispute over Poland and the Baltic States, our own troubles with the French National Committee at Algiers, the changing attitude of the British and American governments regarding Yugoslavia and a number of other problems which have not yet come out into the open show how delicate the diplomatic strategy of the United Nations is bound to be.

* * * *

Peace talks have been reported ever since the fall of Poland in 1939. There have been rumors from time to time that Germany was seeking a way out of the war or that some of the Allied nations—America excepted—have been looking for a way to end the war without further loss of life and destruction of wealth.

Last summer reports of Russian-German talks either through the offices of the Japanese Ambassador at Moscow, through conversations between Russia's envoy to Bulgaria or between Russian and German representatives at Stockholm gained credence in some quarters in Washington and London. These reports were reproduced in the British and American press. The Russians did not pay much attention to them and they caused no serious breach in our diplomatic fences because the press in Britain and the United States is under no political censorship and stories in them do not in any way involve the respective governments.

The situation is different in Russia. All the Soviet newspapers are under the strictest government control. They do not print a single line that is not gone over with a fine-tooth comb by government officials. The stories are read prior to publication. Sometimes the Russian press is used to uncover political plans of the government, at other times it puts out trial balloons whenever the Kremlin wants such feelers put out. In any event, the government and the press are one and indivisible.

It is regarded here as highly improbable that the Soviet government, after having obtained all the concessions it desired at the Moscow and Teheran conferences, would want to break the political front of the United Nations. Authoritative Washington sources say there is no doubt that the Polish question is unduly worrying the Moscow leaders.

According to the best available information, the question of Poland and the Baltic States was not discussed either at the conference of the foreign ministers or at the meeting between the chiefs of states. Hence the Russians are said to believe that neither the United States nor Britain would let it become a major problem now or after the war. The Russians seem to be under the impression that whatever they do will eventually be accepted by Washington and London.

* * * *

There is, however, a deeper problem which worries the Moscow diplomats. That is the possibility of a "re-orientation" of the British policies.

A few months ago a distinguished and very well informed British editor, F. A. Voigt, foreign editor of the powerful liberal paper, the Manchester Guardian, and editor of the influential political magazine, Nineteenth Century and After, wrote an article discussing the importance of a balance of power in Europe for both Britain and Europe itself.

He was followed shortly afterward by a speech by Field Marshal Smuts, the Prime Minister of South Africa, who said that under the present conditions in Europe it is essential that some European nations group themselves into an organization to be known as the British confederation of nations. In these two expressions of opinion, which bore an official stamp, since Field Marshal Smuts is one of the most powerful figures in the British commonwealth, the Soviet government may have seen a challenge to Russia's postwar aims in Europe. The statements have created as great a stir among the diplomats as among the general public.

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SOVIET AGAIN PRODS ALLIES ON INVASION

War and Working Class Writer Demands Speed—Charges Defeatists Delay Action

CAMPAIGN IN ITALY HIT

Magazine Assails 'Slowness' —Berne Sees Nazi Plot to Gain From Allied Rifts

By Cable to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

MOSCOW, Jan. 19—The magazine War and the Working Class declared today that the long-suffering peoples of Western Europe have a right to expect the prompt storming of Adolf Hitler's European Fortress and that Allied invasion troops "will not be afflicted by that slowness which, until now, has weakened the effectiveness of the operations of the Allied forces in Italy."

[At the same time, however, the magazine warned that Adolf Hitler's hopes of splitting the Allies were buried forever by the decisions of the Moscow and Teheran conferences, according to The Associated Press.]

The long editorial in the Soviet journal of international relations declared that Hitlerite strategy for prolongation of the war is based on hopes of diversions, including anti-Soviet feeling. That can be aroused by "defeatist and 'peace creating' elements in the countries allied with us" who are wilfully or unwilfully "sowing the poison of doubts, indecisiveness and lack of confidence in victory."

Clue to Pravda Rumor Seen

It is charged that such elements lately have markedly increased their activities, daily "fabricating ever new 'problems' and are making ever new intrigues with only one aim in view—that of driving a wedge between the Soviet Union and our Allies."

This charge by war and the working class is regarded here as one possible explanation of the motives behind Pravda's publication on Monday of the sensational rumor from Cairo that two leading British personalities had recently conferred with Joachim von Ribbentrop, Nazi Foreign Minister, in an effort to clarify conditions for a separate peace with Germany.

The magazine said that "defeatist and peace creating elements" now have taken up vigorous anti invasion propaganda.

"They are trying," it said, "to frighten trusting peoples by tales of anarchy and civil war in the event of an invasion of Europe by the Allies, as if it were possible to imagine greater anarchy and bloodier civil war than the occupational regime of the Hitlerite bandits in the European countries.

"They are talking about the high losses that are in store for the Allies on the European coast, they are offering treacherous advice about postponing the invasion and trying to hinder the preparation that is going on for the opening of the second front."

"Disintegrating Tricks"

War and the Corking Class said that armies on the eve of invasion have the right to demand that their leaders stop "these disintegrating tricks of the hardly camouflaged enemy in their rear."

The remainder of the articles is a review of the favorable conditions for a quick victory, created by the Red Army's smash in one year from Stalingrad to Sarny, a smash that had so depleted Hitler's reserves that he could not have a comparable force capable of standing up against the fresh Allied forces.

"Now it is clear," the article said, "that the most important thing is not to permit the enemy to recover from blows crushingly imposed by the Red Army. The pledges of victory are quick, decisive and skilful operations in the battlefields where the fate of the war is being decided and where any further delay only increases the number of victims inevitable in the storming of the European Fortress of Hitler.

"The people of Europe who have suffered so much are waiting with full right and hope that the actions of the Allied troops of the invasion will not be afflicted by that slowness which, until now, has weakened the effectiveness of the operations of the Allied forces in Italy."

Moscow Silent on Cairo Tale

MOSCOW, Jan. 19 (AP)—British and American diplomats in Moscow showed fresh concern today over the latest turn of events in the case of Pravda's peace rumor story, and the Russians remained officially silent.

The Soviet press gave the Russian people news of the British Foreign Office denial of the rumor that the British had been discussing peace with German Foreign Minister Joachim von Ribbentrop, but it carried only a brief news dispatch on the denial and it made no comment, editorial or otherwise.

Failure to publish the text of the British denial gave some worry to British authorities there. They felt that it would have been better if the Russian press had printed the text of the denial rather than the item they did carry—a one-paragraph story from Tass, the official Russian agency, quoting the British agency Reuter.

British circles hoped for official acceptance of their Foreign Office explanation. While none has been made public, it is not impossible that one has been given officially, but from the best information this is not the case.

At the same time the Soviet press printed the story from London quoting the Ankara correspondent of The Sunday Times of London as saying that while it was true that the German Ambassador to Turkey, Franz von Papen, had not made peace proposals, it was not true that peace proposals had not been made recently by the Germans.

Publication of this story put the question right back where it was when Pravda printed the original story.

The Sunday Times dispatch was printed along with the British Foreign Office denial on the back page—the foreign page—of both the Government newspaper Izvestia and the Communist party paper Pravda.

So far the United States is not being brought into the discussions.

United States Ambassador W. Averell Harriman worked through most of yesterday and his lights at the Spasso House burned far into the night.

This is a clipping from page 4 of the New York Times for Jan. 20, 1944
Clipped at the Seat of Government.

PRAVDA TALE LAID TO NAZI TRICKERY

U.S. Observers Think Germany Played Peace Talks Against Allies to Embroil Them

By JOHN MacCORMAC
Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

WASHINGTON, Jan. 19—The motives that inspired the Pravda to publish separate peace rumors involving the British were still a mystery today to the State Department, the British Embassy and apparently even to the Soviet Embassy.

Viscount Halifax, the British Ambassador, called on Secretary of State Cordell Hull to discuss the subject but it was learned that he had received no light on it yet from London while Mr. Hull told his morning news conference that he had had no word from Ambassador W. Averell Harriman in Moscow.

As for Soviet Ambassador Andrey A. Gromyko, he continued to transact business in the embassy here and to have nothing to say about the whole matter.

[Meantime, in Moscow the authoritative magazine War and the Working Class in an article regarded as a possible explanation of the motive behind the Pravda incident prodded the Allies on the subject of invasion. It asserted that plans for the assault on Western Europe were being hindered by defeatists and

Continued on Page Four.

PRAVDA TALE LAID TO NAZI TRICKERY

Continued From Page One

"peace creating elements" who stressed the cost in lives that such a venture involved.]

From less exalted Soviet sources, however, came the soothing explanation that there was little reason to attach to Pravda's publication of what it itself described merely as a "rumor" much more important than to the frequent publication in the British and United States press of reports that Russia might be discussing a separate peace with Germany.

Possible Motive Indicated

A seemingly credible therory gathered from diplomatic circles here was as follows: Germany, in the nature of things, has been trying to open peace negotiations with both Russia and Britain. Finding that she was getting onwhere, she probably had word conveyed to each that the other ally was prepared to talk business. Such reports have succeeded in getting into the British and American newspapers. They succeeded this time in getting into officially controlled Pravda because the Soviet Government has been angered by the public offers of mediation of the Polish boundary dispute made by Britain and the United States.

Such mediation offers, to be effective, would ordinarily be made privately, it was explained, and the public would never hear of them unless they proved successful. The fact that they were published was ascribed to the Polish vote in the United States and in Britain to belief in the well-known balance of power coupled with the fact that what Britain originally went to war about was preservation of the integrity of Polish territory.

But these influences, while they might count in the United States and Britain, did not reconcile Russia to an offer of Anglo-American mediation which Russia, at the expense of Wendell Willkie, had already made it clear she would not welcome.

Return to Normal Seen

Now that Russia has expressed her resentment, it is believed, and in a manner that has created perhaps even more effect than had been intended, the relations of the Big Three will return to something like normal.

It is not thought in Anglo-American official circles that Russia herself is any more desirous of discussing a separate peace with Germany than is Britain. It is believed, for one thing, that she values too much the help her Allies can give her in the gigantic work of reconstruction she must undertake after the war.

This is a clipping from page 1 of the New York Times for Jan. 20, 1944
Clipped at the Seat of Government.

That Pravda Mystery

The international sensation sprung by Pravda, official organ of the Russian Communist party, remains as mysterious as ever. The newspaper itself offers no explanation as to why it published a dispatch with a Cairo dateline, labeled a rumor, that "two leading British personalities" had recently discussed a separate Anglo-German peace with Nazi Foreign Minister von Ribbentrop somewhere in the Iberian Peninsula. The British authorities in Cairo assert positively that no such dispatch was cleared through their censorship. Both the Spanish and Portuguese governments are understood to have denied Ribbentrop's presence on their soil. London has indignantly denied the charge and has asked Moscow for explanations. The Soviet government says nothing as yet. President Roosevelt declares himself as much puzzled by the matter as any one else.

Until Moscow says something specific on the subject, the Pravda dispatch will continue to evoke floods of speculative comment. Outside of Russia, where a suspicious public seems inclined to take the allegation seriously, few persons in United Nations lands believe that the rumor has any factual basis. The character of the Churchill government and the temper of the British people alike render it ludicrously improbable that any such intrigue could have been entered into. The hypothesis that the Soviet government is itself toying with the idea of separate peace negotiations with Nazi Germany and used the Pravda dispatch as an alibi to justify its own designs also is unimpressive. The Red armies continue to hammer the Germans relentlessly at great cost to themselves, while the Russian public seethes with indignant hatred at the atrocities and devastations committed by the German invaders.

Still, one thing is certain: the publication of that dispatch was no accident. Nothing appears in any Russian paper except with official approval—least of all in Pravda, the Communist party organ and known mouthpiece of Joseph Stalin himself. Stalin is a stark realist with a shrewd appreciation of foreign affairs. He must have had a good idea just what would be the reactions abroad to such a journalistic bombshell; so it can be assumed that he had what looked to him a good reason for allowing it to appear in print. The most logical explanation would seem to be that the Pravda dispatch fits into the pattern of other recent Russian press and official statements such as the criticism of Wendell Willkie. All these have to do, directly or indirectly, with the Polish and Baltic frontier settlements, about which there are divergent viewpoints between Russia and its western allies. The Soviet government obviously desires to get British and American acquiescence in and recognition of its contention that those matters are accomplished facts, not even discussable by any one. The Pravda dispatch could act as an oblique form of pressure to this end. But it could also stir up and intensify opposition to Russia's attitude, and it is certainly giving German propaganda a field day. The net result might thus be a boomerang, injurious to all the United Nations.

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Soviet Journal Bares Tactics Of Defeatists in U.S. and Britain

MOSCOW, Jan. 19 (ICN).—War and the Workingclass, the Soviet trade union periodical yesterday lashed out at "the small, but very vociferous" defeatist elements in Great Britain and the United States, who broach all sorts of "new problems" between the USSR and its allies, and called these defeatists "paid or un-paid agents" of the enemy.

These people, said the Soviet trade union paper, chatter about "anarchy in Europe" after its liberation, circulate alarms about the losses which the Allies may expect in opening a western front, and seek in every way "to undermine the morale," and "sow discord in the Allied camp."

"It is to be regretted that these provocative sorties have not been fittingly rebuffed," WAR AND THE WORKINGCLASS declared, **"when it is an indisputable fact that the armies are getting ready to assault the enemy decisively and have a right to demand that an end be put to the disintegrating intrigues of the barely-concealed agents of the enemy at home."**

Characterizing the intrigues of the defeatists in America and Britain as the "last hopes of the Hitlerite bandits," War and the Workingclass expressed the conviction that they will "undoubtedly suffer the same fiasco as their earlier calculations."

"The peoples of the countries allied with us, and their leaders cannot fail to understand the meaning of the intrigues by these pro-Hitlerite elements" said the trade union periodical.

NAZI FAVORITE WEAPON

Asserting that the Nazis cannot place any hopes on their armed forces, which "have eternally been buried in the Russian expanses," and cannot hope for any "insoluble differences and a split among the Allies either.

"These hopes have been eternally buried by the decisions taken at Moscow and Tehran."

"The Nazis are now staking all their hopes on their favorite weapon of deceitful blackmail and provocation, on the intrigues of their agents, paid and unpaid, or the willing and unwilling who are sowing poison, doubt, indecision and disbelief in victory.

"On the threshold of their doom the Hitlerites are placing hopes on the defeatist and "peace-making" elements in the Allied countries.

"One cannot fail to note that

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This is a clipping from page 1 of the Daily Worker for Jan. 20, 1944
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these, a small number, but very vociferous elements, have lately markedly increased their activities. They are straining considerable efforts to undermine the morale of a nation and to sow discord in the Allied camp.

"From their backyard comes incessant snarling in the direction of the Soviet Union, whose prestige is growing and strengthening daily, with every new Red Army victory.

"These elements have long been fishing in muddy waters to invent increasingly new 'problems' and plots and ever new intrigues for the sole purpose of driving a wedge between the Soviet Union and its Allie.

"They are the ones who are trying to frighten trusting people by regaling them with stories about anarchy and civil war in the event of an Allied invasion in Europe, as if one could imagine greater anarchy and more bloody civil war than the occupation regime of the Hitlerite robbers in European countries!

"They are the ones who are babbling about the losses the Allies will sustain on the European coast.

"They are the ones who give the treacherous advice to postpone the invasion in an effort to disrupt the preparations underway to open the second front."

According to UP, War and the Workingclass also contains in its latest issue a blistering article against the Polish government-in-exile, by Nicholas Balitsky as well as a criticism of the delay in carrying out the Moscow conference decisions with regard to Italy.

Marshal Badoglio, says the UP summary of War and the Working class, still employs fascists in some important posts, has failed to arrest others, and had aided some in escaping.

It was charged that fascist militiamen are still used on guard duty and that some anti-fascists are still imprisoned. The right of free assembly and a free press has not been granted, it was asserted, and a fascist underground movement was operating unopposed.

Balitsky reaffirmed the Soviet desire for friendship with Poland. The Polish government-in-exile, he said, did not want friendship. Ever since Versailles, Polish governments had been anti-Soviet, anti-democratic, pro-German and imperialistic.

He said that the Poles had grabbed Russian, Lithuanian and Czechoslovak territory without right, citing Vilna and Teschen as well as the Western Ukraine and Western Byelorussia, and that they aimed at an empire extending from the Baltic to the Black Seas.

"Since Hitler's accession Poland has adopted an even stronger German orientation by sabotaging Soviet efforts at collective security at Geneva, and by concluding long term pacts with Germany, preparing to become an open ally of Germany," Balitsky charged.

"All evidence indicates that the Polish government intended to enter the war on Germany's side . . . the entire Polish foreign policy since 1934 was directed toward that objective. Things turned out differently only because Hitler decided to make Poland a victim rather than an ally."

This is a clipping from page _____ of the Daily Worker for

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Clipped at the Seat of Government

PM and Pravda

THE thing that strikes us as most shocking about the "Pravda" Cairo report is the general press reaction in this country. One would naturally expect the Patterson-McCormick-Hearst newspaper axis to try to make defeatist and anti-Soviet capital out of the incident. But the way most of the win-the-war press immediately lost its balance and catered to anti-Soviet hysteria is a revelation of how deeply ingrained the old prejudices still are. That performance goes far to explain why the Munichite and anti-Soviet Polish cabinet in London can still receive respectful treatment in most of the press.

But perhaps the greatest shock was sustained by readers of PM, when they read John P. Lewis' editorial on Tuesday. It is easier to understand how the Times or the Tribune can permit the old blind prejudices to cloud their judgment. It is much more difficult to understand how the editor of PM could permit himself to burst out into a blazing anti-Soviet rash in public.

One can well imagine the chagrin of the PM readers—intelligent people who have learned to take the Soviet Union seriously and with understanding, when they read that utterly insipid and irresponsible outburst. By far most anti-fascists immediately understood that "Pravda" was putting the finger on the disruptive and Munichite forces in Britain (and our country) who are attempting to delay the second front long enough to bring about conditions favorable to a negotiated peace.

And what did Mr. Lewis tell them? The Cairo item is dangerous, he said, not because of the charges contained there, but because "Pravda" had printed it! And from there on the editor raises one question after another, not a single one of which is directed towards the anti-Soviet and Munichite elements who are attempting to obstruct the agreements of Tehran. No, indeed! All his questions are directed towards discrediting "Pravda" and casting aspersions upon Soviet motives. His first and only inclination was to hop immediately upon the anti-Soviet bandwagon.

Without for a moment stopping to recall that PM over a long period has reported and exposed many pro-fascist efforts for a negotiated peace, the hasty editor does not hesitate to call "Pravda's" publication of the item "irresponsible." According to him it is "bungling Soviet diplomacy at is worst," to say the least. He does not blush to say more—to compare it with the deeds of Patterson, Hearst, Clare Hoffman and Pelley! And with a clever trick of inference, the hysterical journalist leaves the impression that the incident has laid the foundation for national distrust of the Soviet Union.

This is not the first time this tendency has revealed itself in PM. It does not seem to take much to disturb PM's balance, to cause this anti-Soviet tendency to burst forth in a most shameless way. If we may presume to give them some advice, it seems very much in order for the editors to engage in some pretty stiff cross-examination and heart-searching. These are hard times and they call for determined and consistent men.

This is a clipping from page 6 of the Daily Worker for Jan. 20, 1944
Clipped at the Seat of Government.

Soviets Urge Clean Political Deck for Second Front

Ask U. S. A. and Britain to Suppress 'Defeatists and Pacifists'

By Richard A. Yaffe

Here's the latest in the pre-invasion relations between the U. S. A., Great Britain and the Soviet Union:

¶ The authoritative Russian publication *War and the Working Class*, in an article headed "Hitler's European Fortress before the Storm," demanded suppression of U. S. and British "defeatists and pacifists" who, it said, are aiding Germany by disrupting preparations for the opening of the Second Front.

Singled out for specific mention by the magazine was Col. McCormick's Chicago *Tribune* which, it said, has been defending the demand for a compromise peace with Germany, trying to drive a wedge into Allied unity, trying to defeat FDR's policy and specializing in slanders against the Soviet Union" among its "good number of services to Hitler."

¶ The same publication attacked the exile Polish government in London on the ground that it intended to join Germany in the war against the USSR before Hitler decided to take on Poland first. It also charged that the Poles in London are trying to sabotage both the Allied invasion plans and attempts to establish amicable relations between the Poles and Russians.

Emphasis on Unity

¶ The Moscow radio quoted an article by a member of the central committee of the Soviet Communist Party stressing "the unity of the Soviet Union, Great Britain and the U. S. A." and stating that the Teheran conference gave "striking proof of the ever closer unity that animates" the three Allies in the war.

¶ *War and the Working Class* also denounced the Badoglio government in Italy, charging that it still employs fascists in some important posts, and that anti-fascists are still in jail. The terms of the Moscow Declaration, the magazine says, must be enforced and Italy must be democratized.

¶ The USSR published in all papers the British Foreign Office's denial of the *Pravda* item, labelled "rumor," which reported a purported conference between two Finish officials, personages or politicians—whatever the translation—and Nazi Foreign Minister von Ribbentrop with a separate peace the object. The denial quoted Reuters. There was no editorial comment on it.

¶ The Russian papers also published, as reported in yesterday's PM, a London *Sunday Times* story of last Sunday that Hitler had made peace feelers to Turkey two months ago.

¶ As to the repercussions to the *Pravda* article in Britain and the U. S. A., through the smoke of indignation and Axis-inspired peace rumors emerged one outstanding fact—that neither President Roosevelt's Administration nor Prime Minister Churchill's Government courts, wants or would accept a separate peace with Hitler. (*See Editorial.*)

Hitler's Last Hope

In its blast against pacifists and defeatists, *War and the Working Class* called for "the purging of the political atmosphere of poisonous miasmas of enemy provocations."

"The last hope of the Hitlerite bandits—a hope based on disruptive activities in the U. S. A. and Britain—undoubtedly would suffer the same collapse as their former calculations," the magazine said.

Although "these meddlers" are not numerous, it adds, they have increased noticeably lately and are trying to sow discord among the Allies.

Pointing out that these elements are talking of anarchy in Europe in the event of an Allied invasion and are citing the high losses to be expected in the opening of the Western Front, *War and the Working Class* asserts:

"It is impossible not to regret that these provocations do not receive the necessary rebuffs, for it is indisputable that any army undertaking the decisive storm of the enemy has the right to demand suppression of the intrigues of the hardly masked agencies of this enemy in the rear."

It then calls for the purging of the miasmic atmosphere "for the victory of the common cause of the Allies and for reducing the number of casualties constituting the price of this victory."

Stop the Meddlers

The question of the Second Front has been decided irrevocably, the magazine states, declaring: "On the walls of this (Hitler's) fortress the decisive and fatal inscription, foretelling the inglorious defeat of Hitler and his bandit gangs, is becoming clearer."

War and the Working Class decried the "steady stream of barking against the Soviet Union whose authority is growing and strengthening with each new victory of the Red Army."

What are these "meddlers" up to? Their single purpose, the magazine says, is to drive a "wedge be-

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tween the Soviet Union and our Allies."

As for anarchy following the invasion of Europe, *War and the Working Class* asks whether it is possible that the Allies might cause more anarchy or bloodshed than has resulted from the German occupation of European countries.

The attack on Poland was made in an article by Nikolai Balitsky. Ever since Versailles, he said, the Polish government has been anti-Russian, anti-democratic, pro-German and imperialistic.

Balitsky said that the Poles had grabbed Russian, Lithuanian and Czech territory, and that they aimed at an empire extending from the Baltic to the Black and Caspian Seas.

"Since Hitler's accession, Poland has adopted even stronger German orientation by sabotaging Soviet efforts at collective security at Geneva, and by concluding long term pacts with Germany, preparing to become an open ally of Germany," Balitsky charged.

"All evidence indicates that the Polish government intended to enter the war on Germany's side. The entire Polish foreign policy since 1934 was directed toward this objective. Things turned out differently only because Hitler decided to make Poland a victim rather than an ally."

Soviet Communist Has Faith in Us

BY RADIO

In the midst of the controversy over the *Pravda* "peace article," an undisclosed member of the central committee of the Soviet Communist Party had this to say about Allied relations over the Moscow radio:

"The Teheran Conference, the first conference which brought together the leaders of the three most influential countries of the world, has given striking proof of the even closer unity which animates Russia, Great Britain and the U. S. A.

"The conference has also shown these countries' determined faith in victory over Hitlerian Germany and its vassals as well as their solution to continue their close cooperation after the war."

By Albert Deutsch

Key Appointments in UNRRA Show Its Global Character

WASHINGTON, Jan. 19.—Congress began debate today on a resolution authorizing the appropriation of up to $1,350,000,000 as the U. S. Government's share in the work of UNRRA (United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration). The resolution probably will be adopted with but little opposition.

Herbert H. Lehman, director general of UNRRA, has made rapid progress in organizing the vast international relief body since the UNRRA conference attended by 44 "United and Associated Nations" at Atlantic City last month. Three key appointments have been announced by Lehman to date:

¶ Sir Arthur Salter, noted British economic and financial expert, as senior deputy director general. For years he was head of the League of Nations' economic division.

¶ Roy D. Hendrickson, as deputy director general in charge of supplies for the UNRRA program. Hendrickson, formerly headed the Food Distribution Administration, with responsibility for purchasing food and other agricultural products for shipment abroad under lend-lease and Red Cross relief, as well as domestic food programs such as the school lunch project.

¶ Michail M. Menshikov, 41-year-old Soviet economist, as deputy director general in charge of UNRRA's Bureau of Areas. Menshikov's appointment was announced today by Lehman. He will have the job of gathering and co-ordinating economic and social data relating to the areas in which UNRRA will operate.

The skeletal organization of UNRRA is now nearly completed. Lehman has been careful to make the staff of UNRRA—the first international body of its kind, and the first United Nations group to be organized—truly international and representative in character. UNRRA operations will begin as soon as necessary funds are voted and the military situation permits.

The $1,350,000,000 appropriation bill now before Congress is based on the decision made at the UNRRA conference that each Nation represented shall contribute 1 per cent of its annual national income to the relief and rehabilitation jackpot. The estimated annual income of the USA last year was roughly $135,000,000,000.

The USA will not be the first of the United Nations to appropriate funds for UNRRA. Several countries have already contributed its administrative expenses, and Iceland was the first to contribute its share of operating funds for UNRRA.

Lehman yesterday announced the official personnel of the five standing committees responsible for the technical supervision of UNRRA's work. These include:

¶ Committee on Agriculture: George Peterson (Canada), chairman.

¶ Committee on Displaced Persons: H. F. Arthur Schoenfeld (USA), chairman.

¶ Committee on Welfare: Viscount Alain duParc (Belgium), chairman.

¶ Committee on Industrial Rehabilitation: Antonin Fried (Czechoslavakia), chairman.

¶ Committee on Health: Vladimir V. Lebedenko (USSR), chairman.

The operations of UNRRA will be watched with deep interest. Its success or failure may determine in large measure the question of whether liberated Europe will go forward to an orderly peace or sink into economic and social chaos.

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Daily Worker Editorial Calls British Press 'Hysterical'

Assailing "hysterical" Allied press reaction to a Cairo report published in the usually authoritative Pravda in Moscow, that German-British negotiations for a separate peace are under way, The Daily Worker, official organ of the Communist Party in this country, declared editorially today "serious attention" should be given the report.

"The Soviet press is not given to scandal-mongering," The Daily Worker says, chiding American and English newspapers for their "hysterical and sensational reaction . . . which has the effect only of muddying the waters."

CAUTIOUS AT FIRST

Giving the report only cursory treatment yesterday, with a one-column head on the story in Column 6, Page 1, The Daily Worker today jumped on it with both editorial feet, professing to see a pro-fascist and defeatist plot to "hold back the second front while seeking desperately to create the conditions for a negotiated peace with Germany."

After adding credence to its supposition, The Daily Worker, despite the fact the Comintern theoretically has been dissolved, takes a typographical poke at both British and American officials with the observation:

"Are we not well aware of the activities of such elements in our own State Department as the Berles and the Bullitts? And in Britain, there is a long-stand public demand that unreconstruction Munichites (among them, Sir Samuel Hoare is often mentioned) be removed from Government posts."

BACKS UP PRAVDA

Despite official denials, both here and in London, the Worker backs up its old playmate, Pravda, with the assertion:

"As is generally admitted in the

(Continued on Page 42)

'Pure Invention,' Says Berlin of Pravda Story

By United Press

The Berlin radio today described as "pure invention" a report published by the Moscow newspaper Pravda that Nazi Foreign Minister Joachim von Ribbentrop had met two leading British personalities to discuss separate peace terms.

"This report is considered by the Wilhelmstrasse solely as an attempt by the Soviets to extort from Washington and London an early unconditional oath of loyalty for world public opinion," a German propaganda broadcast said.

Commie Paper Backs Peace Yarn

(Continued From Page 3)

press, the rumor reported by Pravda has had wide currency for some time."

But then, back-tracking, it decides: "If it is untrue then it should be spiked . . . it certainly should be investigated."

Then it goes on with a demand, but here's the whole thing; read it for yourself:

THE CAIRO REPORT

"The item in 'Pravda,' printed as a rumor from Cairo, that two British officials met with Ribbentrop to discuss a separate peace should receive serious attention. Obviously, that is the way it was meant, since the Soviet press is not given to rumor-mongering.

"But it is first necessary to agree upon what we are talking about. The hysterical and sensational reaction of the press in Britain and our country has the effect only of muddying the waters. They have no more facts at their disposal than we have. And we prefer to start with the actual item itself.

"It is not said that the British government undertook these negotiations. According to the report, "two prominent British officials" met Ribbentrop. Whether they acted with or without the knowledge of other British government circles is not said. The rumor also has it that this meeting took place in a coastal town of the Pyrennean Peninsula, which means in either Portugal or Spain.

"According to news from London, the British government has officially and categorically denied knowledge of any such meeting. That is all to the good. The question is for the moment narrowed down to two British officials, acting without knowledge of their government.

"Everyone knows that there are powerful pro-Facist and defeatist forces at work within Britain, and our country attempting to hold back the second front while seeking desperately to create the conditions for a negotiated peace with Germany. The influence of such forces reaches into government circles. Are we not well aware of the activities of such elements in our own State Department as the Berles and the Bullitts? And in Britain, there is a long-standing public demand that unreconstructed Munichites (among them, Sir Samuel Hoare is often mentioned) be removed form government posts.

"We do not want to speculate on the connection of the 'Pravda' item to other issues. But we do know that pro-Fascist and defeatist forces both here and in Britain, far from giving up the fight after the Teheran vic-

Washington Daily News
January 19, 1944
pages 3 and 42

Mr. Bullitt

Mr. Berle

tory are intensifying their struggle against a joint victory and a durable peace. A case in point is the intensive agitation they have built up around the Polish issue in an attempt to make the utterly bankkrupt position of the so-called Polish Cabinet a springboard for their disruptive work.

"Instead of rushing to print with slanderous statements about Soviet diplomacy and intentions, as many of our newspapers are doing, the Cairo item should be taken seriously. As is generally admitted in the press, the rumor reported by 'Pravda' has had wide currency for some time. If it is untrue then it should be spiked. Britain and the United States are the only ones that can do it. It certainly should be investigated. The main thing is to throw out of public office such people as are capable of exploring the possibilities of a separate peace with Ribbentrop or any other Hitlerite representative, whether of government or big business. As long as defeatists and pro-Fascist forces here and in Britain are free to operate they constitute a danger to victory and to the realization of the Teheran Declaration.

"It is the strength of the Teheran combination—and not any imagined weaknesses or new cleavages—which makes it possible to bring such questions frankly into the open and to defeat such conspiracies against the United Nations. However, it would be stupid to think that we can completely defeat Hitler Germany and establish a durable peace without a stiff and unrelenting struggle against all anti-Teheran forces."

F. D. Frankly Mystified Over Moscow's Motives

President Roosevelt told his news conference yesterday that he had no more information than anyone else as to why the separate peace rumor had been published in Pravda.

ROOSEVELT AT LOSS ON PRAVDA'S RUMOR

He Says He Is as Mystified as Anyone Else by Report of Alleged Peace Talks

MEDIATION NOTE IS LATE

Hull Explains That Our Polish Offer Reached Moscow After Russia Had Already Acted

By BERTRAM D. HULEN
By Cable to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

WASHINGTON, Jan. 18—President Roosevelt was unable to throw light today on the publication by Pravda of the Cairo dispatch concerning reports of Anglo-German discussions for a separate peace.

When asked about it at his news conference this afternoon, Mr. Roosevelt said he was as mystified as any one else by it. He added that he did not have any more information concerning it than any one else.

In the meantime, Secretary of State Cordell Hull had received information that enabled him to announce at his news conference that to the best of his knowledge our tender of good offices to the Soviet Government in connection with the Polish boundary dispute had not reached Moscow until Monday morning. This was after the Russians had rejected the offer of the Polish Government-in-Exile in London to enter into negotiations.

The time necessary for transmission by radio of the tender of good offices was attributed by Mr. Hull to atmospheric conditions. He had experienced these difficulties himself when he was in Moscow attending the tripartite conference of Foreign Ministers, he remarked.

The American note, apparently, was received in Moscow about 10 A. M., which was about the time the Tass Agency report of the Russian rejection of the Polish approach was received here. This circumstance was taken to mean that both dispatches had probably been delayed by the same transmission difficulties.

Mr. Hull said no reply to the American proposal of good offices had yet been received from the Soviet Government.

When President Roosevelt was asked for comment on the Polish question he brushed the question aside by saying that he did not know anything about it.

Meanwhile conjectures continued here concerning the significance of the Pravda report of Anglo-German negotiations. But diplomats as well as President Roosevelt and Mr. Hull remained in the dark concerning the motives behind it.

It was felt that the publication of the report fitted into a pattern of previous events surrounding affairs in Poland and the Balkins but it was apparent that clarification would have to await future developments. Many believe a clarification would not be long delayed.

Evidently difficulty is being experienced in obtaining clarification in Moscow, for the only report on the subject received thus far from our Embassy there has been the transmission of the Pravda dispatch.

British circles did not know why Pravda published the report. They inclined to the belief that the most probable explanation was that it was intended as an expression of Soviet resentment against British intervention in the Polish situation.

In commenting on the Cairo statement that the Pravda dispatch was not cleared through its censorship, these sources said the rumor had been circulating quietly in Cairo for several weeks. They wondered if the rumor had been transmitted in diplomatic code to the Soviet Foreign Office by a Russian representative in Cairo and reached Pravda that way.

Doubt was expressed in British circles that the Pravda publication was intended to cloak Russo-German negotiations for a separate peace. They do not believe that Russia wants peace with Germany.

Russia is fighting strongly, these circles pointed out, yet is not very far in Poland, while they understand that the Germany Army is still strong.

Moreover, it was remarked, Russia surely will need Anglo-American assistance in rebuilding after the war.

This is a clipping from page 4 of the New York Times for Jan. 19, 1944
Clipped at the Seat of Government.

Russia

Topics of The Times

How About Izvestia?

Speaking of Pravda—as who does not in the newspaper business? — people in recent years have found themselves wondering what has become of Izvestia. These were the two great Soviet newspapers for many years, and all the time being quoted together. More recently there may have been months without mention of Izvestia. The technical difference between the two is that Pravda is the official organ of the Russian Communist party and Izvestia is the official organ of the Soviet Government. By now Izvestia may have become nothing more than a stuffy Official Gazette, leaving all the live news to its former rival, Pravda.

Sensation and Circulation

But as a matter of fact, Pravda itself in the last two years or so has had to meet a good deal of competition from other sources. Some of the hottest Russian news "stories" have broken in the pages of War and the Working Class, described in the dispatches as a magazine. Then there is the Red Star, official organ of the Red Army.

And here, perhaps, we have the answer to the recent strange behavior of Pravda, which has so much puzzled the outside world, like the recent slapping down of Wendell Willkie and now the story of British-Nazi peace flirtations. Could it be that Pravda editors, jealous of the prominence given to such rivals as Red Star and War and the Working Class, are now acting the way newspapers in democratic countries have often been accused of behaving in the face of competition—namely, resorting to sensationalism?

Pravda's Free Enterprise

The more we ponder our own theory the more we like it. The world at large is puzzled and made uneasy by Pravda's recent outbreaks because it considers Pravda to be the Soviet Government speaking. But suppose this isn't true any longer? It was suggested in the case of the dressing down of Wendell Willkie that perhaps Pravda spoke without Mr. Stalin's knowledge. Perhaps the thing has happened again in the story of Britain and Ribbentrop?

How it all fits into one pattern! Following the example of Earl Browder and the American Communist party, the Russian Communist party, too, has abandoned all political activities and accepted, for the duration, the competitive system. Pravda would then be a newspaper subscribing to free enterprise and out to get circulation the way too many newspapers in other free enterprise countries do, by flirting with yellow journalism.

This is a clipping from page 18 of the New York Times for Jan. 19, 1944
Clipped at the Seat of Government,

Russians And UNRRA's

In the issue of your paper of Saturday, January 15, in Mr. Drew Pearson's column, "The Washington Merry-Go-Round" a part of which is entitled "Russians and UNRRA" were cited facts that never took place.

I am authorized by Ambassador Gromyko to state that there is not a word of truth in the above-mentioned part of the column.

Among other things, Mr. Pearson states that "Soviet Ambassador Gromyko dropped in to see Relief Administrator Herbert Lehman, former Governor of New York, the other day and said to him: "I want you to meet your new deputy general, Mikhail Alekseevich Menshikov." The Ambassador did not call on Governor Lehman, in fact the Ambassador has not seen Governor Lehman for at least five weeks, and, therefore, could not have had the alleged conversation. All the instances, described so vividly by Mr. Pearson, as I have mentioned above, never occurred.

The Ambassador will appreciate it if you publish this statement in the next number of your paper.

P. SLIOUSARENKO,
Attache, U. S. S. R.

Washington, Jan. 17.

Wash. Post Jan. 19, 1944 p. 8

Russian Puzzles

By Ernest Lindley

No Sensible Explanation

THE PRAVDA dispatch insinuating that the British were negotiating with the Germans for a separate peace was only the latest of several articles in the Soviet press which admit no sensible explanation. Pravda's recent blast at Wendell Willkie was another example. Still another, which escaped general notice here at the time, was an editorial in War and the Working Classes objecting to British press comment on the Kharkov atrocity trials. As in the Willkie case, the Soviet press countered a friendly approach with a stinging rebuff.

LINDLEY

The Manchester Guardian, Liberal party organ, had commented on the Kharkov trials in this vein:

"The exiled governments of German-occupied nations, meeting at St. James's Palace, London, in October 1942, agreed upon the objective of prompt and just punishment of war atrocities. A long year thereafter, an Inter-Allied committee was set up in London to investigate war crimes. The Lord Chancellor, Sir John Simon, 'expressed hope' that a Soviet representative would be appointed. None was named. The commission, therefore, started its work without participation of the Soviet government which 'in its own way' took a course of 'direct and rapid action.' This was 'natural,' upon the part of the 'first government to be able to lay its hands on war criminals.' At the same time, it was to be hoped that the Soviet court 'would not weaken the inter-Allied commission,' for 'the lead of a big power energetically determined about punishing war criminals would greatly further the commission's work.'"

THE YORKSHIRE POST, owned by Anthony Eden's family and supposed to reflect British Foreign Office views, was even more considerate. It also alluded to the Lord Chancellor's appeal and granted that the Kharkov trials of three German soldiers and a Russian traitor went on in a "somewhat histrionic atmosphere, not altogether in accord with our own ideas of the sober dignities of the law." But it justified the Russians on two counts:

1. Much of the commission's work of inquiry, arrest and trial will obviously have to wait until hostilities cease and the promise of postwar action is not likely to serve as a very effective deterrent," (to continued atrocities in Russia).

2. "The Soviet authorities, aware of the fearful sufferings to which Russians are exposed in areas still under German occupation, are determined to make an immediate example of any flagrant criminals they catch. Inclusion of a Russian (among the Kharkov defendants) is evidently intended as a stern warning against collaboration."

If even a few Russians are saved from slaughter, the paper concluded, "the trials will have served a valuable purpose."

The Soviet organ's reply was a mixture of sarcasm and misleading statements.

It said it was understandable that the "Yorkshire editors can more patiently await the trials than, for instance, the inhabitants of Kharkov and Kiev, who have experienced the horrors of Hitlerite occupation."

IT DISMISSED the Guardian's "profound remarks" with a statement that the "sole policy of all the freedom-loving nations was sufficiently, fully and clearly expressed" by the Moscow joint Soviet-American-British declaration on atrocities.

In the declaration, the "sole policy" was "clearly expressed" but in a sense opposite to what War and Working Classes implies. The Soviet organ indicates the declaration provides for immediate trials. Actually, it calls for trials "after the armistice" and for causes made clear to the Kremlin by Britain and the United States before it was signed. The two powers reasoned that British and American prisoners might become the target of German reprisals for Russian executions of Germans. Following the Kharkov executions, the Germans threatened just that course.

In reporting December 31 that Britain and the United States had formally appealed to Russia to postpone further trials in accordance with the Moscow declaration, this column unintentionally erred. But there is no question of the concern with which British and American officials view the matter.

War and the Working Classes described the Kharkov trials as "only one of the first blows" against Fascist atrocities, implying that more pre-armistice German executions are in store. Actually, so far as is known, there have been no more trials in the Kharkov pattern as yet, indicating that Moscow may not be insensitive to British and American opinion.

However, the outbursts in the Soviet press obviously do not improve Russia's relations with its Allies.

Washington Post Jan. 19 1944 p. 9

Pravda Reports 2 British Officials Met Ribbentrop

Pravda, newspaper of the Soviet Communist Party, reported yesterday a dispatch from its Cairo correspondent to the effect that "two prominent British officials" had met with the German foreign minister, Joachim von Ribbentrop, recently to ascertain the conditions of a separate peace with Germany.

The dispatch to Pravda, datelined Jan. 12, was published under the heading "Rumors from Cairo" and credited "reliable Greek and Yugoslav sources."

As wirelessed via Intercontinent News, the Pravda story said:

"According to information of reliable Greek and Yugoslav sources, a secret meeting between two prominent British officials and Ribbentrop has recently been held in one of the coastal towns of the Pyrenean Peninsula. The meeting aimed at ascertaining conditions of a separate peace with Germany. It is presumed that the meeting was not without results."

Amid much speculation in London and Washington, Lord Halifax, the British Ambassador heatedly denied that there was any truth in the Pravda report.

At his press conference, Secretary of State Cordell Hull declared that he had no information bearing out the Pravda news story.

Not least bit excited, avoiding sensational in its treatment yesterday of Pravda report of a "negotiated German-British peace" rumor, the Daily Worker, official mouthpiece of Communist Party in U. S., today hopped with both editorial feet on Pravda's oft-repeated claim sinister influences are trying to balk a second front. The above shows yesterday's treatment.

Washington Daily News
January 19, 1944
page 3

More On A Mystery

A good deal of water has passed over the dam since Winston Churchill described Russia as a riddle wrapped in a mystery inside an enigma. Recently, and particularly on the morrow of the Moscow and Teheran conferences, it began to look as if the riddle had at last been read, the mystery solved, the answer to the enigma discovered. But the case of the *Pravda* rumor, which is causing such disquiet and indignation in London, makes one wonder whether we really know any more about Russia than we did before. The only thing that is clear is that for all the oceans of vodka that have been poured down so many distinguished gullets at so many Kremlin banquets, the old Russian suspicions of her Anglo-American partners have not altogether disappeared.

Still, that does not answer the question of why, at this particular moment, the Russian authorities should have seen fit to broadcast a canard the only result of which could be to stress separateness rather than harmony. The American capital is buzzing with theories, including those we suggested in this column yesterday. It is said that Russia believes Germany is on the verge of collapse, so that the choice has soon to be made of surrendering to the Russians or inviting in the British and Americans. The *Pravda* rumor may be an indirect warning to Russia's Allies that Russia will insist on having a say in the ultimate armistice negotiations with the Reich. But if that is the case, a more effective method would have been to notify London and Washington and, if that were done, there can be little doubt that the matter could have been disposed of without unpleasant publicity.

Finally, there is the possibility that the *Pravda* rumor has to do with Poland. Either the Russians may have set up a diversionary clamor to make people forget the Russian-Polish frontier issue or want to express displeasure over the publicly expressed willingness of Britain and America to mediate. Certainly the Russian-Polish issue, at least for the time being, has been obscured by the feverish discussion regarding the *Pravda* rumor.

We suggested yesterday that the Russians may be annoyed over some lag or change in the plans for the invasion of Europe. In this connection there have been some interpretations of the Marshall interview that the general felt that the hope of internal collapse in Germany might have been frustrated by American labor trouble. Did this come to Russian ears? In that event Moscow may have felt that in spite of pledges and detailed plans offered at Teheran, our hearts and souls were not in the invasion, that we were still hoping against hope that a German collapse would dispense with the need. At any rate, it is known that General Eisenhower was late in getting to London, though he has made up for his tardiness by his activity since arrival.

We do not profess to know where the truth lies among all these and many other conjectures. The only thing we do know is that the only one who has stood to benefit by Moscow's peculiar action is Dr. Goebbels. Not only in Britain, where the people have come to regard the Russians with faith and admiration and feel deeply hurt by the Muscovite suggestion of duplicity, but in this country, the repercussions of the newspaper adventure have been many and widespread. There can be no gainsaying that.

Wash. Post Jan. 19, 1944 p. 8

BID LAID TO NAZIS

Moscow Quotes Sunday Paper Dispatch From Ankara as Source

BRITISH STAND BROADCAST

Tass Also Issues Report of Rumor Repudiation to Be Printed in Russian Press

By The Associated Press.

LONDON, Jan. 18 — Moscow gave full acknowledgment tonight to Britain's repudiation of peace talks with Germany, but at the same time cited a story in a British Sunday newspaper as a basis for rumors that the Nazis actually were seeking a peace.

Pravda, official Communist party paper, published yesterday "rumors from Cairo" that two leading British personalities had discussed a separate peace with German Foreign Minister Joachim von Ribbentrop somewhere on the Iberian Peninsula.

The British Foreign Office promptly denied it and called the denial officially to the attention of the Soviet Government.

[One explanation advanced here for Moscow's circulation of the British Sunday newspaper's peace story was that it was an attempt to offset British indignation over Pravda's rumor by suggesting that the British press also published peace rumor dispatches.]

Tass, official Soviet news agency, broadcast the British denial over the Moscow radio tonight and transmitted it to Russian papers.

The broadcast of the denial, however, was preceded by this comment:

"The Ankara correspondent of The [London] Sunday Times reports that the representative of the Wilhelmstrasse, Schmidt, apparently had his tongue in his cheek when he denied rumors of peace proposals which have been once again attributed to Papen." [Franz von Papen is German Ambassador to Turkey.]

London Report Is Quoted

The radio then quoted the remainder of the following story published Jan. 16 in The Sunday Times of London [not to be confused with The Times of London]:

It is true that Papen has made no proposals, but it is untrue that no proposals have been made. Proposals were, in fact, made two months ago to Turkey, who refused to relay them to the Allies. Similar proposals were made in Lisbon and Stockholm. They are believed to have come from Hitler himself and have been based on the possibility of disunion between Britain, the United States and Russia.

These proposals were: 1. Germany to retreat behind pre-war frontiers immediately; 2. Germany publicly to renounce forever her claims to colonies, but to be given a limited free hand in the East; 3. Germany to scrap her fleet and submarines immediately; 4. Germany to continue under the present regime until these conditions have been fulfilled, after which Hitler and the Nazi party would hand over to the army.

These proposals must not be taken as indicating extreme German weakness, but as a clever last-minute maneuver to save what can be saved while the going is good, without jeopardizing the remaining interests of German heavy industry, whose puppets Hitler and the war staff are.

Well-informed circles here utter a warning that Germany already is preparing for her next war in the hope that she can find enough war-tired people to fall into a carefully laid trap.

Story Not Featured

The story was used on Page 6 of the eight-page paper under a heading "Hitler Peace Offer: Ankara Report of Proposals."

The broadcast by Moscow was at dictation speed, an indication that it was meant to appear in all Russian papers tomorrow.

The quotation of the British official denial of Pravda's story was attributed to Reuter, British news agency rather than officially. It said:

"The Reuter agency reports that

Continued on Page Five

Russia

Continued From Page One

the British Ministry of Foreign Affairs has denied the rumor reproduced in a Cairo telegram of the Pravda correspondent, according to which an alleged meeting took place between two leading British politicians and Ribbentrop."

It appeared possible that the peace talk rumors may have originated with the Nazis themselves, for on Jan. 11 DNB, German agency, said rumors of peace actions by von Papen in Ankara were being "relegated to the realm of imagination."

Correspondents regularly stationed in Cairo sent no such dispatch as that which appeared in Pravda, and a check-up there today by John F. Chester, Associated Press correspondent, disclosed that none had heard the rumor, although he added that rumors in Cairo were generally a dime a dozen.

The effect the Pravda story produced in London was indicated by the unprecedented speed of the Foreign Office denial and announcement that it had been brought to Moscow's attention.

The British want to know why Pravda was permitted to print such a report. Members of Parliament are expected to ask questions in the House of Commons as to why the Moscow radio gave the story such a "play" and whether the British Government believes the rumor received Russian credence.

More important than the rumor itself was the fact that it was published in Russia.

This is a clipping from page 1 of the New York Times for Jan. 19, 1944
Clipped at the Seat of Government

Pravda itself does not publish on Tuesday and other Moscow papers ignored the story.

The British controlled Cairo censorship said emphatically that the story did not pass censorship there.

British afternoon papers also ignore the story for the second day with the exception of The Evening Standard and The Evening News. The Standard, a Beaverbrook paper, printed a two-paragraph story on the back page under the headline: "Moscow drops peace humor." The News asked editorially "Do the staff of Pravda and Russian broadcasters who repeated the ridiculous story really believe Churchill is the man to betray his Allies after struggling through abysses toward victory? Do they believe the British people would think of such a thing or tolerate such a thing for a moment?"

The German propaganda agencies jumped on the account with evident glee, contending that "Stalin has now landed a blow with the intention of forcing immediately a renewed confirmation of the faithfulness of alliance by Britain and America toward Moscow regardless of how the Polish question is being solved by the Soviets."

POLISH RIFT ELATES NAZIS

Goebbels Uses Border Feud to Suggest Allied Disunity

By Cable to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

LONDON, Wednesday, Jan. 19—Elation over the development of the Russo-Polish dispute is evident in all broadcasts, and published comments to reach here in the past thirty-six hours from the real winner of the frontier wrangle—the Wilhelmstrasse in Berlin.

Five distinct, albeit sometimes contradictory, lines of propaganda have been sent out for home and foreign consumption. As a harvest, it is the next best thing to German successes in the field at sea or in the air. Dr. Joseph Goebbels, Propaganda Minister, cooked up the following points for his public:

1. Soviet Russia has emerged as a monster about to swoop down on Europe.
2. Britain and the United States, not to mention Poland, have received an unexpected rebuff and are now licking their wounds.
3. Germany's demands on Poland in 1939 which led to the start of the war were nothing compared to those at present made by Russia.
4. Poland has been deserted by the great western democracies just as France was earlier in the conflict.
5. Roosevelt and Churchill told Stalin at Teheran that he could go ahead with his plans for Poland.

Effective Use in Balkans

One of the most effective uses of this material is made in its application to the Balkans at a time when the advancing Russian armies are creating a deep impression and Germany's influence is showing signs of weakening. Sometimes several propaganda barrels were fired off in the same direction, thus the peoples of Eastern Europe were assured that the Soviet was after their scalps and, moreover, that they could hope for no worthwhile guarantees from the western democracies.

The majority of these officially inspired German utterances, for obvious reasons, were curiously favorable to Moscow in the way they took for granted the power of the Soviet Union. Russia was said by Semmler in his midday political review on the home service, to be "incorporating territories which would be the starting point of a sanguinary march through Europe."

During the afternoon DNB outlined a plot for a puppet government of Warsaw that would be the "tool of Soviet expansion to the West," and again a few hours later the Transcontinent Press had a piece on the Polish Government being "unconditionally subservient to the Soviet."

Allies' Discomfiture Stressed

Second in importance to the Russian menace as propaganda a vehicle was emphasis on dismay in the Allied camp. Enemy writers and microphone artists played every variation on themes of double-crossing between Washington, London and Moscow. Efforts were made to split Britain and the United States as well as lining up both of them against Russia, and all three of them guilty of selling out Poland—the combinations are numerous, and the arguments, though old, appeared better clothed than usual.

This is a clipping from page _____ of the New York Times for _____

Clipped at the Seat of Government.

FILE

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Pravda Reports 2 British Officials Met Ribbentrop!

Pravda, newspaper of the Soviet Communist Party, reported yesterday a dispatch from its Cairo correspondent to the effect that "two prominent British officials" had met with the German foreign minister, Joachim von Ribbentrop, recently to ascertain the conditions of a separate peace with Germany.

The dispatch to Pravda, dateline Jan. 12, was published under the heading "Rumors from Cairo" and credited "reliable Greek and Yugoslav sources."

As wirelessed via Intercontinent News, the Pravda story said:

"According to information of reliable Greek and Yugoslav sources, a secret meeting between two prominent British officials and Ribbentrop has recently been held in one of the coastal towns of the Pyrenean Peninsula. The meeting aimed at ascertaining conditions of a separate peace with Germany. It is presumed that the meeting was not without results."

Amid much speculation in London and Washington, Lord Halifax, the British Ambassador heatedly denied that there was any truth in the Pravda report.

At his press conference, Secretary of State Cordell Hull declared that he had no information bearing out the Pravda news story.

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This is a clipping from page 1 of the DAILY WORKER
Date Jan. 18, 1944
Clipped at the Seat of Government

50 JAN 20 1944

INDIGNANT BRITISH DENY PEACE RUMOR

Foreign Office Says Pravda Report Is 'Absurd' and Has No Truth in It

LONDON PRESS IS BITTER

Publication Considered Bad Enough, but Broadcasting Is Called Aggravation

By Cable to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

LONDON, Tuesday, Jan. 18—The British Foreign Office issued a formal and complete denial of Pravda's story thata Joachim von Ribbentrop, Nazi Foreign Minister, met leading British figures in the Pyrenees to discuss a separate peace.

"There is no truth whatever in this story," the Foreign Office statement said. The statement was issued just before eight o'clock last night, five hours after news of the Pravda story, which shook the usual clacial calm of the Foreign Office, reached London.

In view of the wide circulation given to Pravda's report by the Moscow radio the Government may think it necessary in the near future to reassert in the House of Commons its determination to abide by the agreements never to make a separate peace.

Many British officials resent deeply the implied slur on their country which offered unqualified assistance to Russia when the Soviet Union was invaded, which declared war on Germany nearly two years before Russia, which and has specific agreement with Russia that she will not make separate peace.

The text of the Foreign Office sttaement read:

"The Foreign Office authorizes issue of a complete denial of the story reported from Cairo and published in Pravda to the effect that a secret meeting took place between Ribbentrop and leading British figures. There is no truth whatever in this story."

Press Is Indignant

LONDON, Tuesday, Jan. 18 (U.P.)—British newspapers denounced today as "a lie," "an insult" and "mischievous" a Russian allegation that Britain had engaged in separate peace talks with Germany—an allegation which, diplomatic quarters suggested, may reflect Russian suspicion that the Germans would prefer to throw open their territory to the western Allies rather than see the Red Army overrun it.

Officials and foreign diplomatic quarters were astonished by the charge and mystified as to its motive, beyond the suggestion that Russia, knowing the deadly fear the Germans have of "Bolshevism," might seek to smooth the path for an invasion from the west by British, American and Canadian troops, rather than see the Russian steamroller crash through Poland into Germany.

All afternoon newspapers ignored the story throughout all editions. Morning newspapers today, however, splashed the story—featuring the denial of it—on their main news pages.

"Britain kills 'Separate Peace Lie,'" bannered The Daily Mail, which added editorially:

"Such a statement is an insult to the British people and bears all the marks of enemy origin. * * * Pravda must be remarkably ignorant of British national standards. That is the only excuse we can find for it.

"It is astonishing that a responsible newspaper like Pravda should have given it publicity, even as a rumor, and more astonishing that Moscow radio should have thought fit to broadcast it to a much wider audience."

"Mischievous" Possibilities

The News Chronicle, Liberal organ, treated the Pravda charge and the Russo-Polish dispute jointly under the headline "Danger Points."

"Pravda's story is small as yet, but pregnant with mischievous possibilities," The News Chronicle said.

Diplomatic quarters said that there had been consistent reports in Stockholm, Sweden, and other neutral capitals that German industrialists, fearing a complete collapse of the German armies in Russia, favored "waving in" Gen. Dwight D. Eisenhower's invasion armies so that they could occupy Germany before the Russians got there.

The idea might be, it was suggested, that the Germans would offer to make only token resistance, for days or weeks, to Allied landings. It may be said that this idea has been in the minds of some people here. Though it was not believed that the Allies would think for a moment of replying anything but "unconditional surrender" to a German peace feeler, it was believed that Russia might have acted to spike any German offer.

One thing seemed certain—that the enthusiastically hailed Allied unity apparently made certain at the recent Teheran conference was now threatened.

To the obvious Russian suspicion of British motives, was added the almost contemptuous attitude Russia had taken toward the Polish Government in Exile over the frontier question.

Russia

N.Y. Times Jan. 18, 1944 p. 2

Two Moscow Papers Ignore 'Cairo Rumor'

Story Outranks Hess Case In Public Interest

By the Associated Press.

MOSCOW, Jan. 18.—Neither Izvestia, official government newspaper, nor Red Star, officials newspaper of the Red Army, published today the "rumors from Cairo" story about an alleged separate peace meeting between two British officials and German Foreign Minister von Ribbentrop.

There was no editorial comment in either Izvestia or Red Star about yesterday's Pravda story, which still is today's big news in Moscow. Pravda, the official Communist party newspaper, does not publish on Tuesdays.

Ever since publication of the story the telephone of every foreigner here who has any Russian friends has been tied up with calls inquiring what it is all about.

Foreign diplomats expressed more surprised over why the Russians published the rumor than over what the rumor reported.

Nothing ever gets into the Soviet press by accident, one high ranking diplomat pointed out. He said he was perplexed as to just why this humor was served up to the people in such fashion.

Foreign observers who were in Russia when Rudolf Hess took peace proposals to Britain said yesterday's story caused far more comment.

The British denial has not been printed here. If it is published that probably will end the affair as far as the Russians are concerned.

Wash Star
January 18-44-p1

London Daily Mail 'Nails a Lie'

By Reuters

LONDON, Jan. 18.—Most of London's morning newspapers today avoided commenting upon the *Pravda* story of a meeting between two leading British figures and German Foreign Minister Joachim von Ribbentrop. One striking exception, however, was the *Daily Mail* which, before the war, was a persistent critic of the Soviet regime.

Under the heading, *Nailing a Lie*, the paper called the story ridiculous and an insult to the British people.

"It is astonishing that a responsible newspaper like *Pravda* should have given it publicity, even as a rumor, and more astonishing that Moscow Radio should have thought fit to broadcast it to a much wider audience."

The *News Chronicle* asked why at this or any other moment, publication of this story should be considered by the Russian authorities to be helpful to Allied unity and the discomfiture of the common foe.

This is a clipping from page 6 of P M

for Jan. 18, 1944

Clipped at the Seat of Government

CAPITAL SHOCKED BY PRAVDA REPORT

Halifax' Categorical Denial of Peace Moves Is Accepted at Full Face Value

SPECULATION IS VARIED

Attempt to Gain Influence in Balkans Seen—Story Held to Fit Into a Pattern

By BERTRAM D. HULEN
Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

WASHINGTON, Jan. 17—The report in the Cairo dispatch published by Pravda that two prominent British representatives had recently conferred secretly with Joachim von Ribbentrop, the German Foreign Minister, on a possible separate peace struck with the force of a bombshell here today.

That was the way it was described in informal conversations among officials.

The story was so serious, in itself and in its implications, that Viscount Halifax, the British Ambassador, immediately issued a categorical denial for direct quotation, a course to which he has seldom had occasion to resort.

"There is not a word of truth in the story," Lord Halifax said. "People who believe it will believe anything."

Denial Taken at Face Value

That denial was accepted at its full face value by officials here. Secretary of State Cordell Hull said that he had no information concerning the alleged meeting. Beyond that he did not go.

The opinion was expressed informally in official circles that the Pravda allegation must point to something, but what it might be could only be conjectured. Minds were not closed to any possibility. But it was seriously doubted whether it was a cover for separate Russian-German negotiations.

The first reaction was one of surmising whether there was significance in the circumstances that the sources given for the report in the Cairo dispatch were Yugoslav and Greek. This was seen as perhaps a prelude to a vigorous denunciation of the Yugoslav and Greek Governments by the Russian overnment and the reinforcement of its support of the Partisans in those countries. If that were so, it was reasoned, this would point to an intensification of Russian efforts toward a penetration of the Balkans.

Viewed as Part of Pattern

It was felt that the Pravda story fitted into a pattern. This pattern has already been built up by a series of developments. They include, in order, the conclusion of the Russian pact with Czechoslovakia; the support given to the Partisans in Yugoslavia; the Kharkov trials; the rebuke to Wendell Willkie, which was widely construed as notice to President Roosevelt and Prime Minister Churchill not to intrude in the Baltic States Poland or the Balkans against Russian plans, and the Polish boundary dispute.

Against this pattern stand the agreements reached at Moscow and Teheran, looking to cooperative action among the chief Allies in the further prosecution of the war and in the post-war world. Surely, it was felt, Russia is not intending to depart from that framework. Yet the Pravda report and other developments have caused uncertainty here.

Rumania and Finland Targets

There were two further developments today. The Information Bulletin of the Russian Embassy here published an attack on King Carol of Rumania and another on Finland. Russia is interested in both countries, republishing an article that had appeared in the Russian publication, War and the Working Class, the Information Bulletin said:

"Antonescu's regime has not long to live. But 'Free Rumanians' of the type of Carol II and Tilya are quite ready to replace him at the helm of power, and consider themselves eminently suited for the job. There can be little doubt that the most bitter disappointment awaits them."

The warning to Finland said that her "hour of retribution is drawing near" for allegedly torturing Russian in Petrozavodska, capital of the Karelian-Finnish Republic.

"Finland's bosses," the bulletin said, "waded to power in a sea of blood. Hangmen with a long service record, they reared an entire generation of political hooligans, jailbirds and sadists like themselves for the purpose of creating a 'Greater Finland'—a Finland extending to the Urals. This fantastic scheme of Finnish imperialism never was and never shall be realized. Having staked all on the fate of Hitlerite Germany, Finland now stands on the brink of catastrophe. The hour of retribution is drawing near. The Finnish hangmen will receive their just deserts."

This is a clipping from page 3 of the New York Times for

JAN. 18, 1944

Clipped at the Seat of Government.

PRAVDA CITES TALE

Says Ribbentrop and 2 Britons Studied Idea of 'Separate' Deal

PARTIAL SUCCESS IMPLIED

London Quickly Terms Story 'Absurd'—Development a Shock to Washington

By W. H. LAWRENCE
By Wireless to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

MOSCOW, Jan. 17—The Communist party organ Pravda published today a sensational rumor that "two leading British personalities" have been negotiating with Joachim Von Ribbentrop, German Foreign Minister, for a separate peace with Germany.

Publication of this information took the foreign colony here by complete surprise. It is most unusual for Soviet newspapers to print any rumor of such a character, but Pravda's correspondent at Cairo, Egypt, in a dispatch dated Jan. 12, takes the responsibility for stating that the information came from Greek and Yugoslav sources "which are trustworthy."

Following is the text of the Pravda dispatch as printed at the top of column three, page four:

RUMORS IN CAIRO

CAIRO, Jan. 12 (From Pravda's Own Correspondent) — According to the information of Greek and Yugoslav sources which are trustworthy, a secret meeting of two leading British personalities with Ribbentrop took place not so long ago in one of our coastal towns of the Iberian Peninsula. The purpose of the meeting was to clarify the conditions of a separate peace with Germany. It is supposed that the meeting was not without results."

British Prompt With Denial

Pravda was the only Moscow morning paper on Monday that printed that story and no comment accompanied it.

Informally but none the less brusquely, British sources available here promptly denied that there was any basis of truth for the dispatch.

[The British Foreign Office branded the report as a lie. "There is no truth in this story," the official statement said, and it added that peace talk reports were "absurd." Viscount Halifax was equally emphatic, saying that anyone who believed such a story would believe anything. The British press, voluntarily silent until the Foreign Office spoke, burst forth in a wave of indignant denials of British participation in any secret talks for a separate peace.]

Among the foreign colony there was much speculation why Pravda should print at this time, and as a rumor, a story that had been widely circulated in Cairo for several weeks. It was noted that Pravda's dispatch linked the negotiations to leading British personalities without saying whether or not they were connected with the British Government.

The British Government, like that of the Soviet Union and the United States, is bound by the declaration of the United Nations not to conclude a separate peace with the enemy—a pledge which was confirmed at the Moscow Conference of Foreign Ministers and later at Teheran by Premier Stalin, Prime Minister Churchill and President Roosevelt.

Report Broadcast by Radio

MOSCOW, Jan. 17 (AP) — Although the separate peace story was printed in the official organ of the Communist party, it did not bear the weight of a dispatch of the official news agency, Tass. The newspaper itself was careful to label it as a "rumor." [According to The Daily Mail of London the Pravda report was also broadcast from Moscow.]

Nevertheless, its mere publication raised an interesting point at a time when Britain, the United States and Russia appeared to have sealed their United Nations

Continued on Page Two

Russia

This is a clipping from page 1 of the New York Times for

JAN. 18, 1944

Clipped at the Seat of Government.

PRAVDA CITES TALE OF PEACE FEELER

Continued From Page One

relationship at the Moscow and Teheran conferences.

While Pravda's back page, customarily devoted to foreign news, carried the Cairo rumor, the front page displayed the Soviet declaration that negotiations with the present Polish Government were impossible.

Russians Also Dumbfounded

MOSCOW, Jan. 17 (Reuter) — The Pravda Cairo dispatch reporting "a secret meeting between two British personalities and German Foreign Minister Joachim von Ribbentrop" was met with astonishment and complete incredulity in Allied circles here.

Russian newspaper readers were likewise confounded and various British journalists were telephoned many times today by Russians wanting to know what it meant. Allied diplomatic circles in Moscow appear at a loss to explain the publication of these "Cairo rumors."

Well-informed British sources described the allegations in the Pravda dispatch as "rubbish."

The dispatch continued, however, to be almost the sole subject of conversation in many Allied and Russian circles. Sensational and fantastic rumors of this sort, it was pointed out here, were always cropping up in times of war and were generally circulated by parties interested in sowing disunion among Allied nations.

Newspaper men acquainted with Cairo know it to be particularly fruitful ground for such rumors. Many correspondents have tried in the past to cable such information to their head offices for general information, but they have failed in the face of Allied censorship which attempts to prevent the spread of unfounded reports likely to impair the war effort.

The Cairo dispatch to Pravda would appear to be some correspondent's maiden effort at journalism which managed somehow to get over the censorship hurdle. Attempts to get in touch with the newspaper in order to obtain the names of the "two British personalities" met with no success.

Greeks, Yugoslavs Disclaim It

LISBON, Portugal, Jan. 17 (AP) — British, Greek and Yugoslav sources here disclaimed any information of the rumored peace talks reported by Pravda to have taken place on the Iberian Peninsula. Allied diplomats, evidently disinclined to take the story seriously, recalled that there was no substantiation for previous rumors that Germany's Foreign Minister Joachim von Ribbentrop had been in Portugal.

State Department Silent

WASHINGTON, Jan. 17 (U.P.)— The British Embassy today branded as false and without basis a Moscow report that high British officials had discussed private peace terms with German Foregin Minister Joachim von Ribbentrop.

Viscount Halifax, the British Ambassador, authorized this statement:

"There is not a word of truth in the story. People who believe it will believe anything."

The State Department said it was without information on the report and that it had no comment.

Any such peace overtures would be in violation of President Roosevelt's and Prime Minister Churchill's unconditional surrender pledge, it said.

Pravda's bombshell

Leaves Washington Guessing

Many Theories Might Fit Answer to Peace Rumor Riddle

By Alexander H. Uhl
PM's Foreign Editor

WASHINGTON, Jan. 18.—It's a long time since official Washington has been jolted quite as hard as it was yesterday on the *Pravda* report from Cairo that British personalities were rumored to have seen Foreign Minister von Ribbentrop and talked with him about the possibility of a separate peace.

You could sense the jolt at the State Dept. where Secretary Hull insisted that he knew nothing whatever about it. And you could sense it at the British Embassy where Lord Halifax authorized the statement:

"There is not a word of truth in the story. People who believe it will believe anything."

The Soviet Embassy was mum.

Pick Your Theory

Theories were a dime a dozen. The Russians were warning Britain against a separate peace or were building up a background for a separate peace of their own. The Russians were still suspicious that we don't mean business about a second front. The Russians were angered at apparent British and American support of the Polish government-in-exile. Or simply that the dispatch was an error of judgment on the part of *Pravda* and didn't mean anything at all.

At any rate, you could feel that suddenly a bombshell had been dropped into the political picture of the war that might hold tremendous potentialities. Nobody knows exactly the significance of the *Pravda* story and it would be foolish to pretend that we can know it until Moscow opens up a little more, but there were two main questions that gripped attention and got a lot of comment from taxi driver to diplomat:

¶ The story itself. Was it true and what did it mean?

¶ Why did *Pravda* choose just this time, in the midst of the glow of Teheran, to publish so startling an accusation?

The Facts

First as to the facts:

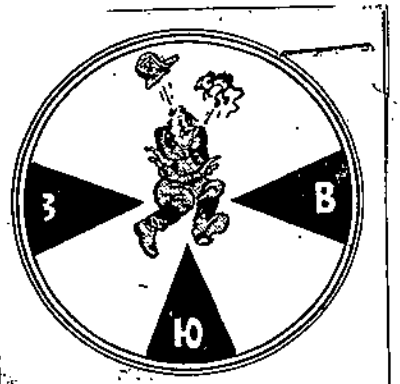
On Monday morning Tass carried in its North American service, which was picked up by listening posts in the U. S. and England and presumably all over the world, a story which *Pravda* published on its fourth page from its correspondent in Cairo. It was headed *Rumor in Cairo* and dated Jan. 12, four days earlier. It read:

"According to a report from trustworthy Greek and Yugoslavian sources, a secret meeting of two leading British personalities with von Ribbentrop took place in a coastal town of the Iberian peninsula. The purpose of the meeting was to ascertain the terms of a separate peace with Germany. It is believed that the meeting has not remained without results."

After that the air in Washington just crackled.

Of course, *Pravda* is not the official organ of the Soviet Government, but is the organ of the Communist Party. Yet the fact that *Pravda* published it, plus the fact that Tass carried it through the Moscow censorship, gave it an importance that could not be ignored. *Pravda* is not in the habit of reporting rumors lightly.

In London there was immediate official denial of the story and in



From East, West and South, is the title of this cartoon, which, the *Information Bulletin* of the Soviet Embassy in Washington says, is a "new design for a compass approved by the Teheran Conference."

This is a clipping from page 6 of P M
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Washington Halifax followed suit. The State Dept. discreetly withdrew into its shell.

The next question was why did Moscow permit passage of the story?

Here are theories discussed in diplomatic and official circles in Washington. They are presented, not because they can pretend to solve the riddle, but as theories being seriously advanced.

¶ That the Russians have become annoyed by indications that both Britain and the U. S. A. consider the Polish boundary question still open to debate.

The Polish Issue

In this connection some significance can be attached to Foreign Secretary Eden's recent statement in the House of Commons and the announcement by Secretary Hull yesterday that the U. S. A. had offered its good offices looking toward resumption of relations between the Polish government and Moscow. Washington's offer was cabled to Moscow Saturday night. On Monday morning a story that had been held up in Moscow since Jan. 12 suddenly appears carrying the implication that Allied unity is not all that it should be.

¶ That Moscow believes that there is some truth in the Cairo story and that it is using this method of putting on pressure for the speedy opening of a second front.

There are two possibilities here, first that Moscow believes the story in full—which is difficult to reconcile with the categorical British denial—or that Moscow believes there have been feelers from Britain to determine how far German morale has been cracked by the terrific bombings of Berlin and other important German centers.

Marshall's Blast

While Teheran presumably settled the question of the second front, there have been recent reports in the U. S. press, at any rate, that may have reawakened Russian suspicions. Most accounts of the Marshall crackdown on strikes, for instance, reported that he had hoped for an internal collapse in Germany and that he now felt strong German resistance would continue and require large scale invasion operations.

Mark Sullivan, in analyzing Marshall's warning, said "the Army believed recently that there might be a crack-up of the German people, or more likely of the satellite peoples, some time fairly soon, perhaps during February."

Moscow has always opposed the idea that Germany could be bombed into submission.

¶ That Moscow itself was preparing the background for a separate peace as soon as Russian troops reach the German border. This theory was based on the idea that the Russians, disappointed at the delay in opening a second front, were getting ready to let us carry the ball.

¶ That the significance of the story has been greatly overrated and that its purpose was merely to act as a feeler for any indications that reactionary elements in Britain might be thinking in terms of a negotiated peace.

¶ That it was all a blunder on *Pravda's* part and that the Russians will seek to forget all about it. In this connection *Pravda's* answer to Willkie's article on the Polish border problem has been described in Russian circles here as "unfortunate."

Whatever the accuracy of these versions, there can be no doubt that the *Pravda* story has indicated a sudden re-emergence of Russian suspicions and has introduced new uncertainty in Allied unity which presumably had been nailed down at Teheran.

British Denial Presented Kremlin

By NED RUSSELL
United Press Staff Correspondent

LONDON, Jan. 18—Britain has brought to the attention of the Soviet government an official denial of a Pravda dispatch under a Cairo dateline implying that the British have discussed separate peace terms with Germany, and Cairo authorities said no such report had passed thru normal censorship channels there.

A United Press dispatch from Cairo said nothing could be learned there of the rumors cited by the Communist Party organ that "two leading British personalities" had conferred with German Foreign Minister Von Ribbentrop on peace terms.

It was noted, however, that certain Cairo communications, particularly those of official nature, are not subject to censorship.

(See editorial, 'No Separate Peace,' on Page 18 and William Philip Simms' column on Page 19.)

'CONFUSION' IN MOSCOW

A diplomatic commentator here said the official Foreign Office denial had been presented to the Kremlin by John Balfour, the British charge d'affaires at Moscow, in the absence of Ambassador Sir Archibald Clark Kerr.

A United Press dispatch from Moscow said the "greatest confusion" prevailed there and that the phones of all persons even remotely connected with the situation were ringing constantly as Muscovites sought the correct interpretation of the disptach.

The British press was indignant over the Pravda report that the Anglo-German meeting at a Pyrenees coastal city near the Spanish-French border was believed to have been "not without results."

BRANDED 'LUDICROUS'

"There is no truth whatever to this story," the Foreign Office said, and one official added that any such suggestion was "ludicrous."

British newspapers refrained from publishing news about the Pravda dispatch until after the Foreign Office denial was issued, then burst forth with a flurry of indignant comment.

"Britain Kills 'Separate Peace' Lie," The Daily Mail bannered.

"Such a statement is an insult to the British people and bears all the marks of enemy origin," The Daily Mail said in an editorial. "Pravda must be remarkably ignorant of British national standards. That is the only excuse we can find for it."

BERLIN 'AMUSED'

The London News-Chronicle said the Pravda story, tho small in itself, was

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"pregnant with mischievous possibilities."

The story "amused" Berlin, the German Transocean Agency said in a broadcast.

"The publication of the report shows an extraordinary measure of annoyance exists in Moscow, presumably because the Anglo-Americans have been a little too quick in anticipating laurels in the Russian-Polish conflict," Transocean's diplomatic correspondent wrote.

British diplomatic observers wondered what motivated Pravda, which publishes nothing without official sanction, in printing for the first time a rumor from a pro-Allied capital casting doubt on the loyalty of one of the "Big Three."

AXIS FEELERS POSSIBLE

There has been enough substance to various neutral reports of Axis peace feelers to make German approaches, however vague, entirely possible, but the record of the Churchill government, most observers here felt, should be a guarantee against any possibility that Britain would attempt double-dealing with any of her Allies.

Despite Russia's flat rejection of a proposal that she and the Polish exile government negotiate a new common border with the mediation of the United States and Britain, some hope was held that relations between the two principals could be restored. It

(Continued on Page 30)

'Peace' Report

(Continued From Page 2)

was generally believed, however, that further discussion of Soviet-Polish relations would be held privately to avoid further ruffling of Russia's feelings.

The London News-Chronicle reported from Moscow, however, that no agreement was possible between Russia and the "great majority of Poles recently recognized by Britain as the Polish government."

If no agreement is reached by the time the Red Army and its Polish units march across the 1939 demarcation line in Poland, the troops may restore order and arbitrarily hold elections for a new government, which Russia would recognize, The News-Chronicle said.

Izvestia and Red Star Ignore Pravda's Rumor

MOSCOW, Jan. 18—Neither the government newspaper Izvestia nor the army organ Red Star published or commented today on yesterday's Pravda dispatch from Cairo reporting of British-German peace discussions.

The Pravda dispatch has become the topic of the day among Muscovites, however, and caused more excitement than any news item since the start of the war.

Izvestia gave prominent display today to a London dispatch reporting the first BBC performance of the new Soviet national anthem.

Cause for Concern

By William Philip Simms

RUSSIA'S new attitude toward Great Britain and the United States is causing increasing concern here.

Some of the best-posted foreign envoys believe the Soviet Union is preparing to create a string of buffer states under her control all the way from the Atlantic to the Pacific, and to present a fait accompli which the Allies can take or leave.

Russia's blunt rejection of Poland's bid for Anglo-American mediation of the Soviet-Polish dispute—even while Secretary Hull was offering this country's good offices—was only one of a number of significant developments.

The most alarming, perhaps, was the Moscow charge that "two leading British personalities" had met with the Nazi Foreign Minister, Von Ribbentrop, to discuss "a separate peace with Germany."

Viscount Halifax, the British Ambassador here, hardly needed to say that there was not a vestige of truth in it. That was regarded as obvious. What was important was that the charge was published by Pravda, Stalin's mouthpiece, and hence was just about as official as if the Moscow Foreign Office had issued it. Moscow never makes a move of this kind without a reason and, judging by the past, the Kremlin appears to be preparing the ground for some future move of its own.

* * *

THE same may be said of Moscow's recent lambasting of Wendell Willkie for mentioning, in the most friendly way, something about Russia's eastern European frontiers. He, and thru him Washington and London, were told to mind their own business. Recent blasts at Finland, together with yesterday's warning that Finland's "day of retribution is near," likewise fit into the picture.

Stalin, I learn from a well-known former associate of the Red Marshal, trusts no one, not even his closest aides. Temperamentally he is incapable of trusting foreigners. If and when he agrees to collaborate with the United Nations after the war, it will be after he has completed his own arrangements whereby Russia can take care of herself, regardless.

* * *

WHAT it all seems to add up to is this: Finland probably will be put thru the wringer. Poland, an ally, will likely be shorn of approximately half her territory and forced to accept in Warsaw a regime made in Moscow.

Czechoslovakia has already made her peace with her powerful neighbor. Romania will be given a going-over and Hungary and the Balkans transformed into spheres which will look to Moscow for guidance. Teheran, with northern Iran, is already within the Russian orbit, and so is Afghanistan. And while Tibet is too lofty and inaccessible to worry about for the moment, Sinkiang and Outer Mongolia have been in the Soviet's political pocket for some years. Russia will almost certainly see fit to talk over the future of Manchuria with China before the smoke of battle clears.

Traditionally, Moscow is hostile to a cordon sanitaire. But this one would be different. It would be Russia's cordon sanitaire—a belt of buffer states, under Russian control, stretching from ocean to ocean.

It is possible that Pravda's grave charge against the British was at least in part for domestic consumption. It may have been to prepare the Russian mind for unilateral decisions at Moscow instead of the promised "close association" among the Big Three.

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Russia

NO SEPARATE PEACE

AMERICANS generally will not believe the Moscow Pravda story that British officials have been negotiating with German Foreign Minister Ribbentrop for a separate peace. Denials by the London government and by Lord Halifax in Washington are welcome, but not necessary. Britain has repeatedly pledged her honor against a separate peace.

Of course there are always a few Americans so anti-British they will believe anything against England. And there is a small minority so pro-Russian it will swallow whole anything out of Moscow, no matter how fantastic. But even the professional Anglophobes and Russophiles may have some difficulty in concluding that the British government has gone crazy—for certainly no London cabinet in its senses, not even one which was pro-Nazi, would sacrifice an alliance with Russia, the United States and the United Nations for a deal with a double-crossing Germany in retreat. The idea is too insane.

But that makes the Russian publication of it all the more inexplicable.

If Stalin believed this report, obviously he would not publish it as a rumor out of Cairo. He would present his facts to the United States and United Nations and force a joint showdown with the British government.

Then what is Stalin's propaganda purpose? We have heard three guesses:

First, that it is a blackmail warning to Churchill not to support the Poles in the current Russian frontier dispute; but this is not convincing, because the British have been working fairly closely with the Russians on this. Second, it is suggested that this is a new form of needling Churchill for a western front; but Stalin at Teheran approved the Anglo-American western-front plans.

The third Anglo-American reaction is so obvious, it is surprising Stalin did not foresee the boomerang. A phony report of a British-German deal, it is said, could be used by Stalin to screen, and later justify, a separate Russian-German peace.

For our part, we do not believe that Russia or Britain will make a separate peace—tho we assume Germany has been trying to get any deal possible, and will continue.

The Russian government should officially disavow the Pravda report, and reaffirm the permanence of the United Nations alliance for unconditional surrender of Germany.

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How to Read the 'Pravda' Attack

The bitterest, most dangerous news story that has broken in a long, long time was the little item out of Moscow yesterday concerning the report of *Pravda*, official Soviet newspaper, that two Britishers recently conferred secretly with Ribbentrop, object: separate peace. You probably have already read or heard the dispatch, but because of its importance I would suggest you read the translation again:

CAIRO, Jan. 12.—According to information in reliable Greek and Yugoslav circles two leading British personalities (we are quoting the United Press translation. The Associated Press translation made it read, "officials" instead of "personalities.") recently conferred secretly with Ribbentrop in one of the coastal cities of the Pyrenees.

The meeting was with the object of the elucidation of terms for a separate peace with Germany.

It is believed that the meeting was not without results.

Now what does it mean? Frankly, PM doesn't know any more than anyone else, but some things are obvious.

First, journalistically speaking, on its face, the dispatch is an abortion. Note that it comes out of Cairo and credits "information" to "reliable Greek and Yugoslav circles" and concerns a meeting that purports to have occurred not there, but in the Pyrenees, whether Spanish or French is not made clear. How do Greeks and Yugoslavs in Cairo know what is going on in the Pyrenees? Note the last sentence which, on the face of it, is sheer speculation without any authority whatsoever, not even the anonymous Greek and Yugoslav circles.

Consider, too, the situation at Cairo, whence the dispatch purported to have come. Cairo is a military zone under very strict British military censorship. It is utterly unthinkable, if this story originated in Cairo, that the British would have permitted *Pravda's*, or any other correspondent, to have sent out such a news story. So if it did originate in Cairo, it went out via a Russian diplomatic censor-free wire or radio or mail pouch.

These facts make it clear that the *Pravda* dispatch is not what it purports to be, a mere journalistic news story, but establishes beyond all question that it was not a matter of journalism and reporting facts at all, but of Soviet diplomacy. In the light of that, you can discount immediately the possibility that the Russians were sucked in by a great coup of German psychological warfare. The Russians are too hardheaded and just aren't sucked in on those things.

All of which means that the *Pravda* story must be read for what it is: a move of Soviet diplomacy and not a news story. But, how to read it?

That it can be taken at face value to mean that the British are negotiating with Ribbentrop for a separate peace is absurd on the face of it. For if the Russians had knowledge that such a thing was afoot, it is inconceivable that they would take it out by publishing a 10- or 12-line short in *Pravda*.

It is equally inconceivable that the Russian Government could be using such a story as a basis for possible action by itself toward the separate peace move of which they accuse "British personalities." The Soviet Government, unlike the Germans, has never found it necessary to build up phony justification for its acts with its people. The Soviet grasp is too firm.

You are going to be under a great deal of pressure from the diversionists, the Nyes, the Wheelers, the Pattersons and Hearsts and all those who seek disunity, to believe one thing or another. Don't let them sabotage your mind. You can answer them in a sentence: If the Russians believed that the British were planning a separate peace, they would not kiss it off in a *Pravda* short, and if they wanted to make a separate peace themselves, they would not have to base it on a news story.

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That brings it down to the one explanation that seems to make any sense whatsoever from the facts we know: that this represents a bungling Soviet attempt at putting the heat, diplomatically, on Britain and/or the U. S. A.

Why?

One answer might be in the present Russian-Polish border dispute. *Pravda* was used by Soviet diplomacy on one other occasion recently to serve diplomatic notice on the U. S. A. that Russia did not relish offers of intervention or concern from outside to aid in settlement of Russian border controversies. *Pravda* pilloried Willkie, who had long been considered an ardent friend of the Soviet, for expressing concern about the issue of Russia's relations with its smaller border neighbors.

This constituted a diplomatic notice to America and England to keep hands off and not even to offer good offices. Since then, it has been obvious in the Polish-Russian border dispute that America and Great Britain were not going to take the hint. In fact, Secretary Hull Saturday cabled to Moscow an offer to help bring about the resumption of diplomatic relations between Poland and the Soviet.

So it is not inconceivable that the *Pravda* story was meant to light a fire under the U. S. A. and Britain to keep their hands off all problems concerning Russia's boundaries or national defense.

It is possible, of course, that it was diplomacy aimed in some other direction, possibly, for instance, a Russian way of telling England and the U. S. A. that the Soviet is suspicious of them and will continue to be until the second front gets rolling. Maybe it was the Soviets' inept way of saying, "No Darlan deals in Germany."

Adding up all the evidence, PM believes that the latter possibilities may hit somewhere near the truth, that this is bungling Soviet diplomacy at its worst. That, of course, doesn't lessen the danger that irreparable damage to Allied unity can be the result of the *Pravda* story.

If the Soviet had evidence to prove the charge, it should have been submitted so that the pro-Soviet people of the Allied countries would know what the Russians were talking about. If the Soviet had no such evidence, and I don't believe for a minute it did, the Russians are passing on a diplomatic fabrication at worst, an unsubstantiated rumor at best, and the performance is as irresponsible as any ever put on by the enemies of unity at home, whether it be Capt. Patterson or Hearst or Clare Hoffman or William Dudley Pelley.

In any event, it has certainly laid the foundation for complete national distrust of the Soviet's British allies by the Russian people. It will, unless it is effectually repudiated, have the same effect on the people of the U. S. A. and Britain in creating distrust one of another, and, in turn, of our Soviet ally.

As journalism, it is rotten. As diplomacy, it is not only reprehensible, but from a diplomatic viewpoint even worse, for it is ineffectual, even from the Russian viewpoint.

PM believes that Russia, as do the U. S. A. and Britain, needs and desires to maintain the structure of Allied unity that has been set up. Things like this present spectacle of twisted diplomatic journalism are harmful, but they could destroy the central structure only if the people who read the *Pravda* story are as irresponsible as those who put it out.—JOHN P. LEWIS

British Press Indignant Over Peace Bid Story

Foreign Office Denial Brought to Attention Of Soviet Government

By the Associated Press.

LONDON, Jan. 18.—The British press minced no words today in expressing indignation over Pravda's publication of a British-German "separate peace" talk rumor, the London Daily Mail denouncing it as insulting and the Manchester Guardian calling it a "slanderous accusation."

The morning papers generally displayed the story on their front pages, emphasizing that the British Foreign Office had issued a denial of the truth of the report printed in Moscow by the Communist Party organ. Not one London afternoon paper published the Moscow story yesterday, although there was no censorship ban.

Meanwhile, it was announced that the Foreign Office's denial of the story has been brought to the attention of the Soviet government by the British charge de'affaires in Moscow.

May Reassert Position.

In the absence of any official explanation from Moscow, and in view of the wide circulation given the report yesterday by the Moscow radio, the Daily Mail said the British government "may deem it necessary in the near future to reassert in Commons their determination to abide by their agreements never to make a separate peace."

An Associated Press dispatch from Madrid said authorized Spanish sources denied last night that Nazi Foreign Minister Joachim von Ribbentrop had been in Spain and termed Pravda's "Cairo rumor" that Von Ribbentrop had discussed peace with two British officials on the "Pyrenees peninsula" as ridiculous.

Disclaim Information.

From Lisbon, similarly, an Associated Press dispatch quoted British, Greek and Yugoslav sources as disclaiming any information of the rumored peace talks. Allied diplomats there recalled there was no substantiation for previous rumors that Von Ribbentrop had been in Portugal.

The Daily Mail, whose headline read: "Britain kills 'separate peace' lie," commented that "the newspaper Pravda must be remarkably ignorant of British national standards. This is the only excuse we can find for it."

"To the world at large the story carries its refutation on its face," said the Manchester Guardian, "but what is not pleasant is that such slanderous accusation against an ally should be circulated among the Russian people."

Rumor Previously Ignored.

The Daily Express, owned by Lord Beaverbrook, one of Russia's best friends in Britain, carried no editorial. A political correspondent, however, wrote that the rumor had been making the rounds in various forms since Prime Minister Churchill and Foreign Secretary Anthony Eden

(See PRAVDA, Page A-11.)

(Continued From First Page.)

conferred with Turkish representatives at Cairo.

"But it was regarded as so fantastic and so obviously intended to make mischief between the Allies that it was ignored," he wrote. "When it received publicity in so influential a quarter as Pravda, however, the British government at once decided to deny it officially and to bring this denial directly to the notice of the Soviet government."

The News-Cchronicle, referring to both the Russian-Polish border dispute and the Pravda report, said that since the Teheran and Cairo conferences "a number of untoward events have occurred to cause the world to wonder whether the United Nations are really so united."

The Yorkshire Post expressed hope that "Russian authorities will find themselves able on their part to give assurance that the Pravda story came to be inserted as a result of a blunder."

Russian

Washington Star
January 18-44-p 1.

Charge Made by Pravda

2 Englishmen Met Ribbentrop, Claim

By M. S. HANDLER

MOSCOW, Jan. 17 (U.P.). The Communist party organ Pravda exploded a bombshell in Allied diplomatic quarters today by publishing a Cairo dispatch which said "two leading British personalities" recently met German Foreign Minister Joachim von Ribbentrop to discuss "terms of a separate peace with Germany."

Unless the rumor is denied immediately and convincingly, it is not calculated to increase the confidence of the average Soviet citizen toward Britain.

Met in Coastal City

[Authoritative sources in London said the report was "without foundation." They said they had no knowledge of any such meeting, and were "completely mystified" by the Moscow newspaper's report from Cairo. They expressed surprise that Pravda would publish such a dispatch].

The dispatch from Pravda's own correspondent said the conference was held secretly at one of the coastal cities in the Pyrenees lying along the border of Spain and France.

The report was attributed to "information in reliable Greek and Yugoslav circles" at Cairo.

Publication Delayed

Pravda is one of the most responsible and serious of the Soviet newspapers. It seldom publishes mere wild rumors, and probably is one of the world's least sensational newspapers.

The dispatch was dated January 12 and was published only today, indicating either a transmission delay or careful consideration of the desirability of publishing it.

The dispatch from Pravda's own correspondent said:

"According to information in reliable Greek and Yugoslav

(Turn to Page 4—PEACE)

Peace

(Continued from First Page)

circles, two leading British personalities recently conferred, secretly with Ribbentrop at one of the coastal cities in the Pyrenees.

"The meeting had the object of the elucidation of terms of a separate peace with Germany. It is believed the meeting was not without results."

British Embassy Here Denies Pravda Report

By United Press

The British Embassy today authorized a spokesman to describe as completely false and without basis a Moscow report that high British officials had discussed terms for a separate peace with German Foreign Minister Joachim von Ribbentrop.

The spokesman said he had been authorized on behalf of the embassy to deny emphatically the report which came from Cairo and was published in Moscow.

The State Department said it had no information, nor any comment, about the Russian report.

It was pointed out that Britain's 20 year mutual-assistance pact with Russia pledged that neither would make a separate peace with Germany. This pledge was renewed in the U. S.-British-Russian-Chinese declaration signed last fall in Moscow. Nothing has arisen to cause belief that the British have any idea of going back on their word.

It was noted also that the Russian dispatch was a round-about matter, quoting Greek and Yugoslav sources about a meeting that was supposed to have occurred along the Spanish-French border.

Some unofficial sources thought it might be within the realm of possibility that Von Ribbentrop had put out peace feelers and that the British had sent representatives to see what he had in mind. The German conceivably might have asked a separate peace, but that would in no way mean that anyone was considering giving it to them.

The Germans constantly have tried to drive a wedge between Russia and the other Allies. Allied leaders with equal vigor have taken every occasion—as at the Moscow and Tehran conferences—to reaffirm their solidarity.

Pravda's purpose in publishing the Cairo rumor intrigued observers. It may have been done, some suggested, with the purpose of getting it into the open so that it could be forcefully disposed.

Washington Times-Herald
January 17, 1944
page 1

STETTINIUS ASKS FULL COOPERATION WITH SOVIET RUSSIA

In Broadcast He Calls Any Other Course in War or Peace 'Tragic Blundering'

BIG DEPARTMENT SHIFTS

Far-Reaching Plans of Reorganization Are Announced by Secretary Hull

Text of the State Department radio program, Page 30.

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

WASHINGTON, Jan. 15—Anything other than complete cooperation with Soviet Russia after the war would be "tragic blundering" on the part of the United States, said Edward R. Stettinius Jr., Under-Secretary of State, during an hour's broadcast tonight over the National Broadcasting Company's network entitled "The State Department Speaks."

Participating with Mr. Stettinius in the event were G. Howland Shaw, Assistant Secretary of State, and Robert D. Murphy, Ambassador at Large.

"I have worked closely with the Soviet officials here for over three years and I have nothing but admiration for the bravery, resourcefulness and determination of the people of the Soviet Union," Mr. Stettinius declared.

"I feel we have everything to gain and nothing to lose from a continuing and close cooperation between the Soviet Union and the United States both now and after the war. Anything else would be nothing less than tragic blundering for both of us."

Shaping War and Peace Role

In the course of his address Mr. Stettinius took up the broad reorganization of the State Department announced tonight by Secretary Hull.

"Like many businesses, the State Department has had to convert its normal operations to war conditions," Mr. Stettinius said.

"That always means making rapid administrative changes and the result is there are bound to be rough spots. And, to complete the circle of change, the department must prepare itself to turn its full facilities again to the problems of peace."

To make it "as efficient and smooth-running a State Department as possible for the great tasks before us," Mr. Stettinius said, the new plan of organization "corrects some current difficulties, but its chief purpose is to prepare us to meet most effectively the heavy responsibilities which are

Continued on Page Thirty-one

KEEP SOVIET FRIEND, SAYS STETTINIUS

Continued From Page One

ahead, both for winning the war and making the peace secure."

What the plan achieved, he added, was first to "readjust the responsibilities of the top officers of the department so that they may devote the biggest part of their energies to vital world affairs."

"Secondly, the new organization establishes clearer lines of responsibility and authority inside the department," he went on. "To do this we have revamped and regrouped many of the activities.

"In the third place, the work of the higher officers of the department will be more closely coordinated."

John G. Winant, Ambassador to Great Britain, explained from London how his office operated there and Mr. Shaw spoke on the high qualifications required of those who fill Foreign Service posts.

This is a clipping from page 1 of the New York Times for Jan. 16, 1944
Clipped at the Seat of Government.

Dealing With "Vichyites"

Mr. Murphy explained why he dealt with so-called "Vichyites" such as the late Admiral Jean Darlan, in preparing for the American invasion of North Africa.

Asked by Richard Harkness, the commentator, if he dealt with "Vichyites," Ambassador Murphy replied:

"You bet we did, Mr. Harkness! When you're working inside a cage with a tiger your technique has to be quite different from that of the independent and carefree critic standing safely outside.

"Remember always that we were operating in a zone of strong enemy influence. It was inevitable at times that we were obliged to cultivate and associate with people for whose politics we had no sympathy.

"That association did not mean that we approved the point of view of certain French elements who happened to exercise authority at the time, but these Frenchmen were indispensable in preparing for the landing of our forces in Africa—and so we dealt with them."

Mr. Murphy made a special point that "certain so-called Vichyites remained loyal to Vichy on the surface only so they could help us in preparing the way for the arrival of our troops and the eventual liberation of France."

Lives of Soldiers Put First

He said further that he would "cheerfully admit that for the purpose of saving the lives of the American boys whom I saw come over the beaches of North Africa, I would deal with any person, desirable or undesirable."

"I knew that once our power was established, my government would cooperate with the French in the re-establishment of democratic institutions," he added. "But first things come first.

"I knew I could not face the mothers and wives of our soldiers who might be killed by reason of any reluctance on our part which would have prevented the practical arrangements under which our soldiers were protected."

Asked why he had dealt with Admiral Darlan instead of General de Gaulle after American troops had landed in North Africa, Mr. Murphy replied:

"You must remember that the whole aim of our foreign policy in North Africa at that time was to save as many American lives as possible, and to do everything in our power to gain a quick and inexpensive victory.

"True, General de Gaulle was already in the war, and he and his men deserve every credit for having maintained French honor and for carrying on the fight during those bitter months.

"And don't forget this—at the time of the American landing, Admiral Darlan had at his command 300,000 soldiers and sailors in Africa, while General de Gaulle then had only a handful by comparison.

"That's why we worked with Admiral Darlan. And I can tell you that he rendered very practical assistance to the Allied cause.

"Perhaps the best proof of this is found in the fact that, whereas our Army leaders expected the casualty list of the North African landing to run to 15,000, it actually was well under 2,000, including Army and Navy."

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
WASHINGTON, D. C.

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State Department
Broadcast

Text of the Broadcast of High Officials of the State De

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

WASHINGTON, Jan. 15—Following is the text of a broadcast tonight over the National Broadcasting Company network, being the second of a series outlining State Department policies and problems. The participants were Edward R. Stettinius Jr., Under-Secretary of State; G. Howland Shaw, Assistant Secretary of State; Robert D. Murphy, Ambassador at Large, and Richard Harkness of the N. B. C.:

MR. HARKNESS—Good evening, ladies and gentlemen. This is Richard Harkness—your representative in this timely series of programs designed to tell you something about your State Department, how it works, the work it does and the people who run it.

Here in the Secretary of State's office on the second floor of the old State Department Building, I am ready to interview for you such well known people as Edward R. Stettinius Jr., Under-Secretary of State; G. Howland Shaw, Assistant Secretary of State; John G. Winant, American Ambassador to Great Britain, who will speak to us from London, and Ambassador Robert D. Murphy, who has just returned to this country from some very exciting experiences abroad.

To begin with, thanks to you listeners for your cards and letters suggesting questions I should ask on these programs. They've been most helpful. Keep them coming.

Now let's try to get some of your questions answered.

First, those questions having to do with the setup of the State Department and its work. And here are two men who can speak with authority, Under-Secretary Stettinius and Assistant Secretary Shaw. Mr. Stettinius, I understand you have something interesting to tell us tonight concerning two important announcements which Secretary Hull made today.

MR. STETTINIUS—Yes, Mr. Harkness, I have.

MR. HARKNESS—Good. But before we go into that, I'd like to get a brief picture of the State Department's work. Mr. Shaw, you're the Assistant Secretary of State in charge of the administration of the department and of our foreign service. Suppose you give us that picture, sir.

MR. SHAW—In brief, Mr. Harkness, the business of the State Department is to represent this country in our dealings with foreign governments in matters covering many of the most momentous problems of the day.

State Department Duties

MR. HARKNESS—Like the Moscow Conference, for instance.

MR. SHAW—Yes, and such things as the negotiation of bases for our armed forces, the conclusion of many treaties and commercial agreements. But, in addition, the State Department does a great deal of work having little or nothing to do with foreign governments. Actually, most of our daily business is with Americans who come in to ask us to do all sorts of things for them.

We maintain daily contacts with Congress and keep in touch with American public opinion as a whole. Furthermore, normally a large part of our work is with other departments of our government. For instance, getting information on foreign markets which the Department of Commerce distributes to American business men; getting data on foreign labor conditions for the use of our Labor Department and getting information abroad for the use of our Agriculture Department to be used in world crop forecasting. Today, in war, we work especially closely with these departments and other agencies of the government in economic warfare work, the acquisition of needed materials from abroad and a multitude of other wartime activities.

MR. HARKNESS—Well, I suppose it is the State Department Foreign Service that actually carries out many of these jobs in foreign countries.

MR. SHAW—That's right. But it's called the Foreign Service of the United States and not the Foreign Service of the Department of State. Our Foreign Service officers receive their commissions, not from the Secretary of State, but from the President of the United States. They serve the government of the United States as a whole. These men are the eyes and ears of our Government in foreign lands, the advocates of its interests and the interpreters of its ideals.

MR. HARKNESS—Serving our country abroad would seem to me to require a pretty able American.

MR. SHAW—It certainly does. Our work today demands able men with many different skills; men with many kinds of experience. Their wartime duties have been particularly exacting as I've worked during the day on the assembly line of an automobile plant.

MR. HARKNESS—That's interesting and good to hear. But, Mr. Shaw, how about the general opinion that a man needs a private income and, well, the so-called right kind of social background to enter the Foreign Service?

MR. SHAW—Neither one of these statements is true, Mr. Harkness. The vast majority of men in the Foreign Service today have no independent income whatever and must rely entirely on their Government pay.

Now about this "social background" business. The truth is that we want the service to be broadly representative of American life. I can answer that question again in terms of the last group of new men to enter our Foreign Service. The fathers of these young men followed such varied occupations as railroad conductor, carpenter, minister of religion, schoolmaster, banker, jeweler, laborer, lawyer, sales manager, clerk and physician.

MR. HARKNESS—Well, that list seems to spike another rumor, Mr. Shaw. But how do you go about selecting Foreign Service officers?

MR. SHAW—Through a good, stiff examination.

MR. HARKNESS—Just how tough is it?

MR. SHAW—Well, only about one out of ten passes the test. If they've got the stuff, we want them in the Foreign Service. If they haven't got the stuff, we don't want them, no matter what else they have, money, degree or name.

MR. HARKNESS—That's good American doctrine.

MR. SHAW—Yes and it results in giving us men who are a cross-section of all America, and that's just what we're after.

MR. HARKNESS—Before we went on the air, Mr. Shaw, you said something about not doing any recruiting for the Foreign Service just now because the men you would want are going into the armed services. What are your plans for the future on this?

MR. SHAW—I am glad you brought that up, Mr. Harkness, because just as soon as the war is over we will be needing new men in the service and we will look first to the returning soldiers to fill our ranks.

Winant Talks From London

MR. HARKNESS—Thank you, Mr. Shaw. Right now I want to call in London to ask one of our most distinguished Ambassadors abroad to tell us something about his job of representing 130,000,000 people. Can you hear me, Ambassador Winant in London?

MR. WINANT—Thank you, I can, Mr. Harkness.

MR. HARKNESS—Well, to begin with, would you tell us something about your work and the people you have to work with as American Ambassador in London?

MR. WINANT—It has been customary over long periods of time for governments to communicate with one another through embassies. I have charge of the United States Embassy in London. The two men I work most closely with are the Prime Minister, Mr. Churchill, and the Foreign Secretary, Mr. Eden. We work together as freely and as frankly as any three people can work together. There is no unnecessary formality, but always an honest effort to get the job done, whatever the job may be.

MR. HARKNESS—I have a hunch that your's is a mighty tough and complex job and I wish you could tell us briefly something about it.

MR. WINANT—In wartime, with Great Britain and the United States coordinating production and supply and fighting under a common command, the area of coverage and the volume of business has been enormously expanded. Modern warfare, which involves entire populations of countries, has forced the establishment of civilian war agencies which are represented and coordinated within the London Embassy organization for the European Theatre of Operations.

The backbone of the Embassy organization is the career Foreign Service officers. They are selfless, efficient and hard working. Aside from handling relationships between governments, our assignments include obtaining bases and other facilities for our Army and Navy and dealing with supplies through lend-lease and reverse lend-lease, so that the right food and the right weapons are in the right place at the right time, whether they are to be used by our allies' forces or our own.

They include production problems and civil use problems; economic warfare, which means finding ways and means of decency in the world, just as their soldiers stand alongside ours in Italy or in the Solomons for no other purpose.

"They came on a rendezvous with us to rid the earth of Nazi terror, as we shall be found shoulder to shoulder with them in cleansing it of the Jap horror. That is what lasts."

MR. HARKNESS—Thank you, Ambassador Winant. Good night.

MR. WINANT—Good night to you.

MR. HARKNESS—And now back to the second ranking officer of the Department of State: Mr. Stettinius, you became Under-Secretary of State early last Fall, did you not?

MR. STETTINIUS—Yes, Mr. Harkness, in October.

MR. HARKNESS—And how long did it take you, sir, to find your way around in this new position? I know that right after you took office Secretary Hull left for the Moscow Conference, which meant that you became Acting Secretary of State right away.

MR. STETTINIUS—Yes, that's right. And under very strenuous circumstances which, I can assure you, gave me an excellent opportunity to become quickly acquainted with the work of the department and its people.

MR. HARKNESS—What were your reactions? You came into the department as an experienced business man and Government official, and I assume you brought a fresh viewpoint with you.

Took Task "With Open Mind"

MR. STETTINIUS—I came here as under-secretary, first with a profound admiration for Secretary Hull and, secondly, with an open mind about the task ahead. It was then my judgment—it is now my definite knowledge, that the State Department is a basically sound institution. It has as its leader one of the great Americans of our time, Cordell Hull; it has an experienced and loyal staff; and it represents a country whose purposes are honorable and aboveboard. In my opinion any foreign office which possesses these assets is basically sound.

MR. HARKNESS—Am I to understand then, Mr. Stettinius, that you are completely satisfied with everything about the present State Department set-up?

MR. STETTINIUS—No, I am not. And I might add that neither is Secretary Hull nor our associates. Like many businesses, the State Department has had to convert its normal operations to war conditions. That always means making rapid administrative changes and the result is there are bound to be rough spots. And, to complete the circle of change, the department must prepare itself to turn its full facilities again to the problems of the peace.

MR. HARKNESS—Well—are you getting ready for that time?

MR. STETTINIUS—Yes, we are. One of the first things I undertook for the Secretary was to study with Assistant Secretary Shaw and other officers how affairs within the department should best be organized to carry the terrific load of foreign policy work which faces us in the months and years ahead. I am very happy to say that Secretary Hull today announced a reorganization plan of the Government.

MR. HARKNESS—That's just what I've been waiting for, Mr. Stettinius, since Secretary Hull stated that he had asked you to discuss some of the highlights of the plan tonight. Won't you please tell us a little about it?

Aims of Reorganization

MR. STETTINIUS—Well, of course, every one will realize that we need as efficient and smooth running a State Department as possible for the great tasks before us.

MR. HARKNESS—Of course. What does the reorganization accomplish?

MR. STETTINIUS—The new organization corrects some current difficulties, but its chief purpose is to prepare us to meet most effectively the heavy responsibilities which are ahead both for winning the war and making a secure peace.

The new organization accomplishes several objectives. First, it readjusts the responsibilities of the top officers of the department so that they may devote the biggest part of their energies to vital world affairs.

MR. HARKNESS—Well, you mean, then, they are being relieved of some of the administrative details which have tied them down up to now?

MR. STETTINIUS—That's right; and secondly, the new organization establishes clearer lines of responsibility and authority inside the department. To do this we have revamped and regrouped many of the activities. In the third place, the work of the higher officers of the department

Sir, is there anything you can say concretely about this?

MR. STETTINIUS—Yes, one of the most important steps being taken is the establishment of two principal committees composed of high officers of the department. Secretary Hull will be chairman and I vice chairman of these committees. One will be a "policy committee" which will be concerned with the full scope of our international affairs.

MR. HARKNESS—And what is the second of these principal committees, sir?

To Map Post-War Policy

MR. STETTINIUS—That is to be called the Committee on Post-War Programs. It will formulate and submit to the President recommendations pertaining to post-war foreign policy.

MR. HARKNESS—That means, I take it, that all foreign policy matters, both current and future plans, will now be cleared and coordinated through these two committees.

MR. STETTINIUS—That is correct, but I wish to emphasize that the final important purpose of the reorganization is to establish new divisions to deal with new problems of an international nature.

MR. HARKNESS—I notice that on the chart you have there before you, Mr. Stettinius, one of these new divisions is that of Labor Affairs—would that be a concrete illustration of that last point you made?

MR. STETTINIUS—Precisely—but with our limited time, we'd better not get started on these details here tonight, Mr. Harkness.

MR. HARKNESS—Well, I wish we could, but I certainly want to thank you, Mr. Stettinius, for that important piece of news and your comments on its significant features. But we almost forgot to touch on that other important announcement which will be of interest to our audience.

MR. STETTINIUS—Today Secretary Hull created an Advisory Council on Post-War Foreign Policy to be composed of outstanding and representative national leaders. This council will advise the Secretary of State on post-war foreign policy matters of major importance.

MR. HARKNESS—Secretary Hull has already named several outstanding citizens to serve on this council, hasn't he?

MR. STETTINIUS—Yes. He has appointed Mr. Norman H. Davis, chairman of the American Red Cross; Ambassador Myron C. Taylor and Dr. Isaiah Bowman, president of Johns Hopkins University, as vice chairmen of the council.

MR. HARKNESS—Before we tackle Ambassador Robert D. Murphy, may I ask a final question, sir, on the reorganization—Will it work?

Insists Plan "Must Work"

MR. STETTINIUS—It must work, Mr. Harkness. I can assure you that it is Secretary Hull's firm intention and mine to leave no stone unturned, as time goes on, to see that our State Department is fully equipped to discharge its responsibilities to the American people on the days ahead.

MR. HARKNESS—Thank you, Mr. Secretary.

Now, ladies and gentlemen, here's Ambassador Robert D. Murphy—the man you'll remember reading about as having arranged for Gen. Mark Clark's secret visit to North Africa, before the landing of Eisenhower's armies. Mr. Murphy can tell us something about that visit—the time the general had the bad luck to lose those now famous pants of his?

MR. MURPHY—Well, a couple of weeks before our troops landed it was decided that General Clark and several other officers would make a secret visit to North Africa to get some first-hand ideas of what reception our forces would get from the French when they landed. We made very careful preparations with certain patriotic Frenchmen for this visit. As you all know, General Clark and his staff came ashore in the dead of night at an isolated spot and successfully completed their mission in spite of a threat of discovery by local police officials.

Story of General's Pants

MR. HARKNESS—Well, how about those pants?

MR. MURPHY—Oh, about the pants. It was in making his getaway to the submarine that the general had to leave his pants on the beach. When we went down to remove all evidences of the visit after the general had gotten away I found, among other things, his pants.

MR. HARKNESS—What do you do with a pair of general's pants?

MR. MURPHY—Just what I would have done with the pants of any other friend under similar circumstances—I had them cleaned and pressed, and radioed the general that they'd be there for him when he came back.

But this time he had plenty of company with him—Eisenhower and his gallant armies. I would like to get from you, Mr. Murphy, some of the background of that landing. In our pre-broadcast chat you said that during 1940, 1941 and 1942, when our military preparations needed time and our power structure was weak, you worked to inspire French faith in us. Why the lack of French faith in us then?

MR. MURPHY—Because, in 1941, many Frenchmen in North Africa honestly believed that the United States would never succeed in preparing for war in time to stop Germany. We eventually got this idea out of their heads, but military preparation takes a long time and those anxious months seemed endless to us.

Inside a Cage With Tiger

MR. HARKNESS—The proof that you laid a firm foundation came with the successful landing of our troops in November, 1942. But I recall that you were severely criticized for dealing with so-called Vichyites in North Africa before the invasion. Now, you know on this program there are no holds barred. I want to ask you: Did you deal with such people?

MR. MURPHY—You bet we did, Mr. Harkness! When you're working inside a cage with a tiger your technique has to be quite different from that of the independent and carefree critic standing safely outside.

Remember always that we were operating in a zone of strong enemy influence. It was inevitable at times that we were obliged to cultivate and associate with people for whose politics we had no sympathy. That association did not mean that we approved the point of view of certain French elements who happened to exercise authority at the time—but these Frenchmen were indispensable in preparing for the landing of our forces in Africa—and so we dealt with them.

I would like to point out, however, something that has not always been clearly understood up to now and that is that certain so-called Vichyites remained loyal to Vichy on the surface only so they could help us in preparing the way for the arrival of our troops and the eventual liberation of France.

MR. HARKNESS—That's an important point.

MR. MURPHY—But in any case I will cheerfully admit that for the purpose of saving the lives of the American boys whom I saw come over the beaches of North Africa I would deal with any person desirable or undesirable. I know that once our power was established, my government would cooperate with the French in the re-establishment of democratic institutions. But first things come first. I knew I could not face the mothers and wives of our soldiers who might be killed by reason of any reluctance on our part which would have prevented the practical arrangements under which our soldiers were protected.

Assigned to Eisenhower Staff

MR. HARKNESS—Well, I think our listeners who have sons and brothers and husbands in the front line tonight will understand that viewpoint. What was your work after the invasion took place, Mr. Murphy?

MR. MURPHY—I was then assigned to the Allied Commander in Chief, General Eisenhower, as a member of his staff.

MR. HARKNESS—That was the first time that a foreign service officer ever became a member of a military staff, wasn't it?

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MR. HARKNESS—That's interesting and good to hear. But, Mr. Shaw, how about the general opinion that a man needs a private income and, well, the so-called right kind of social background to enter the Foreign Service?

MR. SHAW—Neither one of these statements is true, Mr. Harkness. The vast majority of men in the Foreign Service today have no independent income whatever and must rely entirely on their Government pay.

Now about this "social background" business. The truth is that we want the service to be broadly representative of American life. I can answer that question again in terms of the last group of new men to enter our Foreign Service. The fathers of these young men followed such varied occupations as railroad conductor, carpenter, minister of religion, schoolmaster, banker, jeweler, laborer, lawyer, sales manager, clerk and physician.

MR. HARKNESS—Well, that list seems to spike another rumor, Mr. Shaw. But how do you go about selecting Foreign Service officers?

MR. SHAW—Through a good, stiff examination.

MR. HARKNESS—Just how tough is it?

MR. SHAW—Well, only about one out of ten passes the test. If they've got the stuff, we want them in the Foreign Service. If they haven't got the stuff, we don't want them, no matter what else they have, money, degree or name.

MR. HARKNESS—That's good American doctrine.

MR. SHAW—Yes and it results in giving us men who are a cross-section of all America, and that's just what we're after.

MR. HARKNESS—Before we went on the air, Mr. Shaw, you said something about not doing any recruiting for the Foreign Service just now because the men you would want are going into the armed services. What are your plans for the future on this?

MR. SHAW—I am glad you brought that up, Mr. Harkness, because just as soon as the war is over we will be needing new men in the service and we will look first to the returning soldiers to fill our ranks.

Winant Talks From London

MR. HARKNESS—Thank you, Mr. Shaw. Right now I want to call in London to ask one of our most distinguished Ambassadors abroad to tell us something about his job of representing 130,000,000 people. Can you hear me, Ambassador Winant in London?

MR. WINANT—Thank you, I can, Mr. Harkness.

MR. HARKNESS—Well, to begin with, would you tell us something about your work and the people you have to work with as American Ambassador in London?

MR. WINANT—It has been customary over long periods of time for governments to communicate with one another through embassies, I have charge of the United States Embassy in London. The two men I work most closely with are the Prime Minister, Mr. Churchill, and the Foreign Secretary, Mr. Eden. We work together as freely and as frankly as any three people can work together. There is no unnecessary formality, but always an honest effort to get the job done, whatever the job may be.

MR. HARKNESS—I have a hunch that your's is a mighty tough and complex job and I wish you could tell us briefly something about it.

MR. WINANT—In wartime, with Great Britain and the United States coordinating production and supply and fighting under a common command, the area of coverage and the volume of business has been enormously expanded. Modern warfare, which involves entire populations of countries, has forced the establishment of civilian war agencies which are represented and coordinated within the London Embassy organization for the European Theatre of Operations.

The backbone of the Embassy organization is the career Foreign Service officers. They are selfless, efficient and hard working. Aside from handling relationships between governments, our assignments include obtaining bases and other facilities for our Army and Navy and dealing with supplies through lend-lease and reverse lend-lease, so that the right food and the right weapons are in the right place at the right time, whether they are to be used by our allies' forces or our own.

They include production problems and civil use problems; economic warfare, which means finding ways and means of decency in the world, just as their soldiers stand alongside ours in Italy or in the Solomons for no other purpose.

"They came on a rendezvous with us to rid the earth of Nazi terror, as we shall be found shoulder to shoulder with them in cleansing it of the Jap horror. That is what lasts."

MR. HARKNESS—Thank you, Ambassador Winant. Good night.

MR. WINANT—Good night to you.

MR. HARKNESS—And now back to the second ranking officer of the Department of State: Mr. Stettinius, you became Under-Secretary of State early last Fall, did you not?

MR. STETTINIUS—Yes, Mr. Harkness, in October.

MR. HARKNESS—And how long did it take you, sir, to find your way around in this new position? I know that right after you took office Secretary Hull left for the Moscow Conference, which meant that you became Acting Secretary of State right away.

MR. STETTINIUS—Yes, that's right. And under very strenuous circumstances which, I can assure you, gave me an excellent opportunity to become quickly acquainted with the work of the department and its people.

MR. HARKNESS—What were your reactions? You came into the department as an experienced business man and Government official, and I assume you brought a fresh viewpoint with you.

Took Task "With Open Mind"

MR. STETTINIUS—I came here as under-secretary, first with a profound admiration for Secretary Hull and, secondly, with an open mind about the task ahead. It was then my judgment—it is now my definite knowledge, that the State Department is a basically sound institution. It has as its leader one of the great Americans of our time, Cordell Hull; it has an experienced and loyal staff; and it represents a country whose purposes are honorable and aboveboard. In my opinion any foreign office which possesses these assets is basically sound.

MR. HARKNESS—Am I to understand then, Mr. Stettinius, that you are completely satisfied with everything about the present State Department set-up?

MR. STETTINIUS—No, I am not. And I might add that neither is Secretary Hull nor our associates. Like many businesses, the State Department has had to convert its normal operations to war conditions. That always means making rapid administrative changes and the result is there are bound to be rough spots. And, to complete the circle of change, the department must prepare itself to turn its full facilities again to the problems of the peace.

MR. HARKNESS—Well—are you getting ready for that time?

MR. STETTINIUS—Yes, we are. One of the first things I undertook for the Secretary was to study with Assistant Secretary Shaw and other officers how affairs within the department should best be organized to carry the terrific load of foreign policy work which faces us in the months and years ahead. I am very happy to say that Secretary Hull today announced a reorganization plan of the Government.

MR. HARKNESS—That's just what I've been waiting for, Mr. Stettinius, since Secretary Hull stated that he had asked you to discuss some of the highlights of the plan tonight. Won't you please tell us a little about it?

Aims of Reorganization

MR. STETTINIUS—Well, of course, every one will realize that we need as efficient and smooth running a State Department as possible for the great tasks before us.

MR. HARKNESS—Of course. What does the reorganization accomplish?

MR. STETTINIUS—The new organization corrects some current difficulties, but its chief purpose is to prepare us to meet most effectively the heavy responsibilities which are ahead both for winning the war and making a secure peace.

The new organization accomplishes several objectives. First, it readjusts the responsibilities of the top officers of the department so that they may devote the biggest part of their energies to vital world affairs.

MR. HARKNESS—Well, you mean, then, they are being relieved of some of the administrative details which have tied them down up to now?

MR. STETTINIUS—That's right; and secondly, the new organization establishes clearer lines of responsibility and authority inside the department. To do this we have revamped and regrouped many of the activities. In the third place, the work of the higher officers of the department Sir, is there anything you can say concretely about this?

MR. STETTINIUS—Yes, one of the most important steps being taken is the establishment of two principal committees composed of high officers of the department. Secretary Hull will be chairman and I vice chairman of these committees. One will be a "policy committee" which will be concerned with the full scope of our international affairs.

MR. HARKNESS—And what is the second of these principal committees, sir?

To Map Post-War Policy

MR. STETTINIUS—That is to be called the Committee on Post-War Programs. It will formulate and submit to the President recommendations pertaining to post-war foreign policy.

MR. HARKNESS—That means, I take it, that all foreign policy matters, both current and future plans, will now be cleared and coordinated through these two committees.

MR. STETTINIUS—That is correct, but I wish to emphasize that the final important purpose of the reorganization is to establish new divisions to deal with new problems of an international nature.

MR. HARKNESS—I notice that on the chart you have there before you, Mr. Stettinius, one of these new divisions is that of Labor Affairs—would that be a concrete illustration of that last point you made?

MR. STETTINIUS—Precisely—but with our limited time, we'd better not get started on these details here tonight, Mr. Harkness.

MR. HARKNESS—Well, I wish we could, but I certainly want to thank you, Mr. Stettinius, for that important piece of news and your comments on its significant features. But we almost forgot to touch on that other important announcement which will be of interest to our audience.

MR. STETTINIUS—Today Secretary Hull created an Advisory Council on Post-War Foreign Policy to be composed of outstanding and representative national leaders. This council will advise the Secretary of State on post-war foreign policy matters of major importance.

MR. HARKNESS—Secretary Hull has already named several outstanding citizens to serve on this council, hasn't he?

MR. STETTINIUS—Yes. He has appointed Mr. Norman H. Davis, chairman of the American Red Cross; Ambassador Myron C. Taylor and Dr. Isaiah Bowman, president of Johns Hopkins University, as vice chairmen of the council.

MR. HARKNESS—Before we tackle Ambassador Robert D. Murphy, may I ask a final question, sir, on the reorganization—Will it work?

Insists Plan "Must Work"

MR. STETTINIUS—It must work, Mr. Harkness. I can assure you that it is Secretary Hull's firm intention and mine to leave no stone unturned, as time goes on, to see that our State Department is fully equipped to discharge its responsibilities to the American people on the days ahead.

MR. HARKNESS—Thank you, Mr. Secretary.

Now, ladies and gentlemen, here's Ambassador Robert D. Murphy—the man you'll remember reading about as having arranged for Gen. Mark Clark's secret visit to North Africa, before the landing of Eisenhower's armies. Mr. Murphy can tell us something about that visit—the time the general had the bad luck to lose those now famous pants of his?

MR. MURPHY—Well, a couple of weeks before our troops landed it was decided that General Clark and several other officers would make a secret visit to North Africa to get some first-hand ideas of what reception our forces would get from the French when they landed. We made very careful preparations with certain patriotic Frenchmen for this visit. As you all know, General Clark and his staff came ashore in the dead of night at an isolated spot and successfully completed their mission in spite of a threat of discovery by local police officials.

Story of General's Pants

MR. HARKNESS—Well, how about those pants?

MR. MURPHY—Oh, about the pants. It was in making his get-away to the submarine that the general had to leave his pants on the beach. When we went down to remove all evidences of the visit after the general had gotten away I found, among other things, his pants.

MR. HARKNESS—What do you do with a pair of general's pants?

MR. MURPHY—Just what I would have done with the pants of any other friend under similar circumstances—I had them cleaned and pressed, and radioed the general that they'd be there for him when he came back. But this time he had plenty of company with him—Eisenhower and his gallant armies. I would like to get from you, Mr. Murphy, some of the background of that landing. In our pre-broadcast chat you said that during 1940, 1941 and 1942, when our military preparations needed time and our power structure was weak, you worked to inspire French faith in us. Why the lack of French faith in us then?

MR. MURPHY—Because, in 1941, many Frenchmen in North Africa honestly believed that the United States would never succeed in preparing for war in time to stop Germany. We eventually got this idea out of their heads, but military preparation takes a long time and those anxious months seemed endless to us.

Inside a Cage With Tiger

MR. HARKNESS—The proof that you laid a firm foundation came with the successful landing of our troops in November, 1942. But I recall that you were severely criticized for dealing with so-called Vichyites in North Africa before the invasion. Now, you know on this program there are no holds barred. I want to ask you: Did you deal with such people?

MR. MURPHY—You bet we did, Mr. Harkness! When you're working inside a cage with a tiger your technique has to be quite different from that of the independent and carefree critic standing safely outside.

Remember always that we were operating in a zone of strong enemy influence. It was inevitable at times that we were obliged to cultivate and associate with people for whose politics we had no sympathy. That association did not mean that we approved the point of view of certain French elements who happened to exercise authority at the time—but these Frenchmen were indispensable in preparing for the landing of our forces in Africa—and so we dealt with them.

I would like to point out, however, something that has not always been clearly understood up to now and that is that certain so-called Vichyites remained loyal to Vichy on the surface only so they could help us in preparing the way for the arrival of our troops and the eventual liberation of France.

MR. HARKNESS—That's an important point.

MR. MURPHY—But in any case I will cheerfully admit that for the purpose of saving the lives of the American boys whom I saw come over the beaches of North Africa I would deal with any person desirable or undesirable. I knew that once our power was established, my government would cooperate with the French in the re-establishment of democratic institutions. But first things come first. I knew I could not face the mothers and wives of our soldiers who might be killed by reason of any reluctance on our part which would have prevented the practical arrangements under which our soldiers were protected.

Assigned to Eisenhower Staff

MR. HARKNESS—Well, I think our listeners who have sons and brothers and husbands in the front line tonight well understand that viewpoint. What was your work after the invasion took place, Mr. Murphy?

MR. MURPHY—I was then assigned to the Allied Commander in Chief, General Eisenhower, as a member of his staff.

MR. HARKNESS—That was the first time that a foreign service officer ever became a member of a military staff, wasn't it?

MR. MURPHY—I believe it was.

MR. HARKNESS—Eisenhower must be a great fellow to serve with.

MR. MURPHY—Indeed he is. I can't praise him too highly. His cool and sound judgment, his genial personality, were the dominating factors behind the extraordinary cooperation between the Allies in North Africa during the most critical moments of the war.

MR. HARKNESS—Mr. Murphy, I want to ask you about the Darlan affair. You remember there were a lot of people over here saying that we were backing the wrong horse after our troops had landed in dealing with Vichyite Darlan instead of Free French de Gaulle. They felt that General de Gaulle was being shunted aside, to put it bluntly.

MR. MURPHY—Yes, I know about that reaction and I don't mind telling you that I was flabbergasted by it.

MR. HARKNESS—You were? Why?

Sought to Save Lives

MR. MURPHY—You must remember that the whole aim of our foreign policy in North Africa at that time was to save as many American lives as possible, and to do everything in our power to gain a quick and inexpensive victory. True, general de Gaulle was already in the war, and he and his men deserve every credit for having maintained French honor and for carrying on the fight during those bitter months. But don't forget this—at the time of the American landing, Admiral Darlan had at his command 200,000 soldiers and sailors in Africa while General de Gaulle then had only a handful by comparison. That's why we worked with Admiral Darlan. And I can tell you that he rendered very practical assistance to the Allied cause. Perhaps the best proof of this is found in the fact that, whereas our Army leaders expected the casualty list of the North African landing to run to 15,000, it actually was well under 2,000, including Army and Navy.

MR. HARKNESS—Well, that answers quite a few questions straight from the shoulder, Mr. Murphy. Thanks. I might point out to our listeners that Ambassador Robert D. Murphy is one of the few civilians ever to be awarded the Distinguished Service Medal. General Eisenhower pinned it on him for the excellent military job he did as head of our foreign service in North Africa.

Stettinius Hails Russians

MR. HARKNESS—Let's see how our time is. I think we have time left for just one more question for you, Mr. Stettinius. Last week on this program we discussed the Moscow conference and that broadcast stirred up a large number of questions from our listeners concerning post-war cooperation with Soviet Russia. You have been a long-standing friend of Soviet Russia, Mr. Stettinius, and you, as lend-lease administrator, helped to get war materials to Russia—what do you think about cooperation with Soviet Russia after the war?

MR. STETTINIUS—I have worked closely with the Soviet officials here for over three years and I have nothing but admiration for the bravery, resourcefulness and determination of the people of the Soviet Union. I feel we have everything to gain and nothing to lose from a continuing and close cooperation between the Soviet Union and the United States, both now and after the war. Anything else would be nothing less than tragic blundering for both of us.

departments and other agencies of the government in economic warfare work, the acquisition of needed materials from abroad and a multitude of other wartime activities.

MR. HARKNESS—Well, I suppose it is the State Department Foreign Service that actually carries out many of these jobs in foreign countries.

MR. SHAW—That's right. But it's called the Foreign Service of the United States and not the Foreign Service of the Department of State. Our Foreign Service officers receive their commissions, not from the Secretary of State, but from the President of the United States. They serve the government of the United States as a whole. Those men are the eyes and ears of our Government in foreign lands, the advocates of its interests and the interpreters of its ideals.

MR. HARKNESS—Serving our country abroad would seem to me to require a pretty able American.

MR. SHAW—It certainly does. Our work today demands oblimen with many different skills; men with many kinds of experience. Their wartime duties have been particularly exacting, as I'm sure Ambassador Winant and Ambassador Murphy will tell you later.

MR. HARKNESS—All right. Now, Mr. Shaw, many of our listeners have sent questions asking whether to get a job in our Foreign Service you have to come from the so-called "right" social background, have the "right" size bank account, have gone to the "right" schools and be a native of the Eastern section of the United States. Is there any truth in that, sir?

Tests for Foreign Service

MR. SHAW—No, there is not. Let me answer you point by point, Mr. Harkness, and with concrete facts. Let's start with that Eastern Seaboard myth. Of the last group of 117 persons to enter the Foreign Service, nineteen came from the Far West, thirty-three from the Middlewest, sixteen from New England, thirty-three from the Middle Atlantic States and sixteen from the South.

So you see they were pretty well scattered geographically throughout the country. And that's true not only of the last group to enter the service, but of the men who came in during the past ten years.

Moreover, these men came from not just one or two schools, but from over fifty different universities and colleges. And, so far as earlier schooling was concerned, at least half of them received their education in our public high schools.

Many of our men have worked their way through school. One young man who entered the Foreign Service recently, prepared for his examinations by studying nights in the Detroit Public Library. To support himself he

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They include production problems and civil use problems; economic warfare, which means finding ways and means of depriving the enemy of supplies he vitally needs; psychological warfare, which includes laying down by leaflet and radio a barrage of truth against enemy propaganda, and information services and other necessary activities to meet war needs.

Tribute to Airmen

There are inconveniences and some hardships, especially for those men in the foreign service who have been for years away from home, but there is not a man here who does not see that life lies back of the work he is doing and is not grateful for the chance to serve the fighting men.

We have tried hard to be useful to the soldiers, the sailors and the airmen who today are your true ambassadors to England, just as the true embassies are the brave homes they come from. It is on the relationship that they are building that the future of the world must largely rest.

A tribute in The London Daily Express to the American airmen who died on a recent raid over Germany will give you some understanding of the respect and friendship of the British people for our fighting men. The newspaper said:

"It was, alas, easy to tell yesterday where the hearts of the British people turned in regard to America—to the homes of the lost airmen from Maine to California, to the forests and the prairies, the city apartments and the homesteads in the clearings.

"The loss of sixty Flying Fortresses over Schweinfurt struck us as if it were our own. Wherefore came these gallant crews among us? Why did they wing their way to our side? These splendid young Americans flew in aid of the common cause of basic

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MR. MURPHY—Just what I would have done with the pants of any other friend under similar circumstances—I had them cleaned and pressed, and radioed the general that they'd be there for him when he came back.

MR. HARKNESS—And as we all know, the general did come

This is a clipping from
page 30 of the
New York Times for

Jan. 16, 1944

Clipped at the Seat of
Government.

State Dept. Says Moscow Accord Bars New War

(Daily Worker Foreign Department)

The United States, Great Britain, China and the Soviet Union by their Four-Power Declaration in Moscow abolished the "dread certainty of a third World War," said James C. Dunn, an Assistant Secretary of State, in his broadcast Saturday night opening the radio series, "The State Department Speaks."

Mr. Dunn, who accompanied Secretary of State Cordell Hull to Moscow as the latter's political adviser on European affairs, discussed the Moscow Conference in a question-and-answer program for the National Broadcasting Company.

"These four nations," he said, "committed themselves to a policy of continuing cooperation. If they hadn't done so, the international future would indeed be a hopeless one."

Secretary Hull, who took with him a draft of the agreement which, with revisions, was signed by the four powers, "said he was convinced there was sufficient common ground between the national interests of the countries to lay the basis for a better world," Mr. Dunn said.

Leo Pasvolsky, special assistant to the Secretary of State in charge of post-war planning, appearing on the same program, said that there must be "arrangements for settlement of international disputes by pacific means, rather than by recourse to war." He added that, however, there must be strength behind the decisions and means to suppress aggression.

DAILY WORKER JAN. 11, 1944 p. 2

Big Three Differences

By William Philip Simms

THE magnificent drive of the Red army toward the Bug River and the Balkans, and the approaching British-American invasion of western Europe, may force a second meeting of Stalin, Churchill and Roosevelt or their top-drawer spokesmen.

As long ago as last March Prime Minister Churchill declared that the moment when Hitler was beaten and Germany was prostrate would mark the climax of the war. Therefore, he said, the United Nations, headed by Russia, Britain and America, should immediately begin to confer upon the future world organization.

Yet today, it is remarked in United Nations circles here, it is only too apparent that the Big Three are as far apart as ever, in so far at least as Europe is concerned. Militarily they agreed at Teheran to converge against a doomed Germany from east, west and south, but what would happen politically after Germany collapsed apparently was left on the lap of the gods.

* * *

FOR instance, President Roosevelt's first public utterance after his return from the Middle East, on Christmas Eve, contained the definite commitment that "the rights of every nation, large or small, must be respected and guarded as jealously as are the rights of every individual within our own republic." He added: "The doctrine that the strong shall dominate the weak is the doctrine of our enemies—and we reject it."

Within two weeks after that pronouncement, Pravda, Marshal Stalin's mouthpiece, warned America against "any attempt to interfere in our purely domestic affairs"—by which was meant Russia's plan to change the frontiers of eastern Europe on her sole say-so.

* * *

THESE two statements of policy—to mention only these—reveal a persistent discrepancy between Washington and Moscow that is dangerous. To let it incubate without the utmost effort at a rapprochement could hardly fail to imperil future world collaboration.

There was, of course, nothing new in the President's Christmas Eve doctrine that the strong shall not dominate the weak, nor the rights of small nations be abridged. On the contrary it was traditionally American. We have consistently refused to recognize Japan's seizure of Manchuria, Germany's territorial grabs, and so on. But what worries the small nations is whether and when we plan to implement the doctrine.

Not that the United States is expected to endanger the military effort by provoking a political war within the Allied ranks. All admit that without victory we would have nothing left to dispute over. Hitler and Japan would decide everything for us. But unless Russia can be persuaded to accept the thesis that a victory won in common gives us all a voice in the subsequent settlement, American collaboration in the post-war set-up will become doubtful indeed. Waging the war until the Axis is smashed beyond hope of recovery is one thing, but helping to enforce a unilaterally dictated peace is another.

Wash. Daily News Jan. 11, 1944 p. 18

THE FOUR-DIMENSION MAP

The Russian front is the most important part of today's war map but it is not a complete map of the war. We need a globe, a three-dimensional chart, to show that. We even need a fourth dimension, for time, the future as well as the present, has to be considered. On that great projection the Polish boundary, however significant, is only one item. There are other boundaries to reckon with: between justice and injustice, statesmanship and passion, war and peace.

The visible picture of the war against Germany is at this moment out of balance. The United States, the British Commonwealth of Nations and the Governments in Exile have done and are doing a great deal. They have crushed the Nazi submarine navy, conquered North Africa, Sicily and part of Italy, inflicted enormous damage on Germany from the air and sent to Russia great quantities of essential war materials. On the other hand, they have done nothing that can be compared in magnitude with Russia's success in stopping the German armies, driving them back and destroying large sections of them. They have not paid the terrible blood price of victory that Russia has paid.

This situation will change. After the Teheran conference Marshal Stalin knows just when it will change—in which respect he has an advantage over the American public. A mighty United Nations force is being assembled and trained in the British Isles. Between now and summer that force will strike the continent of Europe. When it does so the visible balance will be restored and Hitler will be attacked with equal force on two fronts —for we may think of any Allied attacks on the Continent, though there may be several of them, as parts of a single front.

At that stage of the war there will be no question as to whether we are helping Russia or Russia is helping us. On the assurances we have had about the Teheran conference we may assume that there is a joint plan of campaign. Once the landings in western Europe have been made good there will be an advance to Berlin from two directions, either as a part of the war or in accordance with the terms of surrender.

Then shall we all, Russia included, be face to face with the future. If we imagine a reversion to the old balance-of-power system Europe will be divided into two spheres of influence: a Russian sphere and a non-Russian sphere. In this system there would be no independent little nations. The United States might have a part in it or it might not. We would certainly not be able to remain aloof from the effects of a struggle for power that would surely follow, five, ten or twenty years after the end of the war.

Do we desire such a conflict? Does Britain desire it? Have France, the Lowlands, the Scandinavian countries, anything to gain by it? Does Russia want it? We know our own answer. Why be doubtful about Russia's? Her acknowledged territory is rich and vast. Much of it is undeveloped. Her historic experiment has hardly begun, and neither it nor the experiment in political democracy that is going on elsewhere would be likely to outlast such a conflict. The Western nations have with Russia, therefore, a common interest in peace. There is no issue that cannot be dealt with successfully once this fact is recognized.

It is not the role of the United States to tell Russia where the Polish boundary should run. If there is to be a new balance-of-power system it does not much matter where it runs. If there is to be a system of free nations, big and little, respecting each other's rights, submitting disputes to mediation, arbitration or judicial award, united against all aggressors, no political or military boundary will be of supreme importance.

The United States can best serve by standing on the side of reason and justice in this great decision. Europe's boundary disputes are not our primary concern; but it is very much our primary concern, if we intend to safeguard the peace for which we fight, to throw our weight into a world organization which will see to it that all such disputes are brought within the procedures of peaceful settlement.

This is a clipping from page E – 8 of the New York Times for

Jan. 9 1944

Clipped at the Seat of Government.

MOSCOW PACT HELD BAR TO THIRD WAR

NYT 1-9-44-P.1

Hull's Aides, on Radio, Tell of Four-Power Peace Pledge, 'by Force if Necessary'

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

WASHINGTON, Jan. 8—The alternative to the Four-Power Agreement reached by the Foreign Ministers at Moscow in October would have been "the dread certainty of a third World War," James C. Dunn, political adviser on European affairs to Secretary Hull, said tonight at the opening of the broadcast series entitled "The State Department Speaks."

Mr. Dunn added several facts to public information regarding the Moscow Conference in a question-and-answer period conducted by Richard Harkness, capital reporter for the National Broadcasting Company.

Confirming that Mr. Hull took to Moscow the draft of the agreement to which the four powers subscribed, he said that the most important single question settled was "whether the Soviet Union, the United Kingdom, China and ourselves were determined to seek their, and the world's salvation through international cooperation or whether they had other plans and designs for the future."

"These four nations committed themselves to a policy of continuing cooperation," he continued. "If they hadn't done so, the international future would indeed be a hopeless one.

"The dread certainty of a third World War would have settled on us even before World War II was finished."

He said that Secretary Hull

Continued on Page Thirty-two

MOSCOW PACT HELD BAR TO THIRD WAR

Continued From Page One

"pointed out to Marshal Stalin and Foreign Minister Molotoff that the nations represented at the conference and their leaders faced a greater responsibility for the future life, liberty and happiness for their own and all other peoples than any nations or statesmen had ever faced before."

"He made it quite clear that he would speak frankly in the national interests of the United States," Mr. Dunn added, "but he also said he was convinced there was sufficient common ground between the national interests of the countries to lay the basis for a better world."

Answering a question by Mr. Harkness, Mr. Dunn said he believed that the Russians liked Mr. Hull's approach.

Measures to Keep Peace

Leo Pasvolsky, special assistant to the Secretary of State in charge of post-war planning, said that while people were talking about an international police force "nobody has as yet figured out what it means."

"There are many ways in which police power can be exercised to suppress aggression," he went on. "We are exploring several possibilities, but we cannot tell at this stage what precise arrangements the nations will be able to agree upon."

Expressing the conviction that "cooperation between peace and freedom-loving nations can be achieved in time of peace as it has been in time of war," he added:

"To do this these nations must create certain facilities and instrumentalities for international action."

He said there must be "arrangements for settlement of international disputes by pacific means, rather than by recourse to war," but that even more, there needed to be means for suppressing aggression.

Reminded of what happened to the League of Nations, he said that there was a parallel, "up to a point, but this time, as Secretary Hull has long maintained, there must be the clear certainty for all concerned that breaches of the peace will not be tolerated—that they will be suppressed—by force, if necessary."

Michael McDermott, chief of the Division of Current Information, said that the people of the United States made its foreign policy through the operations of a free press.

The program was opened by Edward R. Stettinius Jr., Under-Secretary of State.

This is a clipping from page 1 of the New York Times for

Jan. 9 1944

Clipped at the Seat of Government,

Red Victory

And Russia's Future Role

Russia's successive victories on the battlefields have guaranteed that when the war has ended she will be the great power of Europe. "Mistress of the Continent" was the phrase used a few weeks ago by South Africa's Premier, Jan Christiaan Smuts. Her emergence was re-emphasized last week when Soviet troops, pursuing Germans westward in one of their greatest triumphs, crossed the old Polish boundary into territory Russia acquired in 1939 by agreement with Germany.

The advance raised this question: What are to be Russia's future relations with Poland and other neighboring states?

There was a corollary: What role is Russia going to play in post-war Europe?

Factor in the Peace

The issue of Russia's relations with her neighbors could becloud post-war settlements and hamper joint efforts to create a peaceful world order. In it are involved ancient animosities and conflicting territorial claims. The issue had seemingly been shelved at the Teheran conference. Yet it remains as one of the chief obstacles that will confront Allied statesmen when they meet to draw the blueprint for a future peace based upon the strength of the major powers and their willingness to collaborate with the smaller ones. Russian strength is considered an essential factor in the plan.

A possible hint of Russian aims had been seen in recent statements and actions. One was the signing of the Czech-Soviet alliance which guaranteed a free post-war Czechoslovakia leagued in a common front against Germany. At the same time Moscow made it clear that the Baltic States and Bessarabia, occupied between 1939 and the Nazi attack on Russia, were regarded as integral parts of the USSR.

The immediate problem was and is Poland. Moscow has asserted definite intention of retaining the eastern half of that country, as formerly constituted. But Premier Stalin has also announced that Russia wants a strong and independent Poland. Thus the Soviet attitude seems to boil down to this: Russia is determined to prevent any coalition of Central European States which could menace her security but has no objection to strong border States, provided their governments are "friendly."

This is a clipping from page E-1 of the New York Times for Jan 9-'44
Clipped at the Seat of Government,

The Willkie Article

Another was an article by David Zaslavsky, political commentator of the Communist party newspaper Pravda, attacking Wendell L. Willkie for an article entitled "Don't Stir Distrust of Russia," published in THE NEW YORK TIMES Magazine of last Sunday. In that article Mr. Willkie had written: "Of course, one of the most pressing questions in everybody's mind is what Russia intends to do about the political integrity of small states around her borders—Finland, Poland, the Baltic and Balkan States." To this the Pravda commentator replied that "the question of the near Baltic republics is an internal affair of the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics. * * * With respect to Finland and Poland * * * it must be said that the Soviet Union will be able to get an agreement with them itself and does not need the help of Mr. Willkie."

At issue in the Polish-Soviet controversy were stakes far greater than the exact location of the Polish boundary. They involved questions of the future security of Europe and of post-war collaboration between the victors. Failure to settle the problem might encourage return to the old balance of power methods and to independent policies that could bring future clashes. The dispute had been laid aside by Allied leaders lest it endanger United Nations unity in the war, but now it pressed for an answer.

This is a clipping from page E - 1 of the New York Times for Jan. 9 - 44

Clipped at the Seat of Government.

The Men Who Wrote Soviets' New Anthem

By John Gibbons

(By Wireless to Inter-Continent News)

MOSCOW. — Sergei Mikhalkov and L. Registan are the joint authors of the new Soviet anthem. They are both well-known figures in the Soviet literary world and at present are working as war correspondents.

Mikhalkov is on the staff of the leading Red Air Force paper, while L. Registan is a frequent contributor to Izvestia.

Of the two, Mihalkov is the better known, both at home in Russia and abroad. As the author of children's verses, he holds an unrivalled position in the USSR, where during the past eight years, 125 editions of his works sold 12,000,000 copies.

A number of his poems have been translated into English by foreign publishing houses. Mikhalkov is 30 and stands well over six feet.

In his war-correspondent's uniform he bears a striking resemblance to Lermontov, a famous Russian officer-poet of the early 19th Century.

Uncle Styopa, is a long-legged fellow who gets his juvenile friends out of all kinds of scrapes and all tall Russians are universally acclaimed by children from Moscow to Valdivostok as "Uncle Styopa."

POPULAR ADVENNURE

On the other hand, L. Registan, is short of stature and barely five feet. Born in 1898 of Armenian peasants in the central Asian city of Samarkand, L. Registan is the author of a number of highly popular adventure stories. His magnificent front line coverage won him a leading place in the ranks of Soviet war-correspondents.

Yesterday, when I saw the joint authors of the new anthem in Mikhalkov's home on Gorky Street, I found them very happy indeed over the success of their effort.

A search for a suitable text for a new anthem has been conducted for about two years. Although many were submitted, all were found lacking in one way or another until Mikhalkov and L. Registan submitted their successful text.

"During my 20 years of journalistic work," L. Registan told me, "I never met with more helpful auditors than the members of the government commission, whose advice and patience paved the way for our success."

"In undertaking the job (on our initiative) of writing the text," Registan continued, "we adhered to the idea of using a simple language, understandable by the peasant and scientist."

FOUR MAIN IDEAS

According to the authors, the new anthem embodies four main ideas. It gives expression to the historic role of the Russian people in building up their country. The Russians played a leading part in resisting the Mongol, Hun, Polish, Swedish and German invaders and provided in the main, the revolutionary backbone that shattered Tzarist tyranny.

A tribute to the Russian people is acknowledged in the words of the first lines, about an indestructible union of free republics which are united forever by great Russia.

The anthem stresses the 'voluntary nature of a union of free and equal republics which was created by the will of the people.

The second verse immortalizes the October Revolution of 1917 and the role of the two great leaders, Lenin the pathfinder, as it were; and Stalin, the man who is ever faithful to his people and whose examples urge them on to new and greater deeds.

The third and last verse describes the tempering of the army in battle against numerous invaders. It combines the military past of the country with the mighty struggle being waged against German fascism today.

Some 225 musical compositions were submitted for the new anthem, including entries by Shostakovich, Khachaturyan and other eminent composers.

The success however went to Major General Alexandrov who leads the well-known Red Army ensemble. The composition, with a slight variation is similar to the music of the anthem of the Bolshevik Party.

Incidentally, the tune of the Bolshevik Party's anthem is played by Moscow radios as a finale to the reading of Marshal Stalin's Orders of the Day. It is a prelude to the victory salutes by Moscow's guns, so familiar to millions of radio listeners.

The Worker Jan. 9, 1944 p. 2

That Slap at Willkie

By William Philip Simms

WENDELL WILLKIE is reported to have been surprised if not bewildered by Moscow's slap at his well-intentioned article telling Americans: "Don't stir distrust of Russia." Yet he needn't have been, and readers of Henry J. Taylor's interview with Morocco's El Glaoui, Pasha of Marrakech, will understand why.

According to the interview, published in this newspaper, El Glaoui has definite views concerning America. He thinks we promise too much and deliver too little; that we have an idea the whole world is pining to be like us and is only waiting for us to tell how to do it.

"But," the Pasha went on to say, "strange as it may seem to far-off American policy-makers, the fact is that the Moslem world does not want the wondrous American world or the incredible American way of life. We want the world of the Koran."

He said he realized that Americans regard him as representative of a backward people. Be that as it may, there are fragments of the Koran "which represent sustained theological, social and political doctrines for the Islamic areas," and these, he intimated, will not be given up peacefully by the followers of "the Mohammedan bible." Thus, he suggested, when the American radio campaigns for a New Day everywhere under our tutelage, we may as well omit the Moslem world.

* * *

IN CERTAIN Washington circles, as well as elsewhere in this country, the Pasha's words will produce a terrible jolt. Every American who has been stationed abroad knows only too well that most of us who make quick trips outside our shores are surprised to find foreigners so far behind us. Instinctively, it seems, we want to remedy this, show them how and where they are wrong, and tell them how much better we do things back home. But somehow many foreigners insist on clinging to their our outmoded ways.

The reason, of course, is that ours is not one world, no matter what idealists say about it. There are better than 60 nations. There are scores of important religions and sects—nations within nations, and each is a world in itself. Each has its own culture, customs, traditions, practices and peculiarities and, like the Pasha of Marrakech, they don't intend to change them for us.

Northern Chinese don't care for rice. Southern Chinese don't care for wheat. Mongols prefer mutton and rancid butter. Italians want their wheat in spaghetti and the French want theirs in bread. The cattle-country man is prejudiced against lamb and an Eskimo prefers blubber to bacon and eggs.

During the first World War, I saw an Indian regiment half-starved and on the point of mutiny because an English quartermaster, by mistake, had served it with good British beef. To Hindus the cow is sacred. To the British—and to us—it is only steak on the hoof.

* * *

WE MAY think Mr. Taylor's Pasha is primitive, but Mohammedans and others outnumber us Christians by better than 2 to 1. We say "the Chinese do everything backwards." They think we do things "backwards"—and there are 450,000,000 of them and only 130,000,000 of us.

Sen. Butler was careless with his figures, but in the main what he said about Latin America's opinion of us was sound. Every American posted south of the Rio Grande admits this. We try to be "good neighbors," and we are good neighbors, but a lot of what we do down there is resented—even the way we spend money.

The truth is that from Tierra del Fuego to Marrakech and Moscow there is daily evidence that we just naturally are not one world but many. And if we are to win friends and influence people, either now or after the war, we must play it that way. If we don't, we shall all wake up some day, like Mr. Willkie, to find that we have bankrupted ourselves only to receive, in return, a slap in the face.

Wash. Daily News January 8, 1944 p. 13

Why Did the League Fail?

by SHATROV

In view of General Smuts' recent speech about a new League of Nations, in which he said that the old League failed because the "idealistic expectations" of its founders were "out of tune with the hard realism of the times," and other discussions about similar proposals, we print the following article from the current number of the Soviet trade union journal, "War and the Working Class," which, written before Smuts spoke, answers many of the points he raised.

NOW, when the day of final victory over Hitler and his accomplices is drawing closer, and the United Nations are preparing to organise a system of international relations to protect freedom-loving nations from aggressive incursions on their freedom and independence, and ensure a durable peace, it is particularly interesting to consider the reasons for the failure of the first organisation which set out to protect universal security.

Statements that "The League of Nations decided," or that "The League of Nations displayed weakness" for a number of years served as a means of shirking the responsibility for different political decisions by certain Governments (mainly the pre-war Governments of Gt. Britain and France), who, with the aid of such statements, hid behind the screen of the mythical independent existence of the League of Nations.

During its whole existence, the League of Nations never took a decision (and couldn't, for that matter, in view of its structure) without the agreement of the leading Governments in the League of Nations. That is why criticism of the political activity of the League of Nations, in the 20 years of its existence, inevitably is criticism of the foreign policy of the States which played the leading role in the League. Only by fully exposing the fiction of the alleged independent existence of the League is it possible to disclose the defects and shortcomings of this institution.

The principal defects which decisively affected all the subsequent activities of the League of Nations were: firstly, the fact that the Soviet Republic was not among the initial League of Nations members, and, secondly, the absence of the United States from the League of Nations. These two circumstances, in themselves, were quite sufficient to make the League of Nations ineffective as an institution capable of settling international conflicts and international relations.

In the first 14 years of its existence, the League of Nations openly served as a tool of anti-Soviet policy. Thus, not only was the Soviet Union absent from the League of Nations during these 14 years, but the definite anti-Soviet policy of the League during this period also undermined its authority as an international organisation called upon to safeguard peace and security.

The responsibility for the failure of the League of Nations rests with the principal States in the League who guided it, and not at all with the statutes of this Institution. The statutes of the League of Nations, for the most part, made it possible to pursue a policy of Universal security. However, the Governments of the States leading the League at the time not only failed to have recourse to the Statutes of the League, and to take advantage of the possibilities they offered in the struggle for genuine collective security. On the contrary, in every way they helped to turn these statutes into an obstacle to the struggle against aggression.

One of the major shortcomings of the statutes, paralysing the possibility of really settling international relations, was the demand for unanimity on all political League decisions. This unanimity, issuing from the supposed democratic idea that the equality of all nations demands universal agreement on all decisions, enabled certain smaller nations to play a role in the League not corresponding with their actual importance in world politics.

This demand for unanimity led to the fact that the aggressor states concerned usually had their direct agents in the League among the representatives of the smaller nations, who obediently carried out their assignments, and in every conceivable manner disrupted League decisions. Thus, for instance, certain Latin American States who had fallen under the influence of Germany, and Italy, systematically disrupted attempts to revise the League statutes to strengthen collective security.

The League was usually accused of being weak because it had not got its own armed forces which could be used against an aggressor. But Article 16 of the statutes provided for military sanctions against an aggressor. Hence, every possibility existed for using these armed forces, on the basis of a League decision, but the leading States of the League themselves rejected military sanctions against aggressors. Although military sanctions were rejected, the League still had economic sanctions at its disposal. As is known, these sanctions were applied only once—against Italy, in 1935. At the time, the leading States in the League were practising a policy of concessions to the aggressor and refused to apply the most effective economic sanctions against Italy (closing the Suez Canal to Italian vessels, cutting off oil supplies to Italy, etc.).

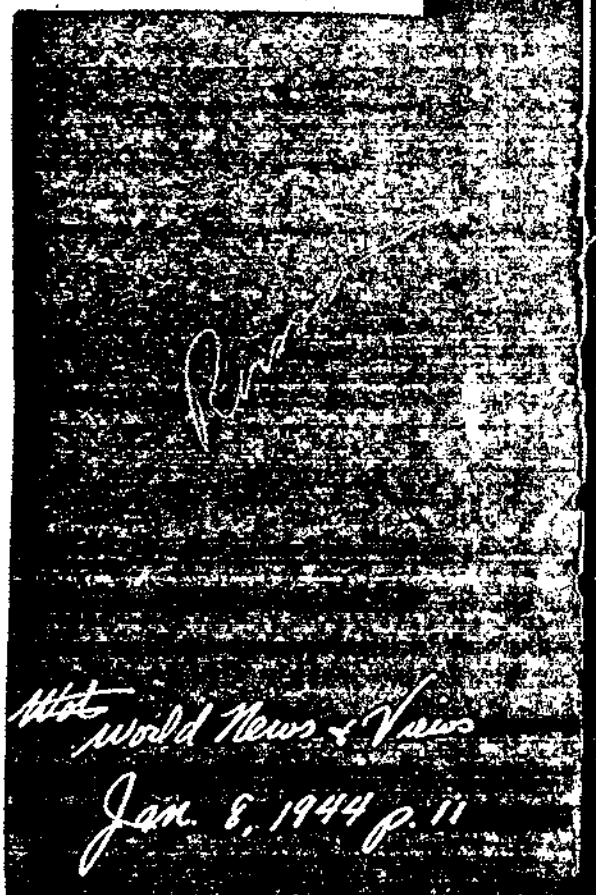
In its structure and activities, the League of Nations reflected the main political tendencies of the victor powers. In the first 14 years of its existence, the League reproduced the anti-Soviet tendency of the leading League members.

Starting in 1933, the League of Nations reflected the political tendency of the leading States, namely it sealed the non-intervention policy which signified the systematic attempts to reach agreement with the aggressors.

As an international organisation, the League of Nations proved incapable of curbing the aggressor and of ensuring peace. It refused to serve the aims it proclaimed.

When drawing up the principles of international organisation for the maintenance of international peace and security, it is necessary to take into account all the mistakes of the organisation and activity of the old League of Nations, in order to prevent these mistakes from ever being repeated again.

In the conditions of today and tomorrow, it is precisely the historically leading role of the great democratic powers, the Soviet Union, Gt. Britain and the U.S. and China which is, and will be the main factor in organising a durable peace and security. An international organisation established after the war must be a strong bulwark for all the rest of the peace-loving States, and must enjoy the necessary authority. But to achieve this, it must possess the strength which would crush all attempts to undermine the stability, peace and harmonious co-operation of nations.



A Happy New Year

Broadcast by M. I. Kalinin on January 1

COMRADES, this is the third time our country is meeting the new year in the conditions of hard struggle against German Fascism. It must be said that much has been accomplished. It certainly falls short of our desire—completely to clear Soviet territory of the Fascist brigands; but, all the same, our military achievements are enormous.

The past year was a year of a radical turn in the course of the war. The beginning of 1943 was marked by the historic victory of our troops at Stalingrad, and the summer by another important victory at Kursk and Byelgorod. As a result of the Red Army's offensive operations two-thirds of the territory temporarily occupied by the Germans have been liberated from the enemy.

One of the important successes of our Red Army during the past year was undoubtedly the forcing of the Dnieper.

Our valiant men and women guerillas are true helpers of our Red Army. They are doing great work by ruthlessly annihilating the enemy. In justice it must be said that the Red Army's successes at the front are largely made possible by the self-sacrificing labour of Soviet men and women at factories and plants, in pits and mines, on transport and in agriculture. The workers, collective farmers, intellectuals, all the peoples of the Soviet Union have worked this year with still greater success.

This year, parallel to the Red Army's blows, our Allies have also waged incessant struggle against the German-Fascist troops. The Anglo-American troops have ousted the Germans from North Africa, Sicily, Sardinia, Corsica. Now the scene of the struggle has been shifted to Southern Italy. The Anglo-American Air Force has operated efficaciously.

The joint struggle against German-Fascism has brought about close political rapprochement between the Allies. The Moscow Conference held at the end of October this year paved the way for the meeting of the leaders of the Allied countries. This Conference has gone down in history as the Teheran Conference of the Three Great Powers of the world. Indeed, the Teheran Conference is the greatest event of our days, a historic milestone in the struggle against the German aggressor. All the Germans' efforts to cause disunity among the freedom-loving peoples were blasted. The leaders of the Three Great Powers reached full accord in matters of war and peace.

The recently concluded Treaty between the Soviet Union and the Czechoslovak Republic is a great contribution in the cause of the struggle against German aggression.

As you see, Comrades, our successes in 1943 are enormous. However, for complete victory over the enemy, all of us, at the front as well as in the rear, following the call of our leader, must exert all our strength, energy and will to achieve this aim.

Comrades, I congratulate you on the new year. Happy New Year Comrades!

World News and Views
Jan. 8, 1944 p. 9

PRAVDA AND MR. WILLKIE

This newspaper is in a position to know that the whole text of Mr. Willkie's article in THE TIMES Magazine last Sunday was cabled to Moscow even before its publication in New York. Therefore, when the political commentator of the Communist party paper, Pravda, made his attack on Mr. Willkie he had before him not merely a few haphazard quotations from which a wrong impression might possibly have been drawn, but the full statement of Mr. Willkie's views.

This fact must be understood in any attempt to make head or tail of Pravda's action. The political commentator of that paper, who speaks with authority in Moscow, was not simply going off half-cocked on the basis of a few chance excerpts from Mr. Willkie's article which might have been torn from their context; he was deliberately opening fire on what we believe every American reader would agree was an exceedingly friendly article to Russia's whole point of view—an article in which Mr. Willkie warned his fellow-Republicans against "adopting a policy of suspicion toward Russia"; an article in which he declared that "our people as a whole have recognized, with a profound instinct, the importance of Russia to the future well-being of the United States"; an article in which he urged that our policy at all times be based on a recognition of Russia "for what she is—a mighty nation undertaking huge tasks and responsibilities in the modern world—the world in which we also live." All this was thoroughly in line with what Mr. Willkie has been saying all along, and with his whole record as a warm and generous friend of Russia. Certainly, in these circumstances, the fact that Pravda has chosen suddenly to berate Mr. Willkie for expressing opinions thoroughly consistent with his own past views and with those of the American Government, is an inauspicious introduction to the whole rapidly approaching problem of a political settlement in eastern Europe.

The question from which none of us can escape is whether that settlement will be made by Russia unilaterally, on a basis of force, or whether it will be made within the framework of the whole treaty structure of the United Nations and in the spirit of the Atlantic Charter, to which Russia, Poland and the United States have all subscribed. Even if Russia chooses the first of these alternatives Americans will continue to fight at Russia's side because there is literally no issue which can divide us from our allies until our enemies are beaten. But certainly a result of this kind would greatly discourage American participation in any future organization to uphold the post-war settlements—including Russia's post-war settlements. Clearly the second course is the one that will do most to foster the long friendship of the American and Russian people.

This is a clipping from page 16 of the New York Times for Jan. 7, 1944
Clipped at the Seat of Government.

PRAVDA VIEW HELD WARNING TO ALLIES

Attack on Willkie Regarded as Notice Not to Interfere in Border Settlements

DISPUTE ON BUFFERS SEEN

Soviet Embassy in Washington Stresses Freeing of Areas From 'Polish Usurpers'

By BERTRAM D. HULEN
Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

WASHINGTON, Jan. 5—The attack by Pravda today on Wendell L. Willkie was interpreted here as an emphatic warning to Great Britain and the United States to keep hands off Poland and other states of middle and southeastern Europe whose borders the Red Army is now approaching.

As such it was looked upon as indirect but significant diplomatic notice to the states directly concerned as well as to the Anglo-American powers that the Soviet Government intends to have the final say in matters affecting those smaller countries. If the intention were carried out, it could mean Soviet control of the balance of Power in Europe, in diplomatic opinion here.

Synchronizing of the Pravda attack with the reaching of the Polish border by the Red forces was not lost upon observers here.

In itself, the attack on Mr. Willkie was considered only incidental, a convenient peg upon which to hang the warning. In the circumstances, the fact that the article could be construed as an unwarranted intrusion by Russians into the politics of this country was considered a secondary matter. But this aspect was not overlooked in informal comment. Formal comment was withheld.

Czech Pact Stirs Misgivings

It is no secret that Washington did not like overmuch the Soviet-Czechoslovak pact; it is not looked upon as in line with an over-all system of international security supported by four great States—Great Britain, the Soviet Union, China and the United States. Such an over-all system was envisaged for the post-war world by conferees at the tripartite meeting of Foreign Ministers in Moscow and by President Roosevelt and Prime Minister Churchill during the conferences in Cairo and Teheran.

This system, according to hopes expressed by Secretary of State Cordell Hull, could, in time, do away with the need for power politics and alliences. Moreover, the necessity for buffer States, in this view, would seem to have become largely outmoded through the development of air power.

There were informal predictions today that, if the old system were revived after the war, a system that, it was said, might well be restored if Russia became dominant in parts of Finland, the Baltic States, Poland, Czechoslovakia and States of southeastern Europe, the reaction in this country from European politics might be extreme.

Shift in Course Hoped For

It was manifest from such comment as was made today that hopes were still entertained that Russia would be persuaded that in the long run her interests would be best served and international security best assured through other methods than a return to the old system of buffer States.

Secretary Hull is understood to have talked along that line at length with Premier Stalin in Moscow. When he returned from that conference he appeared encouraged that in the end his views would prevail.

The whole question is now under fresh study in the light of the Polish question, but without indication that an immediate move has been planned. If anything is done by the United States, it presumably will be only in conjunction with the British. It might be aimed at encouraging an understanding between the Polish Government-in-Exile and the Soviet Government.

Secretary Hull exchanged views on the situation yesterday with Jan Cienchanowski, Polish Ambassador. He also conferred yesterday and again today with Viscount Halifax, the British Ambassador, but was not prepared to make any statement.

This is a clipping from page 2 of the New York Times for Jan. 6, 1944
Clipped at the Seat of Government.

Willkie Playing 'Political Game' In Article on USSR, Pravda Says

(By Wireless to Inter-Continent News)

MOSCOW, Jan. 5.—Commenting on Wendell Willkie's article in last Sunday's New York Times, entitled "Don't Stir Mistrust of Russia," the editor of Pravda, David Zaslavsky takes Mr. Willkie to task for endeavoring to use friendship of the Soviet Union for partisan political purposes.

"The article is like a pie," says Zaslavsky, "the outside crust strengthens confidence [in the USSR], while the filling arouses mistrust."

Here's the full text of Zaslavsky's comment, as published here in the Soviet Communist Party paper, Pravda:

"American readers unfolding the New York Times on the first Sunday of the New Year came across a long article under the bombastic title, 'Don't Stir Distrust of Russia.' The article was written by Mr. Wendell Willkie, presidential candidate in the forthcoming elections.

"'Fine,'! most probably was the thought of many readers. 'Judging by his words Mr. Willkie wants to strengthen the confidence of the American people in Russia.'

"Since the overwhelming majority of the American people favor close friendship with the Soviet Union, an article under such a heading is calculated at winning the confidence of the reader. And since many readers are electors their confidence is at the same time the confidence of the electors.

"At the end of the article the American reader came across the following words: 'Our people as a whole are not playing politics with the Russian situation.'

"From these words it follows that political gamblers who wish to use the 'Russian question,' thus arousing mistrust towards the Soviet Union, cannot reckon on the vote of the majority of the American

(Continued on Page 2)

(Continued from Page 1)

people. It would appear that Willkie disapproves of such a political game.

"The American reader, reading only the title of Willkie's article and the closing words of this article would be under the impression that the author is a man who is highly indignant because certain suspicious political gamblers are juggling with the 'Russian question.'

"But an American reader who is interested in the whole article will be surprised when he comes across the following phrase:

"'Of course, one of the most pressing questions in everybody's mind is what Russia intends to do about the political integrity of small states around her border -- Finland, Poland, the Baltic and Balkan States.'

"Well, if not all, certainly many are disturbed by the question how a phrase straight from the camp hostile to us managed to get into Willkie's article, which is allegedly written for the purpose of strengthening confidence in the Soviet Union.

HITS MEDDLING

"What's more, everything here is lumped together. It is high time to realize that the question of the Baltic republics, for instance, is an internal affair of the USSR and not the concern of Mr. Willkie.

"Let those who are interested in this type of question make it their business to get a better knowledge of the Soviet Constitution and the democratic plebiscite which in its time was held in these Republics, and let them remember that we are able to defend our Constitution.

"As regards Finland and Poland, not to mention the Balkan states, the Soviet Union will be able to come to an agreement with them, and doesn't need the assistance here of Mr. Willkie.

"There are no small number of examples of a peculiar political game with the 'Russian question' in Mr. Willkie's article. He writes, 'Almost all of us . . . have felt all along that the future status of the small states of Europe constitutes one of the most delicate problems that confronts our statesmanship. It now lies squarely across our path. . . . With every mile the Red Army advances toward the Polish frontiers the United Nations are driven nearer a crisis.'

"Here again we are confronted with a strange trick in this 'political game.' **Under the pretext of strengthening confidence in the Soviet Union words are scattered which aim to arouse mistrust.** Why, Willkie himself just said that the majority of the American people are filled with admiration for the great struggle of the Red Army against the Hitlerite invaders. The admiration of the American people is evoked evidently by the victorious advance of the Red Army, their forward march to the western borders of the Soviet Union.

"The American people know that in liberating Soviet soil from the Hitlerite invaders, the Red Army brings liberation from these same invaders to other nations. This is the basis for confidence in the Soviet Union.

"But, Mr. Willkie, like an obedient mouthpiece, reproduces the suspicious outcries of reactionary groups who fear the victorious advance of the Red Army and the armies of the Allies.

WILLKIE'S 'POITICAL GAME'

"Secret supporters of the fascist adventurers in Europe unquestionably find themselves in a critical position. And Willkie speaks of some kind of 'crisis' approaching the United Nations! Is not this the strangest kind of 'political game'? . . .

"Another example of stich a 'political game'; Willkie writes: '. . . She (Russia) should realize that any attempt on her part to interfere in our purely domestic affairs makes it harder for the American people to accept her in good faith.'

"Again, in the midst of a lot of words calculated on strengthening confidence, there is wafted the foul smell of the familiar anti-Soviet slander aimed at arousing mistrust in the Soviet Union.

"This is how the whole article is written. From beginning to end it consists of jumps from confidence to mistrust.

"The article is like a pie. The outside crust strengthens confidence while the filling arouses mistrust.

"Mr. Willkie assures the reader that he pursues a 'realistic policy' and adds that the word 'realism' is sometimes regarded as a synonym for the word 'cynic,' adding 'but I am not using it in this sense at all.'

"Mr. Willkie's realism consists of trying to win the confidence of his readers (voters) who favor strengthening confidence in the Soviet Union and the confidence of those of his readers (voters) who arouse mistrust in the Soviet Union.

"He wants to ride two horses. That is why he is disturbing the water—**in order to make it easier to catch election votes in the muddy waters.**

"His game is too crude. Playing with the cards of confidence and mistrust, a political gambler of this kind only undermines the confidence shown him."

Pravda Attacks Willkie on Baltic Issue As Disruptive

One of Russia's leading political commentators accused Wendell L. Willkie yesterday of playing politics with the problem of the USSR's relations with neighbor countries and bluntly advised him to mind his own business.

Daniel Zaslavsky made the attack in an article in *Pravda*, organ of the Russian Communist Party, commenting on an article by Willkie in last Sunday's New York *Times*.

Willkie's article was called "Don't Stir Distrust of Russia." That, Zaslavsky charged, was precisely what Willkie was doing.

In New York, Willkie said he had no comment.

Willkie wrote that a most pressing question was "what Russia intends to do about the political integrity of small states around her borders—Finland, Poland, the Baltic and Balkan states."

Willkie added: "With every mile the Red Army advances toward the Polish frontiers the United Nations are driven nearer a crisis."

Zaslavsky replied that the Baltic countries — Latvia, Esthonia and Lithuania — voted by plebiscite to join the USSR. The Soviet position has been that the plebiscites were final.

"Apropos of Finland and Poland, not to mention the Balkan countries," Zaslavsky continued, "the Soviet can make the necessary agreements with those countries and does not need Mr. Willkie's help.

"Mr. Willkie repeats the shouts of those reactionary circles which fear the victorious forward march of the Red Army and Allied armies. Mr. Willkie's realism consists of his desire to win the confidence of those voters and readers who incite distrust of the Soviet Union. He wants to serve both sides. For this purpose he wants to stir up the waters so he can more easily fish for votes in muddy waters."

This is a clipping from page 7 of P M
for Jan. 6, 1944
Clipped at the Seat of Government

THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

By B. Shatrov

The following article appeared in Number 14 of the Soviet publication WAR AND THE WORKING CLASS:

The declaration on security by the four nations, published in connection with the Moscow Conference of the three Foreign Secretaries, states that "they recognize the necessity of establishing at the earliest practicable date a general international organization based on the principle of the sovereign equality of peace-loving states and open to membership by all such states, large and small, for the maintenance of international peace and security."

As we know, after the First World War an attempt was made to establish an international organization for the maintenance of peace and security. This was the League of Nations. The League existed for about 20 years. Conceived at the time of the Versailles Treaty, it virtually terminated its existence simultaneously with the latter. Although the League was not formally dissolved, for all practical purposes it ceased to exist with the outbreak of the Second World War.

Now that the United Nations are approaching the moment of final victory over Hitler and his associates and are preparing to create a system of international relations which will most effectively insure the freedom-loving nations against aggressive attempts on their liberty and independence and will guarantee enduring peace, it is particularly important to examine the reasons for the failure of the first organization whose task it was to insure general security.

Before proceeding to analyze the reasons for the collapse of the League of Nations, it would be well to disclose the real meaning and political significance of the position that the League of Nations existed independently as an organization, separate and distinct from the general body of states belonging to it. Such statements as "the League of Nations decided," "the League of Nations betrayed its weakness," et cetera, served for many years as an evasion of responsibility for political decisions by various governments (chiefly the prewar governments of Great Britain and France), which with the help of such statements took refuge behind the screen of the mythical independence of the League of Nations.

It should be borne in mind that never throughout all its existence did the League of Nations adopt—and by virtue of its structure, it could not adopt—a

Info. Bull., Embassy of USSR, Jan. [illegible], 1945, p. 8

single decision with which the principal and leading governments in the League were not in agreement. Such decisions would be impossible. That is why a criticism of the political activities of the League during the 20 years of its existence must necessarily be at the same time a criticism of the foreign policy of the states which played a leading role in the League.

When the League of Nations was created (and even prior to its creation), the authors of its Covenant endued the League with the character of a world organization, whose function it was to regulate international relations and conflicts, irrespective of the part of the world in which they might arise. Nevertheless, precisely in this connection, at its very inception the League of Nations was endowed with two fundamental defects which laid a decisive impress on all its subsequent activities. Firstly, the original membership of the League of Nations did not include the Soviet Republic, which as we know joined the League only in 1934—that is, not until 14 years after its birth. Secondly, the membership of the League did not include the United States of America.

These two circumstances were quite enough to deprive the League of all effective power as an institution capable of regulating international conflicts and international relations.

The non-participation of the United States in the League lent the latter a European rather than a world character.

Naturally, no less significant was the absence of the Soviet Union from the League in the first 14 years of its existence, during which period the League frankly served as an instrument of anti-Soviet policy. This undermined its prestige as an international organization whose mission was to administer peace and security.

When examining the reasons for the failure of the League, two problems must be distinguished: the policy of the leading states in the League, and the defects of the League as an organization. There can be no two opinions but that responsibility for the League's failures rests with the leading states that belonged to it and directed it, and not with the League's Covenant. There can be no doubt that, in the main, the Covenant afforded the possibility of pursuing a policy of general security. If that policy was not pursued and was sabotaged in every way, the fault does not lie with the provisions of the League's Covenant.

The governments of the leading states in the League at that period, far from taking advantage of its Covenant and the opportunities it afforded for promoting genuine collective security, contributed in every way to converting the Covenant into an obstacle to the struggle against aggression. It was with this purpose that they took advantage of the shortcomings of the Covenant and still further aggravated them.

A grave defect of the Covenant, and one which paralyzed all efforts at effective regulation of international relations, was the demand that all political decisions of the League should be unanimous. This demand, which proceeded from the pseudo-democratic idea that the equality of nations demanded unanimous agreement on every decision, made it possible for certain small nations to play a role in the League altogether disproportionate to the part they played in world politics.

In many cases this demand for unanimity made it impossible to adopt decisions consonant with the importance of the questions involved. Often enough the resistance of several small nations—who incidentally were absolutely uninterested in the questions under discussion—prevented other states from acting on and settling on their merits the problems confronting them. The effect of the demand for unanimity was that, to reach it, resolutions had to be couched in the most general and elastic terms, in order that the contesting sides, not having reached agreement, might nevertheless be able to vote for the resolutions.

Another effect of the demand for unanimity was that the aggressor states who were interested in weakening the League usually had their direct agents among the representatives of the small nations, who obediently carried out their orders and did their utmost to prevent decisions being reached.

When examining the activities of the League of Nations throughout its existence, it should be borne in mind that the leading states systematically removed from its jurisdiction the cardinal political problems of international relations in the period of 1920-40. These important questions were entrusted at different periods to some or other body, upon whom the responsibility for settling them was laid.

In the early period of the League's existence, such a body was the Allied Supreme Council. It was this body which distributed Germany's colonies, and all that was left to the League was to sanction the distribution. When the Supreme Council was dissolved, it was replaced by the Conference of Ambassadors. The problem of naval armaments was entirely removed from the jurisdiction of the League. It was examined successively by the Washington Conference of 1921-22, by the Tri-Partite Naval Conference in Geneva in 1927, and by the London Naval Conference in 1930. Similarly, the League was denied the power to examine and decide on the question of German and Italian armed intervention in Spain at the time of General Franco's mutiny. Thus the leading states quite deliberately circumscribed the political functions of the League by removing from its jurisdiction the cardinal problems of international policy.

It is a common thing to accuse the League of weakness due to the fact that it did not possess its own armed forces for use against the aggressor. But the trouble was not that the League did not possess its own armed forces. Article 16 of the Covenant, which provides for the adoption of military sanctions toward an aggressor, proceeded from the principle that in the event of the League deciding to resort to sanctions, every state was to place part of its armed forces at the League's disposal. Thus the trouble was not that the League had no armed forces of its own, but that the leading states were reluctant to employ the weapon of military sanctions.

After the employment of military sanctions was renounced, the League was still able to resort to economic sanctions. Such sanctions, as we know, were employed only once—against Italy in 1935. What was the result? The leading states of the League, faithful to their policy of yielding to the aggressor, declined to employ against Italy the most effective form of economic sanctions, such as the closing of the Suez Canal to Italian ships, on the one hand, and the ban on oil imports to Italy on the other. After this it is not surprising that the whole system of economic sanctions in relation to Italy did not yield the desired results and did not prevent Italy from piratically seizing Abyssinia.

To sum up:

The League of Nations was associated in most intimate fashion with the whole international policy pursued by the victor powers in the period between the First and Second World Wars. It was precisely because of this that both in its structure and activities it reflected the fundamental political trends of these powers. In the first 14 years of the League's existence, its activities reproduced the anti-Soviet tendency of its leading members. When in 1939 this tendency of the then ruling circles of England and France again assumed an acute form, the League of Nations reflected it and, as we know, decided to expel the Soviet Union from its membership. In 1933 and onward, the League likewise reflected the political tendency of the leading states in respect to the so-called "policy of non-intervention," which amounted to a systematic attempt to come to terms with the aggressors. Naturally, neither the former nor the latter political tendency was calculated to contribute to the consolidation of peace and security.

On the other hand the League Covenant, and in particular the demand for unanimity in decisions on political questions, made it perfectly possible to frustrate all action by the League, whether against the aggressor states which acted both themselves and through their agents in the League, or against the states which evaded adopting effective decisions, playing into the hands of the aggressor and seeking to compromise with him.

The League of Nations as an international organization proved incapable of bridling the aggressors and guaranteeing peace. In the most grave and crucial moments of history, when direct threats of unprovoked aggression arose, the League of Nations refrained from serving the aims which it had itself proclaimed. Instead of a policy of effective resistence to the aggressors, it pursued a policy of "appeasing" the aggressors. This policy and the League's impotence contributed to the fateful denouement—the outbreak of the Second World War, instigated by the most predatory of the aggressors, Hitler Germany.

The policy of conniving at aggression and of propitiating the aggressors cost mankind too dear for any loophole to be allowed for a revival of that policy. When the time comes to draw up the statutes of the international organization for the maintenance of international peace and security mentioned in the declaration of the four nations published as a result of the Moscow Conference, account will have to be taken of all the mistakes in the organization and activities of the old League of Nations, in order that these mistakes may never be repeated.

Of course, it will not only be a question of not repeating the old mistakes, but also of creating an international organization which will possess real and solid power to insure enduring peace. In the conditions of today and the immediate future, it is the historically-arisen leading role of the great democratic powers—the Soviet Union, Great Britain, the United States and China—which is and will be the basic factor in the organization of a stable peace and security.

The Teheran Declaration of the Soviet Union, the United States and Great Britain will "seek the cooperation and active participation of all countries, large and small, whose peoples are in heart and soul dedicated, as are our own peoples, to the elimination of tyranny and slavery, oppression and intolerance." The international organization to be created after the war must be a firm bulwark for all peace-loving nations and enjoy the necessary authority. But to do so it must possess sufficient power to frustrate any attempt to shake the stability, peace and friendly cooperation of nations.

Abroad

Between the Wreck of Stalingrad and the Wreck of Berlin

By ANNE O'HARE McCORMICK

Hitler's grandiose chancellery was destroyed on the day the Russian advance guards swept up to the old Polish frontier. Stalingrad lies nearly 800 miles behind General Vatutin's charging armies and Berlin less than 600 miles ahead. Hitler's city is now almost as stark a wreck as Stalin's and the ruin of the vast gray pile built in anticipation of the day when the Continent would be ruled from Berlin is an omen of the collapse of Hitler's Europe. So is the break-through from the East. Invaded on two land fronts, shaken within and shuddering under blows from the air, the crumbling empire waits for the assault from the West which will complete its encirclement and hasten its certain doom.

Are the Soviet forces ahead of the timetable for concerted action set at the Teheran conference? Are the Western Allies compelled to hurry their preparations for invasion by the time of the advance on the Russian front? Are the Germans running backward to meet the attack they profess to expect any minute? Only the general staffs know the answers to these questions, but whether or not the action is developing on schedule and according to plan it is plain that the momentum of victory on one side and defeat on the other is hastening the pace of events. The avalanche when it begins to move establishes its own speed.

Soldiers' Anger

Nothing now can stand in the way of Allied military victory. This is written in the rubble of Hitler's chancellery and in the expulsion of the Germans from Russian territory. The final campaign promises to be bitter. It will be short or long in proportion to Hitler's power to persuade the Germans that defeat means annihilation. It is easy to understand the anger of "the high military authority" who sponsored the statement that threats of rail and steel strikes would prolong the war by encouraging the enemy. His outburst reflects the feeling of soldiers everywhere, and this feeling is a real danger to American fighting morale and to the future of the country when the armies come home from their terrible ordeal to accuse the stay-at-homes of selfishness and greed. It is a far greater danger than the aid or comfort the Germans will derive from news that American railroads are under military operation. Why should this impress a country where no one is free to strike and nothing runs except under the compulsion of force or terror?

The propaganda that keeps Germans fighting is the grim alternative offered them in Hitler's New Year speech. This cry of despair was a confession that military victory is impossible. The Germans never had any chance of winning except by force, and their hope that they might divide us and cheat us of the peace we fight for has reached the vanishing point.

In the certainty of victory we can only divide ourselves. The military strategy has been determined, and the means to carry it through are in our hands. Despite all the snarls and mistakes of improvisation, the slow realization of the magnitude and desperateness of the effort required of us, the unbeatable armies and the inexhaustible arsenal have been forged. The ar-making capacity of this country must amaze any beholder who sees the picture whole. The strength of its will to see the thing through is equally strikin,—all the more so because for Americans it is curiously matter of fact and unemotional. The nation is not fighting for or expecting Utopia.

A coalition of unbeatable power has been created. In short, the question on which military success depends is answered. The only uncertainty that remains is of our ability to translate victory in the field into the moral and political terms which will insure peace.

Only the Strong Menace Peace

The Red armies have crossed the disputed frontiers. They are in Poland today and tomorrow they may be in Latvia, Bessarabia and Bukovina. Secretary Hull said on his return from Moscow that the liberated territories would be controlled and administered by the armies that got there first and the logic of that procedure has been recognized by the Polish Government in Exile, which has given orders to its underground forces to receive the Russians as liberators. Thus the immediate situation seems to be settled by agreement in the only way it can be settled. But the problems complicating final agreement between the Soviet Union and her western neighbors are not solved and will not be solved except in some new frame of reference. It is absurd to proceed on the assumption that small nations are a danger to great powers. Only the strong are a menace to peace. The weak are a danger only in the event that they are used by the strong as a springboard or an excuse for aggression.

No frontier in Europe or elsewhere can be safe for anyone unless all are safe and unless the common safety is founded on mutual confidence. As the general settlement draws near the powers who will decide the future of Europe must first of all give proof of their confidence in one another. Unless they are the first exemplars of the system they combine to establish there can be no confidence among the small nations and no peace that even super force can long impose.

This is a clipping from page 16 of the New York Times for JAN. 5, 1944
Clipped at the Seat of Government.

Warned Not to 'Meddle'

Reds Charge Willkie With Double-Cross

Mr. Willkie

By United Press

MOSCOW, Jan. 5 — The official Communist Party newspaper Pravda today accused Wendell L. Willkie of "double-dealing" in American politics and of attempting to create distrust of the Soviet Union among U. S. voters.

Pravda charged that Willkie was trying to appeal to the majority of Americans who are sympathetic to Russia and at the same time was "currying favor" with anti-Soviet elements.

The newspaper's commentator, Daniel Zaslavsky, centered his fire on a recent article written for The New York Times in which Willkie urged Americans not to sow distrust of Russia. Zaslavsky charged that the article created exactly the opposite effect.

He expressed particular indignation at Willkie's discussion of the problems of Finland, Poland and the Baltic countries. Warning Willkie to stop playing politics with Russian problems, Zaslavsky wrote:

"It is time to understand that the Baltic problem is an internal affair of the Soviet Union in which Mr. Willkie must not meddle.

"Whoever is interested in such ques-

(Continued From Page 3)

tions had better familiarize himself with the Soviet constitution and the fact that a democratic plebiscite once was carried out in the Baltic republics, and let him remember that we are able effectively to defend our constitution.

"Apropos of Finland and Poland, not to mention the Balkan states, the Soviet Union can make the necessary agreements with those countries and does not need Mr. Willkie's help."

Zaslavsky accused Willkie of "borrowing" from German propaganda.

"Mr. Willkie, like a faithful mouthpiece repeats the suspicious shouts of those reactionary circles which fear the victorious forward march of the Red Army and the Allied armies.

"The secret partisans of Fascist adventures in Europe have fallen into a critical situation. And Willkie speaks of a certain 'crisis' approaching the United Nations. Isn't this political gambling of the strangest type?"

'FISHING FOR VOTES'

Discounting Willkie's professed political realism, Zaslavsky said The Times article was intended solely to win support from both pro and anti-Soviet elements.

"He wants to serve both sides," he said. "For this purpose he stirs up the waters so he can more easily fish for votes in muddy waters.

"This game is too crude. By playing both the cards of trust and distrust, the political gambler only earns distrust for himself."

The Pravda article re-emphasized Moscow's position on post-war frontiers and made clear that the Soviet Union considers the western Ukraine, western White Russia, the Baltic countries and Bessarabia as integral parts of its territory and that no foreign interference will be tolerated on those frontiers.

PLEBISCITES FINAL

The plebiscites held in those areas in 1939 and 1940 are viewed in Moscow as settling permanently the matter of their incorporation into the Soviet Union.

So far as Finland is concerned, Zaslavsky's declaration is believed to represent the official attitude that problems between the two countries must be settled bilaterally.

Washington Daily News
January 5, 1944
Page 3

KALININ'S ADDRESS ON NEW YEAR'S EVE

Following is the text of the New Year's address by Mikhail Kalinin, Chairman of the Presidum of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR:

Dear Comrades! Citizens of the Soviet Union! Men and women workers! Men and women collective farmers! Soviet intellectuals! Red Army and Navy men, commanders and political workers! Men and women guerrillas! Residents of Soviet districts temporarily captured by the German-fascist occupationists!

I greet and congratulate you upon the coming New Year.

Comrades, this is the third time our country meets the New Year in the conditions of hard struggle against German fascism. All the interests and thoughts of our people are bound with the war, while the people's energy and aspirations are directed toward a single great patriotic aim—the earliest expulsion of the enemy from the Soviet Union, the victory over the German invaders.

It is quite natural that today, the day of the coming New Year, every Soviet citizen asks himself—what have we accomplished during the past year, and in the first place, on the front of struggle against the German invaders?

One must say bluntly—much has been accomplished. Certainly this falls short of our desire—to completely clear Soviet territory of the fascist brigands; but still our military achievements are enormous.

The past year was a year of radical turn in the course of the war. The beginning of 1943 was marked by the historic victory scored by our troops at Stalingrad, and the summer by another important victory at Kursk and Belgorod. As a result of the Red Army's offensive operations, two-thirds of the territory temporarily occupied by the Germans has been liberated from the enemy. The Red Army completely liberated from the Germans the Krasnodar and Stavropol territories, the Kalmykia, Kabardino-Balkaria, Voronezh, Kursk, Rostov, Smolensk and Stalingrad Regions. The Ukraine east of the Dnieper has been delivered from German bondage with its large—in regard to population and industrial importance—Regions of Stalino, Voroshilovgrad, Kharkov, Poltava, Sumy and Chernigov. Large parts of the Dniepropetrovsk and Zaporozhye Regions, with the regional centers of Dniepropetrovsk and Zaporozhye, have been

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cleared of the Germans. Parts of the Kiev, Kirovograd, Zhitimor and Nikolayev Regions have also been liberated. More than 30 districts of the Gomel, Mogilev, Vitebsk and Polessye Regions of Byelorussia, and the regional center—the town of Gomel—have been cleared of the German invaders.

This is evidence of the grave defeat sustained by the German army on the Soviet front during 1943.

One of the most important successes scored by our Red Army during the past year was doubtless the forcing of the Dnieper—the liberation of the city of Kiev, the establishment and expansion of place d'armes in the Ukraine west of the Dnieper.

The Germans particularly clung to the Dnieper as to their most important defensive line, but the Red Army dislodged them from these positions and tirelessly drives them back westward toward the Soviet frontiers, driving deep wedges into the German defenses. The blows dealt by the Red Army to the fascist invaders are gradually sobering not only the German command but the entire leading gang of Hitlerites. The Urals, and the Baku oil have been forgotten, the desire to encircle Moscow has been lost, and, which is especially significant, the Germans have begun to regard "elastic retreat" and "shortening the front line" as their best strategy.

This explanation of the fate of German war plans is laughable; but evidently the German command has no better explanation. And, as the saying goes, nothing can be made out of nothing. As to the so-called German "elastic retreat," the Red Army knows well that the Germans do not abandon voluntarily a single yard of Soviet soil; they have to be knocked out of Soviet territory in the stiff fighting which our army carries on day in and day out. The true helpers of our Red Army are our valiant men and women guerrillas. They perform great deeds by ruthlessly annihilating the enemy.

For the sake of justice one must say that the Red Army's successes on the front are largely made possible by the self-sacrificing labor of Soviet men and women in factories and plants, in pits and mines, in transport and in agriculture. Workers, collective farmers, Soviet intellectuals, all the peoples of the Soviet Union, have worked this year with still greater success, supplying their army with everything.

And the best reward for the energy, enthusiasm and high sense of patriotic duty displayed by the Soviet people in their labor is the appraisal given to the work of the Soviet rear by the Supreme Commander-in-Chief, Marshal of the Soviet Union Stalin.

This year, parallel with the Red Army's blows, our Allies have also waged an incessant struggle against the German-fascist troops. Anglo-American troops ousted the Germans from Northern Africa, Sicily, Sardinia and Corsica. At present the scene of struggle has been shifted to Southern Italy, where the Allied troops are steadily forging ahead toward Rome—capital of Italy. The Anglo-American Air Force has acted effectively, destroying military industrial objectives of Germany. Germany's strongest ally in Europe —Italy—has surrendered, while the Italian people on a growing scale joins the struggle against the Germans.

The joint struggle against German fascism has brought about close political *rapprochement* between the Allies. The Moscow Conference held at the close of October of this year, with the participation of the Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the United States of America, Great Britain and the Soviet Union, insured the further business-like rapprochement between the Allies and paved the way for the meeting of the leaders of the Allied countries.

From November 28 to December 1 was held the Conference of leaders of the Three Allied Powers—Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars of the USSR Stalin, the President of the United States of America Roosevelt, and the Prime Minister of Great Britain Churchill—in Teheran. The Conference went down in history as the Teheran Conference of the three great Powers of the world.

Indeed, the Teheran Conference is the great event of our days, a historical milestone in the struggle against the German aggressor. All German efforts to cause disunity among the freedom-loving peoples were blasted. The leaders of the three great Powers arrived at full accord in matters of war and peace. They arrived at the very thing which is craved by the masses of the peoples in the occupied countries, worn out with suffering under the German jackboot.

A great contribution to the cause of struggle against German aggression is the recently concluded treaty of friendship, mutual assistance and postwar collaboration between the Soviet Union and the Czechoslovak Republic.

As you see, comrades, our successes in 1943 are enormous. However, for complete victory over the enemy all of us, at the front as well as in the rear, following the leader's call, must exert all our strength and will to achieve this aim.

Comrades, men and women citizens of the Soviet Union! Red Army men, commanders and political workers!

On behalf of the Soviet Government and the Central Committee of our Party, I congratulate you upon the New Year.

Long live our Red Army which, under the leadership of Marshal of the Soviet Union Comrade Stalin, in the New Year of 1944 will deal the final blow to the fascist invaders and will completely clear them from the territory of the Soviet Union.

A Happy New Year, Comrades!

RUSSIA'S NEW ANTHEM

On the evidence of the printed music, conveyed by telephotography and published in THE TIMES yesterday, Russia now has an admirably representative national anthem. Nor is it without significance that this new and valuable contribution appears after her relinquishment of Comintern and "Internationale," and at the time of one of her greatest victories on the battlefield. Indeed, it may be said that this new song reflects not only the unity of her spirit but the evolution of Russian social and political thought of the present day. For this anthem is not a doctrine of separatism or the work of radical poet or composer. As a glance at the printed score shows, it is a good, clear, harmonically sound melody, by a musician of obviously practiced hand and artistic integrity, who writes in the great tradition of Russian choral music, and who can set forth his conception properly, with plain, massive harmonies and the great striding basses of his invention.

It is a song for multitudes, one which can be marched to as well as sung; and, lying well within the compass of the average voice—a thing which cannot be said of all national anthems—it can be sung by everybody. Professional musicians or other critical souls will find, perhaps, a disappointment in the weak conventionality of the final cadence. But this certainly will not invalidate the effect of the fine architecture of the whole, and its virile harmonic setting.

The composer is no recluse, esthete or academician. He is Anatole Alexandroff, the 50-year-old leader of the Red Army Ensemble of Song and Dance; one who has the respect of the musical right and left; the creator, before this war, of many songs and choruses which had found national approval, and also of some of the best marching songs of the Red Army. Alexandroff has achieved the very difficult union of simplicity without banality, of popular accent with real taste. It is no easy thing to produce a national anthem. It has been remarked before this that Russians of the present generation seem to show a capacity for bold imaginative concepts, but also a fundamental practical realism. It looks as if the Russian Government, in instituting a competition among its composers for a new national anthem, knew exactly what it wanted, and got it.

This is a clipping from page 16 of the New York Times for Jan. 4, 1944
Clipped at the Seat of Government.

Voice From Moscow. The fortnightly *War and the Working Class*, semi-official organ of external Soviet policy, answered some questions about Russia's post-Teheran position:

1) For the Soviet Union's money, the question of the Baltic States is closed. Historically, and by their own choice—in the Russian view—Latvia, Estonia and Lithuania are parts of the Soviet Union. Dissent elsewhere, intrigues by Baltic *émigrés*, "Polish imperialists" and propaganda by Hitler will not alter this stand.

2) Poland, a "neighbor" of the Soviet Union and of Czechoslovakia, may join in the Czecho-Russian agreement. But to do so Poland must have the right foreign policy (*i.e.*, one friendly to the U.S.S.R.).

3) The Czecho-Russian treaty points the way to a "general security system" (as desired by the U.S.). But the U.S.S.R. will have no truck with "artificial and lifeless unifications, such as federations, etc."

4) Suspicions that Russia has territorial aims, such as outlets on the Persian Gulf or the Adriatic, are inventions of Hitler; Russia demands full respect of its own territorial integrity, will fully respect the sovereignty and integrity of all other nations.

Voices in Washington. In Washington there was no such clarity. The U.S. State Department was still on the record with its cold comment on the Czecho-Russian treaty; the unofficial explanation was still that the agreement did not fit the U.S. concept of "overall security." London sources took a precisely opposite view, held with the Russians that the treaty neither contradicted the principles of Teheran nor alarmed the British. One possible explanation: once again Mr. Roosevelt, speaking warmly of the Russians and all their recent works, knew more about actual U.S. policy than the State Department's functionaries did. A corollary explanation may be that the Russians, willing enough to enter an overall system along U.S. lines, are determined first to see that their immediate sphere in Eastern and Central Europe is arranged to their own needs and liking. Doubts will remain, questions will persist until Mr. Roosevelt and the State Department give the world a precise, understandable statement of exactly what "overall security" means.

Voice in London. Last month South Africa's Jan Christiaan Smuts bespoke a deep-seated British fear that: 1) Russia will be "the colossus of Europe"; 2) Russia and the U.S. between them may well outweigh Britain in the postwar world; 3) Britain herself will be impoverished and endangered by victory (TIME, Dec. 13).

Last week a respected British voice rose in dissent. The London *Economist* robustly argued that: 1) Russia will indeed be mighty, but will also be internally weakened by war; 2) Britons have exaggerated the probable depth and duration of their own postwar poverty, underestimated their powers of recovery; 3) in any event, the promise of Big Three unity is brighter than all the dark spots.

This argument had a quality in common with other recent British expressions: it reflected a feeling that Britain *must* make the best of the new Europe and the new world, find hope and safety in unity with the U.S.S.R. and the U.S. Said the *Economist*: "Russia's power is growing and will be very great. . . . They have in a variety of ways shown their anxiety to maintain close relations with Britain and the U.S.—by abolition of the Comintern . . . delay [of] the signing of the Russo-Czech pact until the wider settlement at Teheran. . . . In their relations with some of their smaller neighbors they have shown moderation. . . . Europe can be led by British and Russia, but not divided between them, or bestridden by them."

The *Economist* noticeably did not include the U.S. among the "leaders" of Europe. Still troubling the British was the old fear that the U.S. people would again become indifferent to Europe's problems.

Songs for the New World

From Moscow came another sign that the Soviet cycle from world revolution to nationalism had run its course. On the eve of Joseph Stalin's 64th birthday, the Soviet Union ditched the stirring, incendiary *Internationale* as the State anthem, substituted an awkward paean to Stalin and the New Russia.

Gone from Soviet hymnology was

Time, Jan 3, 1944 p. 31

French Rebel Eugène Pottier's theme:

Arise, ye prisoners of starvation,
Arise, ye wretched of the earth!

The Russians kept the *Internationale's* music. But the Soviet Union's new anthem is for Russians only; it gives no challenge to the wretched, no chills to Wall or Threadneedle Streets. The Russian version has not reached the U.S. In English the words are elephantine:

Union indissoluble, republic of the free
Be mighty Russia, forever joined.
Long live the one great Soviet Union,
Created by the people's will.

Through storms our sun of freedom shone,
And the great Lenin lighted our path.
Stalin reared us faithful to the people;
Inspired us for work and splendid deeds.

We reared our army in battles,
Swept the vile invader from our path
In battles deciding the fate of generations.
We will lead our motherland to glory.

Chorus.

Glory to our free motherland,
The trusty support of the people's friendship,
The Soviet banner, the people's banner,
Lead us from victory to victory.

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FILE

Soviet Journal Sees Woll-Dubinsky As Enemies of Unity in Labor's Ranks

(By Wireless to Inter-Continent News)

MOSCOW.—The journal of the Soviet trade unions, "War and the Working Class," in its issue, carries an article by N. Alexeyev which under the title, "Two Trade Union Congresses" discusses the trade union movement in the United States. The author writes:

"World War II has witnessed a considerable activization of the working class of the U. S. A. and an improvement in the level of its organization. The working class undoubtedly plays a most prominent part in the war effort of the United States. This role could have been far greater were it not for the lack of unity in the ranks of the labor movement, which is as yet split."

Citing figures on the increase in membership both in the A. F. of L. and the CIO., the author declares, "If the fact that barely more than 12 million of the scores of millions of American factory and office workers have been organized is taken into account it will not be hard to understand that the establishment of unity in the trade union movement of the United States would have served as a serious stimulus for drawing many new millions of workers into the trade unions, and would greatly increase the influence and role of the American trade unions in the political and economic life of the country.

TORIES CALL THE TUNE

"The A. F. of L. convention showed that the most reactionary among the A. F. of L. leaders, led by Matthew Woll, Hutcheson, Ryan, Dubinsky and others still call the tune in the A. F. of L. and energetically oppose the establishment of national unity in the American trade union movement.

"Prior to that convention these reactionary leaders of the AFL waged a campaign against an agreement with the CIO. At the same time, Woll, Hutcheson and others campaigned vigorously for reaffiliation with the AFL of the miners union which is headed by the fascist-minded splitter John L. Lewis. They hoped, thereby, to strengthen their position and frustrate the efforts of supporters of American trade union unity.

The A. F. of L. adopted a resolution directed against national trade union unity and opposed the drawing in of the C. I. O. and the Railroad Brotherhoods into the A. F. of L. and the British Trade Union Congress (T. U. C.). Moreover a resolution was adopted categorically demanding that the T. U. C. abstain from discussing this question independently either with the C. I. O. or the Railroad Brotherhoods.

"The reactionary leadership of the A. F. of L. took advantage of the Congress for an open and noisy political demonstration against closer relations and collaboration with the Soviet trade unions. With this object in view the A. F. of L. Committee for International Relations hastened to express 'its deepest gratitude' to Isadore Nagler for the 'splendid services' rendered by him at the last T. U. C. Congress.

"As a matter of fact both Nagler and other reactionaries from the A. F. of L. have set themselves the aim of staging a political diversion not only against the Soviet Trade Unions but also against the Soviet Union, a country which as an ally of the United States is conducting a just liberation war against the common enemy—Hitler Germany.

SAME OLD TUNE

"The hostile sally of the A. F. of L. reactionaries against the Soviet trade unions was accompanied by an open malicious anti-Soviet campaign in a number of organs of the press of the A. F. of L. trade unions. The keynote of the reactionary clique was the old slanderous invention that contact with the Soviet trade unions would sharpen the already existing ideological differences and deepen the split in the American labor movement.

"Naturally the reactionary leaders had and still have to resort to all sorts of manoeuvering and to take into account the real sentiments among the rank and file of the A. F. of L. Therefore they are obliged to cover their anti-Soviet campaign by official hypocritical expressions of their admiration for the heroism of the Red Army and the Soviet people.

"One cannot ignore the fact that William Green, who is a member of the Committee for American-Soviet Friendship did not react to the behaviour of the clique of Matthew Woll, Hutcheson, Dubinsky and other isolationist and clearly anti-Soviet elements whose political manoeuvers are in fact directed against the vital interests of the United States and the whole anti-Hitlerite coalition.

"Since Nagler, Woll and other anti-Soviet elements spoke against the Soviet trade unions under the guise of trade union democracy, it is proper to mention here that the leaders of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union of which Nagler is a member have forbidden their locals to discuss Nagler's conduct at the Trade Union Congress. An idea of the 'trade union democracy' in the International Ladies Garment Workers Union headed by Dubinsky may be gleaned also from the decisions of its executive with regard to renewing the demand for the expulsion from the union of Arnold Ames, Chairman of the Union Committee for American - Soviet Friendship. Ames' crime consists in that he sent a letter to the British Trade Union Council energetically protesting against Nagler's behavious. (He was actually reprimanded and, thereby, constitutionally, disqualified from running for office.)

PROGRESSIVES ACTIVE

"Despite the A. F. of L. reactionaries, the progressive wing within the A. F. of L. continues to develop an ever more energetic activity for unity in the ranks of the national

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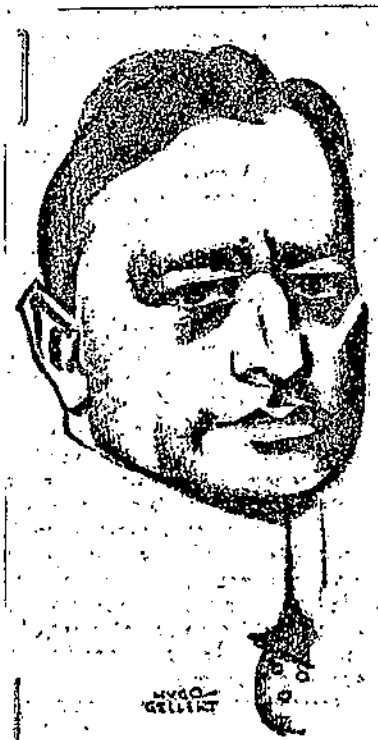

MATTHEW WOLL

and international trade union movements." The author notes, however, that at Boston these progressive elements were weakly represented.

"As compared with the A. F. of L. Congress, the National Convention of the C. I. O. was clearly permeated with a progressive spirit. Realizing the necessity of struggling for the speediest establishment of unity in the American trade union movement, the C. I. O. continues its persistent demands for joint action with the A. F. of L. and the railroad brotherhoods. The struggle for national unity in the American trade union movement is coupled with a no less energetic struggle of the C. I. O. for international trade union unity."

Citing from speeches and resolutions adopted by the C. I. O. Convention, the author continues:

"The C. I. O. levelled sharp criticism at a group of reactionary elements who had built themselves a nest in the camp of the reactionaries in both parties and were causing considerable damage to the efforts of the Government of the United States.

"The principal political decisions adopted by the C. I. O. reflect the sentiments not only of the rank and file and its local organizations, but also the sentiments of broad circles of the rank and file in the A. F. of L. and the Railroad Brotherhoods.

"It may be presumed that the reactionary leadership of the A. F. of L., in the persons of Matthew Woll, Hutcheson, Dubinsky and others will not succeed in suppressing the trend towards national and international trade union unity which is gaining strength among the masses.

"The American trade union movement has broad and favorable prospects before it. It will depend on the political understanding and also on the organizational abilities of its progressive members to take advantage of the favorable prospects in the vital interests of the working class which now coincide with the national interests of the United States as a whole as well as of all freedom-loving peoples."

'Don't Stir Distrust of Russia'

That is Mr. Willkie's warning to those who seek to sow dissension. He asks a common sense attitude toward our powerful ally.

By Wendell L. Willkie

THE great conferences held in recent months, at Moscow, Cairo and Teheran, have opened up new hopes on all continents. Especially here in America, where our people have been so overwhelmingly in favor of a new international outlook, the conferences have given encouragement to those who have worked and fought in this cause for years. It is true, of course, that the conclusions reached are general in character, leaving many questions unanswered in the public mind. Nevertheless, the foundation has been laid for something entirely different in the future from what we had in the past. We *can* make good now if we *want* to.

Some persons have hinted that Mr. Roosevelt has gone too far at these conferences. In my judgment, he has not gone far enough. While the conferences have successfully stated joint intentions among the great powers, they have not succeeded in establishing a concrete political base upon which all the United Nations can agree and rely. The Teheran conferees laid stress upon "good-will," and this is certainly a prerequisite to further progress. Yet good-will cannot endure unless it is firmly established upon a body of definite political principles, accepted by all and consistently applied, and upon a set of economic principles or agreements which can serve as the foundation for the trade and development of the peoples of the world.

That Mr. Roosevelt has not assumed leadership in working out these two underlying necessities—a political base for international cooperation and an economic base for international trade and development—is, I believe, a major disappointment. For the free forces of the world expect moral, economic and political leadership from the President of the United States today. And the President's failure to exercise it has already had its effect all over the earth.

Today in Africa, in Asia, in Europe, in South America, even right here in the United States, the average man is asking a single question. He is not asking what Mr. Roosevelt is going to do next. He is not asking what Mr. Churchill is going to do next. He is not asking what *Mr. Stalin* is going to do next. The United States has at least momentarily failed in leadership — politically, economically and morally. Mr. Stalin—and to a certain extent the ideas which he represents—has stolen the show.

WITH Mr. Stalin thus emerging as the most important single figure on the international stage, the man concerning whose moves statesmen and the average person alike are speculating, it is of the utmost importance that we in the United States view the Russian situation realistically. The word "realism" is sometimes taken as a synonym for "cynicism," but I am not using it in this sense at all. What we must apply to our relationship to Russia is simple American common sense. This, in recent years, has been conspicuously lacking.

Americans are prone to become fanatical on the Russian question either for

N. Y. Times Mag. Section
January 2, 1944 p. 3 & 4

Russia or against her. Some look on Russia as the savior of the world, others fear her as a political or religious enemy.

Unhappily, a number of our so-called leaders, for their own political profit, are seeking to capitalize on this emotionalism of many Americans toward Russia.

But no extreme attitude can be helpful in working out our all-important future relationship with Russia. We must recognize her for what she is: a mighty nation undertaking huge tasks and responsibilities in the modern world—the world in which we also live.

Of course, one of the most pressing questions in everybody's mind is what Russia intends to do about the political integrity of small states around her borders—Finland, Poland, the Baltic and Balkan states.

There are already forces at work in both parties preparing to take selfish political advantage of any move that Russia may make with regard to these smaller states. The theory of those in the Republican party is that Republicans should sit tight and see what happens. Mr. Stalin, they believe, will make ruthless territorial demands on the smaller states, and these

(Continued on Following Page)

(Continued From Preceding Page)

demands will produce a violent anti-Russian reaction among Americans who emigrated, or whose forebears emigrated, from those states. They take the position that by adopting a policy of suspicion toward Russia the Republican party can capture not alone these but others who for quite different reasons are prone to be anti-Russian. For all this anti-Russian feeling they believe will inevitably react against Mr. Roosevelt to the advantage of the Republican party.

This kind of approach appears to me dangerously irresponsible and almost totally destructive. It is seeking to make domestic political capital out of issues which, in fact, concern the lives and destinies of the American people.

Yet such would-be Republican leaders are by no means the only offenders; on the contrary, the offenses of the Democrats are equally glaring. The Roosevelt Administration apparently also has its eye on votes in 1944. It, too, seems to be angling for, or anxious to retain, the support of some of the anti-Russian groups. Its signal failure long ago to assume leadership of the new forces in the world was for no other apparent reason than that it did not want to antagonize strong elements in the Democratic party which are on the whole anti-Russian. And that failure of leadership has contributed greatly to the emergence of Mr. Stalin as the single most potent statesman in international affairs.

ALMOST all of us who have advocated the common sense approach toward Russia, instead of the emotional approach, have felt all along that the future status of the small states of Europe constitutes one of the most delicate problems that confronts our statesmanship. It now lies squarely across our path. The peace and well-being for which we are working may well depend upon its just and sane solution. And the necessity for that solution is rushing on us by the moment.

With every mile the Red Army advances toward the Polish frontiers the United Nations are driven nearer a crisis. With every passing day the issues leading to potential or actual civil war in Greece, in Yugoslavia and in other Balkan states press in upon us. Are we to repeat in these regions the political errors of North Africa, of Sicily and of Italy? What policy leads us to treat Mikhailovitch as a hero one day and as a traitor the next? Why didn't we have on the spot a year ago the military observers to tell us the facts about the resistance movements in Serbia and more recently in Croatia? Are we committed to propping up every monarchy in Europe regardless of the wishes of the people? It would seem that even at this late date our Government has formulated no policy to guide our approach to impending problems.

ON the other hand, do those who engage in domestic political manipulation of such delicate problems for their own purposes, who talk so freely of forcing Stalin to recognize the complete integrity of Poland and the Baltic states—do such pretended friends of the smaller nations have any method to offer by which they mean "to force Stalin"?

Surely not by arms. For if their future proposals can be measured by their past views, they will not want to enforce any policy by sending American soldiers into Central and Eastern Europe. They were opposed to sending American armies to crush Hitler, even after the rest of the country recognized the necessity of doing so for America's own self-protection. Many of them have been reluctant even to permit the United States to join an effective world organization through which lies the best chance for the protection of the rights of small nations and for the maintenance of those rights.

Granted the American people will not independently exercise force to convince Mr. Stalin of their point of view. Yet, in all candor, we know that Russia's attitude will probably be the determining factor in the fate of the small states surrounding her. Our problem then is how to influence that attitude. We certainly cannot affect it by stimulating in this country a distrust for Russia. We cannot impress upon Mr. Stalin the justice and wisdom of our ideas by using his country as a domestic political football.

Mr. Stalin is well informed about what we do here. When he sees reactionary Democrats or ambitious Republicans stirring up suspicion and hatred toward Russia, he is not at all likely to be affected favorably by American arguments. Indeed, it would be quite natural for him, in the face of such a lack of desire to cooperate on our part, to take whatever measures might seem necessary in order to establish Russian national security on a unilateral basis.

There is only one way by which we can hope to gain acceptance for our ideas in Russian foreign policy, and that is to regard Russia as an equal with whom we desire to work and live. Our attitude toward her must be demonstrably the attitude of common sense and not the attitude of prejudice or passion. To achieve this attitude does not involve acceptance of her economic theories or approval of her religious or political ideas. Russia knows our ideals. If we are to influence hers she must also know that no leadership in this country can successfully gain or retain office by playing to those who irresponsibly foment prejudice against her. And, by the same token, she should realize that any attempt on her part to interfere in our purely domestic affairs makes it harder for the American people to accept her in good faith.

MOSCOW and Teheran made plain to Russia that we sincerely want her to become a full associate in a new society of free nations. It is to Russia's interest to pursue that course, because she must genuinely want peace for reconstruction of her war-torn land and people and because the opposite courses of conquest or world revolution mean, eventually, war with all the non-communist world, including the British and ourselves.

There is no reason to suppose that Russia is not going to follow the course of peace and security in a society of nations. But in our minds the prerequisite to the success of an international organization is the freedom and equality of member states.

This means that our principal objective must now be to persuade Russia to accept and give the guarantees of a general organization, in which she and we are both members, rather than to seek her own protection by political and military control over adjoining territories. The effort to accomplish this was one of the things that should have been attempted at Teheran. We have no news yet as to whether or not it was attempted, or, if so, whether or not it was successful. We are frankly troubled, knowing that Mr. Roosevelt took with him to that conference no advisory staff as did Mr. Churchill and Mr. Stalin. And what the President said in his Christmas Eve report about a discussion that followed "big, broad objectives, rather than details" did not allay our anxieties.

MOSCOW and Teheran, however, laid some good general foundations. Pledges of good-will were exchanged before all the world. The coyness that the Administration had hitherto displayed toward Russia was apparently swept aside. I do not want to detract from the achievements of those who participated in the conferences. Nevertheless, we should recognize the real nature of the victory. It was not a victory for any few men but a victory for the peoples of the nations concerned.

Our people as a whole have deeply admired the great fight that the Russians have put up against the onslaught of Hitler. Our people as a whole have recognized, with a profound instinct, the importance of Russia to the future well-being of the United States. Our people as a whole are *not* playing politics with the Russian situation, and don't want to. They want to deal with Russia just the way they deal with anybody else. And it is to this great public fact that we owe the progress that has been made. Almost literally, through the powerful force of public opinion, the people pushed the Administration into Moscow and Teheran. It is a people's victory.

If it can be done once it can be done again. Public opinion can—and I believe will—break through the flimsy schemes of domestic politicians, Democrats and Republicans alike, to assert itself in favor of a new, rational, friendly, *common sense* attitude toward probably the most powerful ally that we have ever had.

A Grown-Up America Faces The Year of Decision

By ANNE O'HARE McCORMICK

The year 1944 will be a year of decision and a year of test. General Eisenhower predicts that it will see the end of the European war, and this means that Britain, Russia and the United States will have won from Hitler the power he aspired to when he threw down the gantlet in 1939. They will have won the power and the responsibility to reorganize Europe.

The European nations were already weak, weary and torn with internal strife when the Nazi drive began. Hitler's plan of conquest was based on the assumption, largely justified, that all of Europe was as divided as Germany was when he took over. He thought he could ride to continental power over the same divisions, frustrations and hates he had exploited to achieve mastery in the Reich. He was the first to realize a truth that Stalin has now accepted: he saw that the old force of nationalism harnessed to the new force of socialism would make a formidable team out of the two strongest impulses in the modern world.

Conquered Never Submitted

But he ignored the fact that the sense of nationhood is as intense in the smallest states as it is in Germany. Fortunately for the three great powers that slowly combined to defeat the Nazi dream of empire this stubborn spirit of resistance of the lesser peoples held the fort until the big guns were ready to breach the walls. It is hardly too much to say that the fragmentations, the excessive nationalisms, which make it impossible for Europe to live in a world of larger units also make it impossible for Europe to die. If Hitler had been able to conquer Europe, if he had succeeded in convincing Poland or France, Yugoslavia or Holland that German hegemony was tolerable, the war would have been lost in 1940. If Europe had stood with Germany, neither Russian nor Anglo-American force could have taken the fortress.

The decisive factor in this war is not the four-power alliance, omnipotent as that combination of strength will be in the peace. The decisive factor is the crowd presently pushed into the background — the loose, amorphous federation called the United Nations.

The Force of Nationalism

This came together before the great powers merged. The truth is that not a single European people, and this goes for the satellites as well as the prisoners of war, accepted Hitler's claims. Like it or not, our first line of defense was the force of European nationalism. This is a fundamental reality the victors will have to face. Stalin has faced it for Russia. He dissolved the Comintern because in twenty-five years it did not win a single nation. He has dropped the "Internationale" because he has learned that it will never have the appeal of a national anthem. This reality will have to be taken into account in the reorganization of the Continent. The primary problem of victory will be to reconcile the force of nationalism—the force that won the war—with the compromises among nations and the concessions of sovereignty that will be necessary to maintain the international equilibrium that spells peace. For if it is clear that order cannot be maintained without force, it is equally clear that it can never be maintained by force alone. Except for a breathing spell nations cannot be kept quiet unless they have an independent status and a conscious stake in the general security.

Many Hardships Ahead

For the United States 1944 will be a hard year. This country will have to pour out blood, resources and energy as never before to insure the victory General Eisenhower expects. His appointment in itself signifies how large our share must be in the desperate struggle ahead. Victory, moreover, will bring burdens as onerous as the sacrifices of war. We shall have to assume a major responsibility for the future of Europe at a time when our minds and hands will not be free to concentrate on European problems. We shall be fighting with all our strength in the Pacific. We shall be distracted by a political campaign at home.

When Tobruk fell the position of Churchill seemed much more precarious than the President's. The Prime Minister in Washington during that crisis was strongly inclined to agree with Roosevelt's arguments that a fixed tenure of office for the Executive was safer and sounder than a system in which the Government could be voted out of office any time. But as the President's term nears an end the advantages are all with the system that can put off a general election as long as necessary. Of the big three, Roosevelt is the only one who must face election in the decisive year of the conflict.

It Is Up to Us

This decision is added to the others weighing upon the American democracy during the coming year. The judgments we are forced to make in our own affairs and the affairs of the world are new in our experience, new in the effect they will have on the course of history. The terrible burdens of maturity descend upon us while we are still hesitant and unprepared. But nations never go out to meet destiny. It always catches up with them at an unexpected turn of the road. On this grave and portentous New Year's Day it is well that Americans have to realize that they have passed the point where they can blame other powers for the mistakes of war or the failures of peace. The end of war is the beginning of the struggle for peace and of our inescapable responsibility for the world born in 1944.

This is a clipping from page 12 of the New York Times for JAN. 1, 1944
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Allied Unity in War and Peace

The Teheran Conference set the stage, militarily and politically, for 1944. The working out of the prospects it opened up will be the main task of all the associated peoples in the United Nations. Below we print the leading article from the current issue of the Soviet journal "War and the Working Class" on this great conference and the tasks of 1944.

THE historic decisions taken at the Teheran Conference hold the centre of attention of world opinion.

The road leading to the Teheran meeting was no easy one, many obstacles had to be surmounted.

The alliance of the three greatest contemporary powers came into being and developed in the joint struggle against the common enemy, Hitlerite Germany; and in the fire of this great liberation struggle many barriers standing in the way of this alliance have been burnt. The Moscow Conference of the three Foreign Ministers greatly strengthened the Anglo-Soviet-American fighting partnership in war and in peace. The Teheran Conference summarised the results of the whole preceding period of development and at the same time opened a new stage in the progress of co-operation of the allied countries in war and for the post-war period.

This new stage is characterised by the fact that now it is no longer a question of an exchange of information or of consultations on different questions, but one of joint decisions on cardinal questions of war and peace.

As the foreign press rightly points out, the Teheran Conference is the biggest diplomatic event of the war. Unquestionably the Conference will exercise tremendous influence on both the course of the war and the post-war organisation of the world. It has demonstrated the growing stability of the Three Power Alliance which will undoubtedly be further cemented in the course of coming events. It has cut short speculations of enemies who spoke of "the impossibility" of lasting agreement between the Soviet Union, the United States and Great Britain.

The contents of the Teheran declaration are more emphatic than any other document of the anti-Hitlerite coalition. The concise language of the declaration is in full keeping with its historic significance. It is not the language of common wishes, it is the language of action. The time for words is passed and it is now time for deeds. Confidence and determination are expressed in every word of the Declaration, warming the hearts of friends with joy and striking fear into the hearts of enemies.

The War

The aim of the Allies in the sphere of the conduct of the war is clear: complete victory over Hitlerite Germany in the shortest space of time. The Allied leaders of the Three Powers, with the participation of representatives of the Army staffs, have agreed upon the plans for destroying the German armed forces. Thus the last nail is driven into Hitler's hopes of causing disagreement between the Allies in the conduct of the war. Thus the path is opened to surmounting the greatest difficulties in any war coalition; namely, that of joint blows at the common enemy.

It is now clear that the enormous and hitherto unparalleled manpower and material resources of

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the three allied countries will be used as one fighting machine to crush the enemy. The guarantee of this is the full agreement reached at the Teheran Conference regarding the scope and time of the operations which will be launched from East, West and South.

Without in the least underrating the enemy's strength, the leaders of the three great Powers, together with representatives of the Army staffs, jointly elaborated plans for operations which will secure rapid and complete victory over the enemy. Mutual understanding was reached by the three leaders in the military sphere and this guarantees victory. The outstanding military significance of the Teheran Conference is that a concrete plan was drawn up for the complete destruction of Hitlerite Germany.

The Hitlerite adventurists are trying to cover up their extreme confusion in connection with the conference with spiteful hissing and ridiculous inventions. Several days prior to the publication of the Teheran decisions, they asserted that the Conference would send out a call to the German people promising them favourable conditions in the event of a break with Hitlerism, and that the prime task of the Conference was allegedly to undermine the "morale" of the German people. Now the whole world sees that it is not a question of promises, but of a ruthless struggle with the object of completely destroying the German war machine, as a result of which the "morale" of the Germans will undergo a fundamental change. The task is not only to ensure the destruction of Germany in the present war, but to deprive her of the possibility of repeating aggression in the future. The Allies clearly realise the need of once and for all cauterizing German aggression in order to secure a durable peace of nations.

The Peace

The Teheran Conference is of outstanding significance also in securing a lasting peace. The declaration of the three Allied Powers expresses confidence that the concord existing between them will secure a durable peace. The bitter experience of the past decade teaches that the preservation of peace and security must rest on a tangible force capable of ensuring peace and preventing its violation. Hence the supreme responsibility of the Anglo-Soviet-American Alliance and of all the United Nations. This responsibility is fully recognised by the leaders of the three Powers heading the anti-Hitlerite bloc, who have expressed their readiness to work jointly both during the war and in the post-war period.

The Teheran Conference dispersed a number of deep-rooted prejudices resulting from the former suspicious attitude of certain circles in Anglo-Saxon countries towards the Soviet Union. The prejudice that insurmountable barriers allegedly stand in the way of co-operation of other Powers with the Soviet Union, not only in war but also in the maintenance of a durable peace, has been broken down.

The declaration of the Three Powers speaks of a world in which all nations will live in freedom, where there shall be no tyranny. The experience of the war has shown that differences in ideology and in social order do not preclude the development and strengthening of the fighting alliance and of friendly co-operation between the Soviet Union, Britain and the United States. This alliance has withstood very serious tests, and in coming events it will grow stronger.

All Powers, Large and Small

Life has refuted the inventions of our enemies and their accomplices that the Anglo-Soviet-American alliance allegedly aspires to a "dictatorship of great Powers." The Three Power Declaration solemnly announces its wish for collaboration and active participation by all countries both large and small, whose peoples have dedicated themselves, heart and mind, like the peoples of the three Allied Powers, to the task of eliminating tyranny, slavery, oppression and intolerance.

This is not a world domination of great Powers, but a world family of democratic countries—such is our aim. The leading role of the great peace-loving Powers—the Soviet Union, the United States, Britain and China—in international politics is not directed towards restricting the rights and liberties of other peace-loving nations. On the contrary, it is the best guarantee of their security and independent development in accordance with their national interests.

The Three Power declaration, which is the death sentence for the bloody aggressors, at the same time guarantees freedom for all peace-loving nations.

Hitler's Satellites

The Three Power Declaration must serve as a lasting warning to Hitler's satellite countries. Germany's vassal countries must realise, before it is too late, that the hypocritical policy which they have lately been pursuing will not save them. Either face destruction with Hitler or break with him—this is the question confronting Germany's vassals. There is no third way out. And if Hitler's allies, particularly the rulers of Finland and Hungary, unwillingly recognising the inevitability of the destruction of Germany, are still trying to stir up pity from the freedom-loving peoples, even calling to their assistance the Atlantic Charter, one cannot help remembering that "the devil himself calls on Holy Scripture."

The Neutrals

The weighty words of the Teheran Declaration undoubtedly give food for thought for certain neutral countries who are still among the friends of the Axis powers. The Allied policy towards the smaller countries is most concretely and vividly expressed in the declaration of the Three Powers on Iran. This declaration recognises the assistance given by Iran to the Allies in the war against the common enemy. The Allied Governments declared their readiness to continue to give Iran economic assistance in the post-war period. Particular mention should be made of the statement of the Three Power Declaration on Iran, to preserve the complete independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Iran.

The Response of the People

Alike, the peoples of the United States, Great Britain and the Soviet people received with deep satisfaction the historic decisions of the Teheran Conference. These decisions embody the iron will of the peoples of the three great Powers to move together in war and peace. Nothing can break this will—neither the resistance of the enemy who, sensing his doom undoubtedly will have recourse to the most desperate steps, nor the intrigues of a small number of very vociferous accomplices of our common enemy, who continue to make themselves heard in Anglo-Saxon countries. These people, blinded by their hatred for democracy and social progress, are still trying to save Germany from utter debacle. The determination of the Allies once and for all to eliminate the danger of German aggression, and to refuse to support anti-Soviet plans for establishing a "cordon sanitaire," these people declare to be a policy of "Balkanisation of Europe."

But it is not these elements who represent the national interests of Britain and the U.S.A. Just the contrary, their activities run counter to the national interest of the countries allied to them. It is not these elements who determine the policy of our Anglo-American allies. And if some of these people hypocritically express "regret" at the "insufficiently outspoken tone" of the Teheran decisions, it will hardly deceive anybody.

The Soviet people, who have inscribed the most vivid pages in the history of the great war of liberation against Hitlerite oppression and tyranny, are replying to the decisions of the Teheran Conference, by mobilising their forces still further. They are confidently marching towards the day when the full force of the Allied armies will crash down on the enemy and the fascist beast will be destroyed by the concerted operation of the three great Powers.

This will open the path to the organisation of the world on the principles of liberty and security, to making secure the peaceful creative labour of all nations. The lofty tasks which now confront the Allies, and which will face them in the future, will be the more successfully and fruitfully solved the closer the unity of the three Allied Powers on the basis of absolute respect for their mutual interests.

The 16 Soviet Republics—What the Changes Mean

By Joseph Starobin

The Soviet Union made the "biggest news of the week" once again last Tuesday as the Supreme Soviet adopted structural changes giving each of the nations comprising the USSR the right to conduct their own foreign relations and organize their own armed forces.

This measure is a remarkable example of the Soviet ability to foresee new problems, and to take steps that solve problems arising from new conditions. It would be a shame if ignorant and malicious commentators, going off half-cocked, prevent the American people from discussing and appreciating the deeper meaning of these events.

V. M. Molotov

As Molotov pointed out in his address to the Supreme Soviet (published in full in last Thursday's Daily Worker) the Soviet Union has solved all of the national problems inherited from Czarist times. The 49 different nationalities, of many different races and with unequal backgrounds, have had for twenty years full equality under Soviet law.

The Czar's policy of keeping some peoples in a semi-colonial status, preventing them from using their languages and enjoying their own cultures, repressing the development of their economic resources—all this had already been wiped out before this war.

HAD AUTONOMY

Only a socialist society, said Molotov proudly, could have done this so quickly. And the proof lies in the way all the different Soviet peoples have rallied to their country's cause, and their Red Army in the last three years.

Only a highly centralized and unified direction of the foreign relations, and Soviet defense could have done that, Molotov said. That is why, the autonomy which various Soviet republics did have until 1922 had to be sacrificed. For in those days, and throughout this war, the issue was the very existence of the Soviet state. It was surrounded by a hostile world, and still had to face the concerted effort to smash it, from the reactionary forces, embodied in Hitler Germany.

But the outcome of this war has made further expansion of Soviet democracy and the national independence of each nation possible. In the new world now being born, the Soviet peoples will not be surrounded by a hostile world. In fact, the Tehran agreement guarantees a new era of collaboration among all peoples. Moreover, the war has brought forward new phenomena inside the Soviet Union itself.

For example, there have been for the last three years Latvian, Estonian and Lithuanian territorial units, in the Red Army; the war has now trained thousands of rank and file soldiers and an officers corps from all the other Soviet peoples, peoples that had been relatively backward in this respect even in the Soviet society.

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Date February 6 1944
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NATIONAL PRIDE

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SHRILL ALARMS

Some commentators, of course, go off half-cocked in shrill alarms about Soviet motives and raise dire forebodings that the USSR is trying to "put something over" on its allies. Some of this comment arises from sheer ignorance about the Soviet Union as a family of nations. The rest of it is simply malicious, and perhaps enemy-inspired. It certainly isn't inspired by any profound thought about the new world a coming.

For example, it is suggested that the USSR will now have 16 votes at some future peace conference or League of Nations. This is a very ironical complaint from those people who have insisted all along that Latvia, Lithuania, Estonia, or the Ukraine should be independent of the Soviet Union.

Alright then, these countries, in the old kind of "independence," would have been represented at a peace conference or some future League. Then why not now?

After all, the British Empire's various component parts have separate foreign relations and separate defense set-ups. Nobody questions their right to equal votes in the United Nations. Why, even India is a signatory to the Atlantic Charter, although who will seriously say that she has genuine independence?

NOT THE QUESTION

To look at the matter from the viewpoint of "blocs of votes" is picayune. People who see the Soviet nations out-voting their allies suppose that issues of such a controversial character would arise at a peace conference or a future League that only votes could solve them.

But if the issues were really crucial, "votes" could never solve them. On the other hand, if we are going to have a genuine international understanding and a real stable, cooperative world order, controversial issues would not be "insoluble." They would always be settled without "showdowns" or antagonistic voting by "blocs."

But it is true that these new Soviet changes have a definite international and post-war significance. As Molotov said, this significance will only unfold gradually.

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What does he mean? Well, notice that he stresses in his speech the importance of "economic and cultural" contacts between the separate Soviet nations and their neighbors.

If you know something about the history of the Baltic states, you know that they have historical, trade, and cultural contact with Poland, with Great Britain, with the Scandinavian countries as well as Russia.

Similarly, special relations are bound to arise between the Ukrainian Republic, and say, a democratic, non-Soviet Poland. Similarly, between the Ukrainians and Moldavians on the one hand, and the Balkan peoples on the other.

The same idea holds for the Soviet Central Asiatic republics, like Turkmenia and Azerbaijan, which are of Mohammedan faith. They have special historical and cultural ties with the Arab world, with Iran and Afghanistan, with the Moslem masses of India. It is not so well known that there are almost as many Moslems in the USSR as in the rest of the world combined. The same idea applies also to the Far East, and opens up new vistas in economic cooperation there as well.

It is obvious that such new relations would be easier, say between Azerbaijan and India than between India and Moscow directly. And it goes without saying that such contacts would proceed on the basis of the existing differences of social-systems.

Thus, a new era opens not only for the various Soviet peoples, but for the whole world. This era was implied in the Tehran accord, and the Supreme Soviet is now suggesting structural changes to facilitate the realization of that accord.

Who will oppose this? Only outright enemies of Tehran. Only those who are shameless enough to parade their ignorance and lack of thought in public.

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Undoubtedly, the war will also enable Soviet democracy to reach new levels in other phases of Soviet life, as time goes on. Friends of the Soviet Union, especially Marxists, understand that Soviet democracy is a living, changing thing. It is an immense advance over the old times, and over capitalist democracy. But as the pressure of a hostile encirclement decreases and real collaboration with the rest of the world begins, further heights of Soviet democracy are certainly attainable.

Another angle of the greatest importance is Molotov's emphasis of the necessity of bringing to completion the "moral-political defeat

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RUSSIA'S AUTONOMY ACT PUZZLES HER PARTNERS

Other Nations Are Quite Apparently Uncertain of New Powers Given 16 Members of U.S.S.R.

E-3

EXTERNAL SIGNIFICANCE SEEN

By EDWIN L. JAMES

Russia's action last Tuesday in announcing that the sixteen components of the U.S.S.R. would have in the future full diplomatic and military autonomy is not yet understood by her partners in the war against the Axis. Washington does not know just what it means or what it accomplishes or how it changes things. London is no better off and it is to be assumed Chungking is no better acquainted with the real reasons for the move.

It is much too simplist to say that it represents simply a development of interior Russian policies and politics. That in the midst of a war far from won a country should suddenly decide that its military establishment is split into sixteen pieces does not make much sense. To decide at the same time that the republics which make up Soviet Russia shall all have separate diplomatic representation abroad is scarcely a war measure. To emphasize that all the members of the U.S.S.R. have the right to secede is a queer emphasis to put forward when a nation is engaged in an all-out war.

It seems much more logical to believe, in the absence of official explanations from our Ally, that the new shuffle has something to do with Russia's new place in the world which she is winning by her war effort. At a time when guns are the chief business of a country, that it should make important plans relating to diplomatic representation justifies the belief that Moscow is looking to [illegible] the post-war period when diplomacy will resume an importance it does not have at the moment.

Post-War Prospects

Assuming then that the Russian move has something to do with post-war business, it becomes at once intriguing to speculate as to what extent the supposed decisions of Teheran enter into the picture now. If it was decided at Teheran that the four main United Nations would act together in war and in peace, the question naturally arises as to the effect of any more moves by the Soviets which might have an external significance.

The more so, because in certain matters, notably that of the Polish frontiers, Moscow has given a rather clear indication that it sets a limit on things to be settled jointly. It has indicated it intends to settle the matter of Polish frontiers in a manner other than by joint and common decision.

What can be meant by a change which gives to republics under the Moscow banner a greater degree of freedom and a larger exercise of independent rights?

So far there is no very clear answer. The idea that Russia seeks to have sixteen votes at the peace conference rather than one is not very solid. The British Commonwealth of Nations could work out a considerable balancing representation. The United States might ask for forty-eight votes. Seeing that the whole of Russia's sixteen votes would not in a conference dependent on power politics carry any more weight than one Russian vote, because both would be backed by Russian power and nothing else, this explanation does not seem serious.

Experts Take a Try

Experts on foreign affairs have speculated pretty much around the clock. Some have seen just a matter of interior Russian policies. Some go back to 1939 and quote Stalin on the disadvantages of things too big and quote Molotoff at the same period as speaking against "Gigantomania" and seek to see simply a carrying out of that policy. Even The Daily Worker, apparently without inspiration, does not get it very well straightened out, but is confident that whatever is meant, it is all for the best.

Taking it for granted that Stalin has post-war business on his mind one can ask the question as to how the new set-up would be useful in that period. Here one can get into very interesting surmises. For example, Stalin knows that some of his partners have at one time or another assured the representatives

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of the Baltic States that they would regain their independence after an Allied victory. Then we have an Allied victory. Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia become persuaded (use quotes if you wish to) and announce that as independent States, with their own separate armies and even separate ministers abroad, wish to join up with the U.S.S.R. There it is: Stalin has the Baltic States and they have their independence.

Some Other Possibilities

The Ukraine is a member of the U.S.S.R. There is a considerable independent Ukraine movement. The war is over. The Ukrainians decide that they should be all one country. That takes in Polish Ukraine. Russian Ukraine and Polish Ukraine unite and then they become an independent nation affiliated with the U.S.S.R. That would be that.

Russia intends to take back Besserabia. Just to grab it from Rumania might well be held a violation of the Atlantic Charter. But suppose there emerges a State known as Moldavia, which would include Besserabia, and that this State, always independent, mind you, joins up with Moscow. Then Stalin has Besserabia. To go further, suppose Rumania, assured of independence by Moscow, would indicate a desire to come under the Kremlin. She might then be allowed to keep Besserabia and be given the rest of Moldavia. In that case Rumania might keep Besserabia.

One might even imagine a regime in Poland—Stalin doesn't like the present Government in exile—which would get East Prussia and German Silesia, thus insuring permanent enmity between Germany and Poland, and then as an independent State elect to enjoy the guiding hand of Moscow. That would settle a lot of things.

Long-Range Politics

But all of this raises important issues. At one time it was thought that Russia might use her power to dominate Eastern Europe while her allies dominated Western Europe and the Mediterranean region. But it has been thought that that plan was abandoned and that all of the United Nations would act in unison in settling the affairs of all Europe. The Russians have taken representation on the Allied Mediterranean Commission and on the London Political Commission, thus indicating that the rule of common action had been definitely adopted. That supposition tended to make off-side General Smuts' now famous speech on the wisdom of Britain's lining up the nations of Western Europe in a zone of influence.

However, if it is correct to read into Russian policy a plan to spread U.S.S.R. influence, if not government, in Eastern Europe by virtue of a plan which the Russians have not taken the trouble to elucidate to their allies, the situation begins to look different. Maybe, of course, Russia intends nothing of the sort. Maybe Stalin has just split the Red Army into sixteen armies as a piece of military strategy. Maybe all of the members of the U.S.S.R. are to have ambassadors and ministers abroad just to increase Russia's knowledge of the world at large.

But if that is what is intended why doesn't Stalin say so?

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SOVIET UNION SEEN ON A NEW DIPLOMATIC TACK

By JAMES B. RESTON

By Wireless to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

LONDON, Feb. 5—The Russian decision to offer autonomy in defense and foreign affairs to the Soviet Union's constituent Republics was a political "Molotoff cocktail" of considerable potency, and while the British managed to swallow it without losing their diplomatic balance, it looks as if the hangover is going to be greater than the celebration.

No one who understands what autonomy or the right to secede means seriously believes that the constituent Soviet Republics are to receive the freedom to oppose the will of the Kremlin in these matters. The Ukrainian Foreign Commissar, for example, would scarcely get "full rights to enter into relations" with the Polish Government in London.

It is necessary to distinguish between Russian constitutional forms and political realities. Until recently when he assumed the Premiership, the Soviet Constitution did not make any real provision for the authority which Marshal Stalin exercised. But, as The Economist points out this week, that did not make his authority any the less real.

Return to Past

It may be, of course, that Stalin is making a sincere attempt to move the Soviet Constitution back to something more like its original form under Lenin. At that time the Soviet Union was to a certain extent a federation of independent republics with each republic possessing a Government of its own and with separate Ukrainian and White Russian legations operating in the capitals of neighboring countries.

In those early days the U.S.S.R. was in its own lights an experiment in federal union and drew at least part of its revolutionary strength from the fierce national patriotism of the peoples for their various constituent republics. This experiment was wiped out by the Constitution of 1922 which replaced the federal structure with the union.

Return to Old Spheres of Influence Policy Is Suggested by Her Moves

Several vague and unfair suspicions have been leveled against the Soviet Union this week because of its constitutional announcements, but it must be recognized that in part Stalin gave to the republics some powers which they already had and others which they can scarcely be expected to use. Each republic, for example, already had under the Constitution of 1936 the right to secede from the union, but no one who did not wish to take a long journey to the northeast ever dared to suggest secession. The record on this is quite clear. Even such agitation as did exist for a greater measure of autonomy in White Russia, the Ukraine and the Caucasus was suppressed, and so long as discussion of autonomy or secession is treated as an act of treason the constitutional right to independence and secession are meaningless.

The past is not as good a guide to the future policy of Soviet Russia, however, as it is in many other countries and it may be that with the menace of Germany and Japan removed from his flanks Stalin, who was originally Commissar for Nationalities and a nationalistic Georgian himself, may wish to encourage this trend as a means of further developing the vast territory he holds.

But for the moment it would seem that the explanation of the Russian action must be sought outside and not inside the U.S.S.R.

A great deal has been said about Russia wanting to "pack" the international bureaus, which the United Nations are planning to establish to coordinate world affairs after the war, by getting votes for all sixteen Soviet Republics, but this argument is not seriously considered here. Presumably such a maneuver could work in a technical body like the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration, but great policy decisions are not taken in international affairs on the basis of votes.

Red Star Satellites

For the sake of pride and prestige—which are much more important in Soviet calculations at present than is generally recognized—Stalin might wish for personal and historical reasons to give some prominence in the international field to the satellites that circle in his orbit, just as the British are surrounded by their satellites and we in these conferences by some of the Latin-American republics. But since Stalin's power does not rest on such devices it is perhaps misleading to place too much reliance on the theory that he was trying to "pack the court."

Similarly, it scarcely seems likely that Stalin has made these constitutional changes in order to make it easier for him to gain foreign recognition of the incorporation of the Baltic States within the Soviet Union. The Red Army is now well inside the Estonian border and the future of these States is an immediate problem. But Soviet officials always have emphasized that the future of the Baltic States was none of our business, so that either the Baltic States had very little to do with Stalin's constitutional decision or he has moved some distance toward our more legalistic approach to the future of these States.

There are, however, certain immediate advantages in the international political field which Stalin could gain from his constitutional changes. It is, perhaps, significant that a few days before this constitutional decision was announced the Ukrainians protested publicly against any territorial concessions to Poland.

Thus, it may be useful to have the Ukrainians and White Russians putting up their separate claims against the Poles. Certainly they would expect with some right to sit in on any discussions that might take place among the United States, Britain, the U.S.S.R. and Poland on the Curzon Line question. Similarly, Soviet claims against Finland could be put forward by the Karelo-Finnish Republic and the claims against Rumania for Bessarabia by the Foreign Commissar of the Soviet Republic of Moldavia.

Such an arrangement provides obvious freedom of action and maneuver for Soviet diplomacy and while it can be argued that Foreign Commissar Molotoff is in such a strong position in international politics that he did not have to rely on such devices, the fact remains that from Russia's point of view the system is not only convenient but, considering the complexity of this multinational state, it has a certain basis in right.

What is disturbing about Soviet foreign policy at the moment is not so much the actual machinery the Russians are establishing or even the territorial demands they are making, but their tactics in attaining their ends. After the Moscow Conference the hope here was that the spheres of influence doctrine had been abandoned and that there was a chance that Russia and the United States were prepared to cooperate with Britain in establishing a system of collective security in which the great powers

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would organize their will and their power for peace without infringing the rights of the small nations.

Britain's Concessions

In accordance with this ideal the British willingly agreed that Russia should have an equal say in western Europe and in the Mediterranean where Britain had always demanded special rights.

In the last few weeks, however, it has become apparent that Moscow expects to continue as a member of the Italian and Mediterranean Commissions to settle affairs all over Europe without conceding that we and the British should have an equal say in the way affairs are settled in eastern Europe.

Suspicion is a poor basis for foreign policy, as the United States and Great Britain discovered in their dealings with the Russians between the wars and certainly in London the officials are determined not to be overly suspicious of Russia's latest pronouncements in relation to Poland and in this new development over the Russian Constitution. But blindness is equally as dangerous in the realm of foreign affairs as unfounded suspicion and it seems to observers here that the world is again being divided into spheres of influence rather than united into an effective system of collective security which London prefers.

The new Russian Constitution establishes machinery which provides an opportunity for neighboring States outside the present U.S.S.R., like Poland, Bulgaria, Rumania and Persia, to join a larger Russian empire and still have the legalistic semblance of an independent existence. It does not follow from this that any State is going to join the Soviet Union simply because the Soviet Constitution has been changed.

What remains to be seen, however, is how far Moscow is prepared to stand by the recent Moscow trend—so definite in the Polish negotiations—of refusing to deal with a Government unless that Government removes certain members who do not happen to be personae gratae in Moscow.

Spheres of Influence

That the Soviet Union is going to have a sphere of influence from a line east of Trieste-Prague-Stettin to the Pacific seems reasonably certain. That this sphere of influence dominated by Russia would cooperate with other great groupings of powers in other parts of the world—an American sphere in the Western Hemisphere and a British sphere in the empire and in western Europe—also seems likely. But most observers here regret that events are moving in this direction rather than toward a single world system of collective security.

This does not mean that even if the present trend in Russian policy develops, the hope of collaborating with the Russians in the interests of peace is lost. The will and intentions of the Russians are more important than the machinery they create. Cooperation among the great powers may not be perfect, but it is better than no cooperation at all.

"No sight is more pathetic," remarks The Economist this week, "than to watch the perfect impede the good. Whether special groupings [of powers] are an assistance or a hindrance to the worldwide solution depends entirely on their purpose and their nature. Where the association is truly free and good neighborly and where the members are the champions of world order, not the aggressors upon it, it can surely do nothing but good."

London, in short, is waiting to see the purpose of the Russian policy more clearly before reaching too many conclusions on the basis of Moscow's tactics or Moscow's new constitutional machinery.

From

Clipped at the Seat of Government.

ABROAD

Russia's Place in Europe

President Eduard Benes of Czechoslovakia soberly outlined his nation's foreign policy in a speech to the Czechoslovak State Council last week. Before it fell to Hitler, Czechoslovakia had been a democratic republic cut to the pattern of Britain and America. It had drawn its political philosophy from the West and its military security was based on an alliance with France. At Munich, in September, 1939, that alliance had failed. In the future, Dr. Benes said, the nation would look to the East. He was convinced, he declared, that the security of his country depended, first, on the Soviet-Czech non-aggression and mutual assistance pact of last December and, second, the Anglo-Soviet treaty of May, 1942. In Washington Vice Premier and Foreign Minister Jan Masaryk, expressing faith in the Soviets, explained, "We are very close to Russia geographically and have to act accordingly."

The Czechoslovakian President's statement pointed up sharply a series of developments that seemed to foreshadow the shape of the future for eastern Europe, perhaps for the world. Out of these events Russia's plan for post-war settlement began to seem clearer. Apparently that plan envisaged federations of nations, partly inside and partly outside the Soviet Union, bound together by reasons of common security, economic interest and cultural ties. Some nations at first outside the Soviet Union might be admitted later. The plan seemed to frown on any Eastern European regime that looked to the West for its primary political and military support. Western interest in Eastern boundary or other disputes would be discouraged.

Constitutional Change

This was the idea that apparently found its expression in a change in the Soviet Constitution, the first since its adoption in 1936. The Supreme Soviet at Moscow granted to each of the sixteen constituent republics of the Soviet Union the right to establish its own Commissariat of War and control its own formations within the Red Army, and the right to establish its own Commissariat of Foreign Affairs and appoint ambassadors and sign treaties with nations outside the Russian union. While the dominance of the Communist party in all of the republics insured a single all-Russian policy, the changes, observers noted, opened the way to a federation long sought by Moscow, an alliance of Czechoslovakia, Poland and the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, the three Slav States most nearly resembling one another, both for economic cooperation and for defense against possible future aggression by Germany. Later, other federations might be formed.

The reaction in the Western nations to this move in the East was cautious. A federalist system has long been advocated to solve the problems of Europe's small nations, dependent upon each other for raw materials and manufactured goods and yet held apart by high tariffs and national jealousies. Recently Prime Minister Jan Christiaan Smuts of the Union of South Africa, elder statesman of the British Empire, urged the smaller states of northern Europe to consider the advisability of federating with Britain. In many eyes the logical development of both the Russian and Smuts proposals would be a system of four great federations centering around the nuclear powers of America, Great Britain, Russia and China. This would be a world different from that set up after World War I, when the victors tried to establish one huge system within a League of Nations.

Behind the Russian Plan

Complicating consideration of this possibility was the question of Russian motives. Some of them seemed apparent. The plan brought the discussion of where the Soviet's post-war borders will be located to an entirely new point. It was noted that four of the sixteen Soviet republics granted greater autonomy — Karelo-Finnish, Lithuanian, Latvian and Estonian — had come into the Soviet Union when the Red Army marched in 1939-40 while three more — Bycio-Russan, Ukrainian and Moldavian — had gained additional territory in those years. The United States had not recognized these changes. Another possible motive was to insure the establishment of friendly countries on Russia's borders, even invite them into the Soviet Union. Other motives seemed less apparent. Men wondered whether federalism was to be the cloak under which communism would be pushed farther west in Europe, wondered how far Russian federalism would be extended, whether it would include all or parts of Germany.

An article in the official Soviet newspaper Izvestia (The News) attacking the foreign policies of the Vatican, many observers thought, may play a part in the complex of possible Russian motives. The appearance of the article itself could cause little surprise for there had long been hostility between the Catholic Church, which holds both modern socialism and communism "fundamentally contrary to Christian truth," and the Government which sprang from a movement holding religion "the opium of the people." The significance of its appearance at this moment was not clear. One possible explanation, some thought, was the fact that Poland, whose Government-in-exile remains at odds with the Russians, is a Catholic country. It might be that the article was part of a campaign designed to divorce the Polish people from their Catholic leaders in preparation for the establishment of a Pro-Soviet Government.

This is a clipping from page E-1 of the New York Times for Feb. 6, 1944
Clipped at the Seat of Government.

UNDERGROUND ARMY WAITS TO STRIKE

By DAVID ANDERSON
By Wireless to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

LONDON, Feb. 5—The slow fires of civilian resistance in enemy-occupied lands now have been burning nearly three to five years. The explosive force generated by them for release at the time of the invasion of the Continent by the liberating Allied armies is something which the high commands both in London and Berlin are trying to gauge today.

No man can tell how many are serving in the European underground movements or even where they are active. They have taken on different forms in various countries and their development has been dictated by geography and the nature of the people themselves. The fact that this work has been clandestine has meant a minimum of organization and a consequent shortage of precise information about what is going on.

The real military significance of the underground is a subject for debate. There is one theory that the value of guerrillas runs in inverse proportion to the number of regular troops on the scene. In other words, when a campaigning army arrives it simply swamps saboteurs. Plenty of support can be found, however, for the extensive employment of underground fighters in a thickly settled country such as France. At any rate it can be said that no central military headquarters has been established for control of the continental underground when the invasion comes.

Allied Chiefs Study Role of This Force In the Invasion

Action in Varying Forms

The degree of violence to be expected from the underground covers a wide range. At one end is perpetual fighting by full-fledged fighters like those of Tito in Jugoslavia, and the opposite is characteristic of Norway, where climate and rugged terrain have ruled out practically all forms of sabotage. In between are the well-organized Polish guerrilla bands preying on isolated German detachments, the skilful, almost artistic, work of the Greek patriots with dynamite, and the raids carried out periodically in France and the low countries on enemy establishments.

The question of arming the underground is being discussed generally by the highest Allied authorities.

The French Committee has asked for weapons which, it is understood, will be provided. When the Allied armies launch their campaign in the west there will be 200,000 fully equipped Frenchmen biding their time in the towns and in the countryside now occupied by the Nazis.

The most potent weapon in the hands of the patriots is not necessarily an explosive one, as the Germans, who are in a position to know, bear out with their persistent hunt for radio sets in the occupied territories.

Intelligence Agents

Less spectacular than sabotage, yet of greater over-all value to the Allied cause, has been the intelligence work of the underground agents since the outbreak of war. Each exiled government, to be a government worthy of the name, must, obviously, maintain some contact with its own people. This has yielded rich dividends in formations of every kind, military, economic and political.

News flows out of Europe as water trickles from a glacier. How much of it can be attributed to underground sources, and what part of it is the result of professional secret service agents, cannot be told today, nor are the methods used a fit subject yet for publication.

The Poles consider their network of clandestine workers in virtually every country in Europe a news source of such importance that

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they rank it on a par with military activity inside Poland. The presence of 2,000,000 Polish workers in the Reich baffles even the sharpest eyes of the Gestapo.

The political significance of national underground movements has been mounting. The Netherland, Belgian and Norwegian Governments have Cabinet members recruited from the underground, and the French Committee followed suit. The Poles have gone so far as to establish a Deputy Prime Minister in Poland and only two days ago announced the creation of a Council of National Unity designed to extend political representation within the occupied zone. Among the complexities of this, as of every Polish problem, is the Russian-sponsored underground operating in the eastern provinces.

An ace in the hand of Gen. Charles de Gaulle for years now has been the loyalty of the French underground to the man who first raised the standard of resistance outside France. Until the committee in North Africa matured it was feared in some quarters that a triumphant general might be installed by powerful elements in France to head a military dictatorship in France. That phase has passed and today the population seems more likely to indulge in an old-fashioned free-for-all after the war.

Post-War Government

The active political power of the underground has in no sense diminished in the Balkans where the patriots appear to be in a fair way to say what kind of administration will govern them when peace returns.

Deep interest in post-war reconstruction has been evidenced in several countries through underground channels. The Netherland Government in London, for instance, has molded its policy for return on the clearly expressed wishes of Netherlanders theoretically sealed off by the enemy.

How all this has been achieved is a question that may be asked. The principle is not to allow the left hand to know what the right hand is up to. Most countries have many secret organizations unknown to one another; each of them, however, is linked with London by the grapevine system.

The Polish Government has established a most imposing underground edifice, and that of France is probably the best organized. In the Netherlands there are at least 100,000 "down-unders," that is, persons sought by the enemy well protected by a smooth underground machine.

It's program runs from the liquidating of Quislings and prominent Nazis to the rifling of enemy offices for identity cards and ration books, useful in their work.

Norwegian resistance has been largely an individual matter, centering in small hamlets. The process is described as an organic growth within the community and spreading everywhere, yet hard to find anywhere.

The Germans are now attempting to herd young people together for the purposes of discipline as well as to break down their tendency to organize innumerable resistance groups.

Much has been written about the underground newspapers. The French believe they have outlived their usefulness, being too dangerous now and no longer necessary. The public understands what is at stake and can be kept informed better by radio.

The British Broadcasting Corporation is claimed to be a medium superior to all the secret broadsheets, news leaflets and journals published at great risk in France.

Inside the Netherlands

Netherlanders support their underground newspapers well—out of fifteen with a national circulation there are five that together reach 200,000 readers. Queen Wilhelmina, Premier Pieter S. Gerbrandy, Dr. Eelco N. van Kleffens, Foreign Minister, have all supplemented the printed word with broadcasts over Radio Orange from Britain.

The Germans are keenly aware of the danger of letting underground activity run unchecked, but they are faced with a staggering job. Gestapo men have enrolled in underground groups and have been reported "killed" and reassigned to carry on elsewhere. The enemy has sent out underground bulletins and waited to see if the recipients would obey the law by turning over the document—and those concerned have carried the message, which might or might not be genuine, in an open envelope addressed to the German police chief.

The grave, haunting fear of the underground on both sides, in every land, is that the collapse of German authority will lead to a cruel night of long knives.

What Is U.N.R.R.A.?

by PROFESSOR A. VOSKRENSKY

(From the Soviet trade union journal "War and the Working Class")

U.N.R.R.A. has been set a definite concrete task of rendering first-aid to the population of the liberated areas. But it is still necessary to ensure the actual fulfilment of this task which, of course, will not happen if matters are left to drift by themselves.

U.N.R.R.A. is to engage in the restoration of industry, agriculture, transport and municipal economy only to the extent necessary to satisfy the urgent needs of the population. The full restoration of economy is outside its competence. The foreign press, however points out that some big capitalist circles in the U.S.A. and Britain favour the extension of U.N.R.R.A.'s field of activity. Some suggest U.N.R.R.A. should give immediate aid to occupied countries even before liberation, some wish U.N.R.R.A. to take over almost all world trade. Others even want to bring reparations "within the framework of aid," or want U.N.R.R.A. to control all "surplus commodities," whether of the United Nations or the enemy.

The proposed extension of the field of activity of U.N.R.R.A. may only lead to the disruption of aid to the liberated districts.

Inside U.N.R.R.A. two tendencies are apparent. On the one hand unquestionably there is the sense of duty to the people who have fallen prey to German aggression and who, by their heroic struggle, are ensuring victory over the common enemy. On the other hand, there is no need to conceal that the organisation of this aid is influenced by more prosaic considerations, reflecting the interests of certain political and business circles in the U.S.A. and Britain. Above all, there is the fear of "post-war chaos." Some statesmen frankly suggest that "aid must forestall "civil war," "revolutionary changes in Europe," etc. Other circles want to use U.N.R.R.A. resources and the whole matter of aid to the liberated peoples of Europe as a political weapon. Yet it is clear that the entire work of aid must be permeated with respect for the principles of democracy and the sovereignty of the nations.

Leading circles in America and Britain, who are organising U.N.R.R.A., have been guided not only by principles of humaneness, but also by fully realistic business considerations. The organisation of relief and aid in liberation is one of the attempts of American leading circles to avert the danger of post-war economic crisis or, at any rate, to weaken it. This desire is coupled with certain humanitarian feelings, political consideration, and the desire to give aid to liberated districts so that they can participate in the destruction of the enemy.

The U.S.A. is faced with the difficult task of ensuring the development of its foreign post-war trade, and in particular of preventing its disastrous decline during the period when world economy will be switched back to peaceful production. If the international stabilisation fund planned by the Americans aims at stimulating trade for a long post-war period, U.N.R.R.A. can render definite aid to American trade immediately after the war by continuing in new conditions—during the period of the transfer of economy to peaceful channels—the policy underlying Lease-Lend.

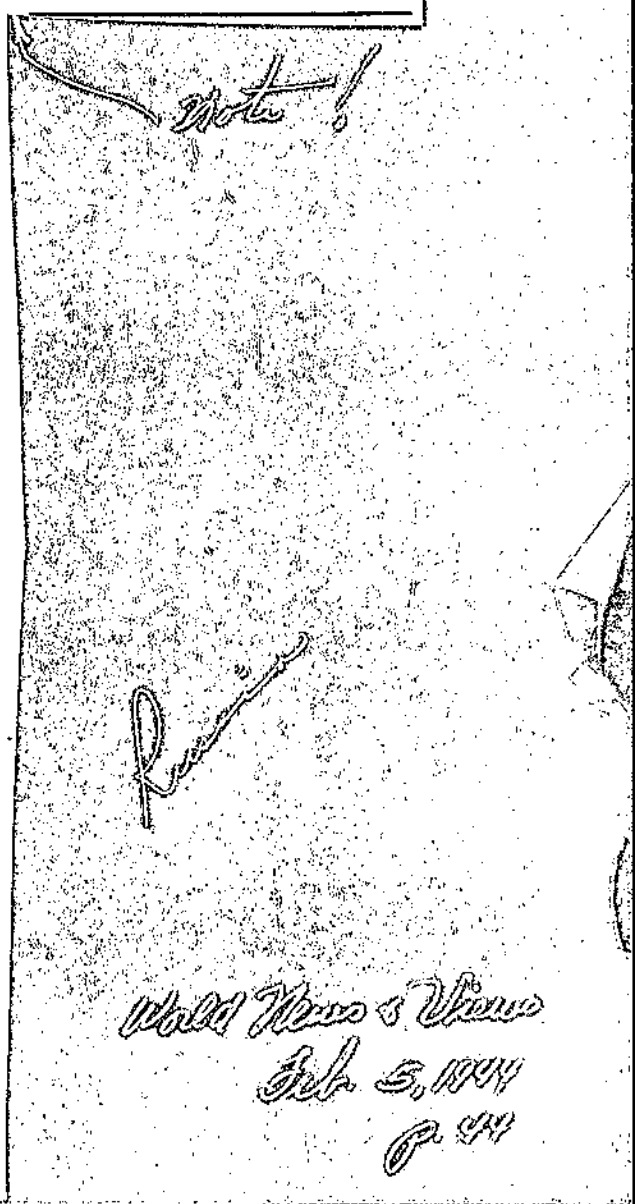
In organising relief and aid toward restoration, American business circles by no means occupy themselves with charity with regard to the European peoples. They are acting first and foremost in their own interests. In present world conditions it is impossible to organise aid on a large scale as a purely American undertaking. The activities of the American Relief Administration in the last war aroused no small amount of suspicion in a number of countries towards such undertakings. The organisation created by the United Nations and the nations joining them is an incomparably more acceptable form. It must also be borne in mind that with the tremendous damage caused by the German fascist invaders and their associates to the peoples of Europe, the scope of the aid required is beyond the capacity of any one country. To render effective aid, it is necessary to combine the efforts of the democratic States.

The basic principle underlying U.N.R.R.A. activity must be the just distribution of aid to the various countries and the districts liberated from the enemy. This was stressed by the President of the U.S.A. in his speech on the day when the agreement instituting U.N.R.R.A. was signed.

Judging from the reports of the U.N.R.R.A. Council sessions, published in the foreign press, this principle, however, was not expressed with adequate precision in the Council's decisions. Just distribution implies aid within the limits of the possibilities of U.N.R.R.A., in accordance with the needs of the different countries, but the scope and character of the damage suffered by each country as a result of occupation and military operations on its territory must be taken into account. However great the damage in all occupied areas, it nevertheless differs both in volume and in proportion with the country's national wealth. Consequently, the need for aid will not be the same everywhere. Therefore, the just distribution of aid must actually imply granting to the countries which suffered most from occupation and military operations, certain privileges with regard to priority in receiving aid, as well as favourable terms for repayment.

Published reports unfortunately do not contain such a precise formulation of the question. The Council decided that a just distribution of deliveries will be effected between the civil population of the various areas (taking into account their real or potential participation in military operations) and evaded clear formulation on this important question. This formulation about potential participation in military operations leaves room for various interpretations.

The Soviet Union, which has suffered most from occupation and military operations, is faced with gigantic tasks of restoration in the liberated areas. It is therefore easy to understand the interest of the Soviet public in the activity of U.N.R.R.A. which is called upon to play its role in aid to areas and countries liberated from the German invaders. Soviet public opinion, like public opinion in other democratic countries subjected to German invasion, must give the utmost attention to the activity of U.N.R.R.A. Only then will it be possible to ensure the correct direction of its activity and obtain really positive results.



EMBASSY OF THE UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS

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Molotov's Report to Supreme Soviet of USSR

On the transformation of the People's Commissariat of Defense and the People's Commissariat of Foreign Affairs from Union People's Commissariats into Union-Republican People's Commissariats. Report of Vyacheslav M. Molotov, People's Commissar of Foreign Affairs, in the Supreme Soviet of the USSR on February 1, 1944.

Comrades Deputies:

The question of the transformation of two People's Commissariats—the People's Commissariat of Defense and the People's Commissariat of Foreign Affairs—from Union into Union-Republican People's Commissariats has been posed before the Supreme Soviet.

The Council of People's Commissars believes that this question is quite ripe. This is not a matter of the ordinary reorganization of two People's Commissariats. This is primarily a matter of placing new and most responsible tasks before the Union Republics. The question has been posed of new tasks and rights of Union Republics, firstly in the matter of the defense of our country, and secondly in the sphere of external relations with foreign states, and in this connection, of important transformations in our Union State.

Vyacheslav M. Molotov

Heretofore the Union Republics took part in the common work of creation of the organization and equipment of the Red Army. Our Army was created as an All-Union Army, and there existed no separate army formations of the Republics. Now it is proposed to institute army formations of Republics, which should form component parts of the Red Army. In this connection there arises the need for the creation of People's Commissariats of Defense in the Union Republics, as well as the necessity of the transformation of the Union People's Commissariat of Defense into a Union-Republican People's Commissariat.

After the foundation of the Union of Soviet Republics in 1922, foreign political relations were wholly concentrated in the Union People's Commissariat of Foreign Affairs, to which individual Republics delegated their powers in foreign relations. Now the Government of the Union proposes that Union Republics be granted powers to enter into direct relations with foreign states and conclude agreements with them. Naturally, the granting of powers to the Republics in the sphere of foreign relations renders it necessary to create People's Commissariats of Foreign Affairs in the Union Republics and to transform the Union People's Commissariat of Foreign Affairs into a Union-Republican People's Commissariat.

The meaning of the proposed transformation is perfectly clear. This transformation signifies the great expansion of activities of the Union Republics which has become possible as a result of their political, economic and cultural growth, or, in other words, as a result of their national development. One cannot fail to see in this a new, important step in the practical solution of the national problem in the multi-national Soviet State, one cannot fail to see in this a new victory for our Lenin-Stalin national policy.

This transformation, however, has become possible not merely as a result of the strengthening of our Republics. It has become possible as a result of the achieved strengthening of our Union State as a whole. The strengthening of the Soviet Union that has taken place is most convincingly proved by the

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manner in which our Red Army, which bears the whole brunt of the struggle with the main forces of the most dangerous enemy, is beating the German-fascist army and successfully brings nearer the time of the complete expulsion of the enemy from Soviet territory and his utter defeat.

Now it is more than obvious how scandalously the enemy's calculations on the Red Army's defeat fell through and how nearsighted were the Hitlerites' calculations on causing disunity among the peoples of the Soviet Union. Our Army, which was joined by millions of people from all the nations in the Soviet Union and which receives such invaluable help from our guerrillas in the enemy's rear, proves more and more successfully with every day how strong our country has become, how powerful the Soviet system is, how great the friendship of the Soviet peoples is.

The present proposal on the transformations in the organization of defense and in foreign relations, providing for a great expansion of the functions of the Union Republics, should serve as a new confirmation of our confidence in the strength and growth of the forces of the Soviet Union. This confidence is demonstrated all the more forcefully that we propose to effect these transformations at the height of a Patriotic War, when the forces of our peoples are strained so greatly and when not every state would venture to undertake such important transformations.

I

Transformation of the People's Commissariat of Defense.

I proceed to the question of the transformation of the People's Commissariat of Defense. It is proposed by the draft of the law to establish that the Union Republics organize army formations of the Republics, and that the People's Commissariat of Defense is transformed from a Union into a Union-Republican People's Commissariat. It is proposed accordingly to make the necessary addenda to the All-Union Constitution.

Now, too, we have national army formations in the Red Army. Our Army has Lithuanian, Latvian, Estonian, Georgian, Azerbaijanian, Armenian, Kazakh and certain other army formations. Some of these army units were created during the Patriotic War. Now that all the peoples of the Soviet Union strive to take their place in the ranks of the Red Army, creation of army formations of the Republics is of great importance to us. As is well known, in Tsarist Russia certain nationalities and peoples were not conscripted for military service. For instance, the Uzbeks, Kazakhs, Tajiks, Turkmenians, Kirghizians, and most of the peoples of the Northern Caucasus, also peoples of the North, were not subject to conscription. Tsarism, naturally, did not trust peoples which it kept in a colonial or semi-colonial status. The Tsarist power even did not do anything to prepare these peoples for gradual induction into the army.

In the Soviet time, the situation has changed radically. The legislation naturally contains no legal restrictions for some or other nationalities as regards conscription. But a certain time had to pass in order to render possible actual realization of conscriptions to the Red Army in all parts of the Soviet Union. Partial conscriptions to the Red Army were carried out in past years even in those districts of the USSR where no conscriptions took place in old times. National army units were formed in the Red Army as well, but up to recent time these formations could not really develop. Now the situation has changed for the better. Adequate possibilities have been created for army formations in the Union Republics. All the Republics have not only cadres of rank and file fighters, but also certain cadres of commanding personnel capable of directing respective army units. Thus at present the creation of army formations in the Union Republics can be placed on a firm foundation.

But to realize this task it is necessary to have Republican People's Commissariats of Defense, and consequently there arises the necessity of the transformation of the Union People's Commissariat of Defense into a Union-Republican People's Commissariat. It is to be expected that this will also increase the attention paid by the Republics to the organization of military training in schools and institutions of higher education, of which we stand in need. Under such conditions, the creation of army formations in the Republics as component parts of the Red Army will play a not insignificant, positive part.

How will this affect our Red Army? Will this contribute to its strengthening, to the growth of its might? Yes, this is beyond any doubt. Our Army has always been close to and cherished by the peoples of the Soviet Union. In the course of the Patriotic War, still stronger became the love of the peoples of the USSR for their Army, still stronger and more universal became the pride of the Soviet people in the successes and heroism of the Red Army. Indeed, who fails to see what a glorious struggle is waged by our Army for the liberation of the Ukraine, for the liberation of Byelorussia? Who fails to appreciate whole-heartedly what the Red Army does to prepare the imminent liberation of Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, Moldavia and the Karelo-Finnish Republic? Who fails to remember that Soviet troops saved Azerbaijan, Georgia and Armenia from the invasion of German fascism? Who of our Soviet people does not glorify our Army for having defended our Capital —Moscow, for having routed the Germans at Stalin-

grad and launched an offensive along the whole front, for having defended Leningrad and fully lifted the blockade from it, and for now chasing the enemy hordes from the native soil without giving him any respite? Who, save those plagued by fascism, fails to understand now that the Red Army fulfils a mission of liberation not only with regard to its own motherland, but also with regard to all democratic countries which fight for their honor, freedom and independence against the mortal danger presented by fascism?

Who further does not know that the men and women workers of our mills and factories, that the men and women peasants on the collective farms, that our intelligentsia, that all the Soviet people, are ready to give all their strength to enhance the might of the Red Army, that by their self-sacrificing labor they discharge by actual deeds their duty to the motherland, to the heroic Red Army?

The formation of army units of the Republics should serve to strengthen further our Army as the defender of our country, as the reliable bulwark of the Soviet Union. The enemies of the Soviet Union need not doubt that as a result of these new army formations the forces of our State will grow still stronger. This will make them more cautious in the future.

This new embodiment of the growing friendship of the peoples of the Soviet Union will contribute to the further growth of the prestige of our country with the nations of the East and West.

II

Transformation of People's Commissariat of Foreign Affairs.

Of no lesser significance is the transformation of the All-Union People's Commissariat of Foreign Affairs into a Union-Republican People's Commissariat. Before the foundation of the Soviet Union, along with the People's Commissariat of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic there existed People's Commissariats of Foreign Affairs in the Ukraine, Byelorussia, Georgia, Armenia and Azerbaijan, which on certain occasions maintained foreign relations with other states. During the early period when our State was not yet gathered into one Union State, but consisted of separate parts, a number of treaties and agreements were concluded between individual Soviet Republics and foreign states. On some occasions representatives of the Russian SFSR were specially authorized by other Soviet Republics to participate in international conferences and to conclude treaties with other states on behalf of all or several Soviet Republics.

Comrade Stalin said at the first All-Union Congress of Soviets that "at that time the Soviet Republics, although they acted together, marched separately, occupied primarily by the problem of their existence." That was inevitable at the initial stage. When the USSR was founded in accordance with the common will of the Union Republics, it was decided to unify relations with foreign states in one center. Then was created the All-Union People's Commissariat of Foreign Affairs, in which were vested the powers of the People's Commissariats of Foreign Affairs of the separate Soviet Republics. Since then, up to our days, the Soviet State was represented abroad through All-Union diplomatic representatives. Treaties and agreements with foreign states were also concluded only on behalf of the Union. This was necessary at a certain stage of the development of our State and yielded its positive results by having strengthened the State and highly enhanced its part in international affairs. But even then, as far back as at the Party Congress in 1923, Comrade Stalin said: "We shall still take up the national question more than once, since national and international conditions are subject to changes and may still change. I do not preclude the possibility that subsequently we may have to separate certain commissariats which we are now merging in the Union of Republics . . ."

Being the best authority on the national question, not only in our Party and not only in our country, Comrade Stalin, who together with the great Lenin laid the foundation of the Soviet Union, pointed out even then that changes in the international situation and the national development would more than once call forth organizational changes in the machine of the Soviet State. No other state of affairs can be imagined, especially in such a young and rapidly gaining strength organism as the Soviet Union is.

Now the question of the foreign relations of the Union Republics stands differently from the way it stood two decades ago when the Soviet Union was being founded. It grew out of the vital needs of the Republics and its solution is dictated by the interests of the Union as a whole. The time is long past when certain foreign states tried not to notice the existence of the Soviet Republic born in the October Revolution. Now, on the contrary, among foreign states there is a growing desire to establish and develop diplomatic relations with our State.

Certainly under conditions of World War this meets with peculiar, not insignificant difficulties, but still even in the years of war the international connections of the USSR have been steadily extending. One may even say that it was just in the years of the war that the international connections of the Soviet Union have risen to a new and higher level. The facts are universally known. For the first time during the existence of Soviet power, we have established

not only friendly but even allied relations with Great Britain. Similar good relations have been formed between us and the United States of America. A powerful anti-Hitler coalition has been formed, headed by the Soviet Union, Great Britain and the United States of America, a coalition whose military and political importance for the whole range of democratic states can hardly be overestimated. The recently concluded Soviet-Czechoslovak Treaty may serve as an example of the strengthening of friendly relations of the Soviet Union with European states. The foundations have been laid for the cooperation of large and small democratic countries, not only in time of war against a common enemy, but also in the postwar period for the sake of safeguarding peace against new encroachments on the part of aggressive powers.

As is well known, the Moscow and Teheran Conferences played a most eminent part in the development and strengthening of the anti-Hitler coalition. Now as never before, great is the confidence of the peoples of the anti-Hitler camp in near and complete victory, in joint crushing blows of the Allies at the common enemy, which are already not distant, as well as confidence that the alliance and friendship of the anti-fascist countries will be steeled in this common struggle.

And still it cannot be said that this general positive course of development of the international connections of the Soviet Union could fully cover not only the requirements of the whole Union but also the multifarious and growing requirements of the Union Republics in foreign affairs. Thus the Union Republics have quite a few specific economic and cultural requirements which cannot be covered in full measure by All-Union representation abroad and also by treaties and agreements of the Union with other states. These national requirements of the Republics can be met better by means of direct relations of the Republics with the corresponding states. Naturally, questions of this kind require special concrete elaboration in Union and Republican organs. It cannot be denied either that a certain time will be required to organize these external activities of the Republics. Such questions are not solved after a cut and dried pattern. It is indisputable, however, that the problem of emerging into the arena of external activities has already acquired vital importance for a number of Republics.

Lastly, it should be acknowledged that this is in the interests not only of this or that individual Union Republic, but also in the interests of the entire cause of the expansion of international connections and the strengthening of the cooperation of the USSR with other states, which is of such importance in time of war and which will yield fruit also in the postwar period.

Such are the grounds on which the necessity of the transformation of the People's Commissariat of Foreign Affairs from a Union into a Union-Republican People's Commissariat should be recognized. Whereas in the initial period there existed only Republican People's Commissariats of Foreign Affairs, and in the second period only a Union Commissariat of Foreign Affairs, now the People's Commissariat of Foreign Affairs should be transformed into a more complex and ramified organization—into a Union-Republican People's Commissariat.

It remains for me to add a few words on our diplomatic practice. It is necessary to note that the absence of special provisions in the Soviet Constitution as regards the rights of Union Republics to exchange of representations with other states and to the maintenance of foreign relations, is sometimes interpreted to the direct detriment of the interests of the Soviet Republics and of the Soviet Union as a whole. The proposed addition will serve to eliminate facts of this kind.

III

New Forward Stride in Solution of National Problem.

The proposed transformation of the People's Commissariat of Foreign Affairs and the People's Commissariat of Defense is a new forward stride in the solution of the national problem in the Soviet Union. This transformation is in direct accord with the principles of our Lenin-Stalin national policy. The realization of measures of this kind at the present time means that the Soviet State has reached a new level in its development, turning into a more complex and virile organism. In this one cannot fail to see fresh evidence of the great significance of the socialist principles of the organization of the Soviet Union.

In his report to the Congress of Soviets which adopted the Constitution of the USSR in 1936, Comrade Stalin thus characterized the victory of the national policy of the Soviet power which insured the success of the formation of a multi-national state on the basis of socialism:

"The absence of exploiting classes which are the principal organizers of strife between nations; the absence of exploitation which cultivates mutual distrust and kindles nationalist passions; the fact that power is in the hands of the working class which is the foe of all enslavement and the true vehicle of the ideas of internationalism; the actual practice of mutual aid among the peoples in all spheres of economic and social life; and finally, the flourishing national culture of the peoples of the USSR, a culture which is national in form and socialist in content—all these

and similar factors have brought about a radical change in the aspect of the peoples of the USSR; their feeling of mutual distrust has disappeared, a feeling of mutual friendship has developed among them, and thus real fraternal cooperation among the peoples has been established within the system of a single Union State. As a result, we now have a fully-formed multi-national socialist State which has stood all tests and whose stability might well be envied by any national state in any part of the world."

Seven years—and what years!—have passed since then. Soon it will be three years that we have been waging the great Patriotic War against German fascism and its allies, which use the material and manpower resources of nearly the whole of Europe in their struggle against the Soviet Union. This has been a new—and the most serious at that—test for our multi-national State. But the Soviet Union has passed this test, too, with flying colors.

On the 26th anniversary of the October Revolution, Comrade Stalin thus summed up the latest period:

"All the peoples of the Soviet Union have risen as one to defend their motherland, rightly considering the present Patriotic War the common cause of all working people, irrespective of nationality or religion. By now the Hitlerite politicians have themselves seen how hopelessly stupid were their hopes of discord and strife among the peoples of the Soviet Union. The friendship of the peoples of our country has withstood all hardships and trials of war and has become tempered still further in the common struggle of all Soviet people against the fascist invaders."

This—in Comrade Stalin's words—is one of the decisive sources of the strength of the Soviet Union.

Let us sum up. Carrying out under the present conditions important State transformations, we must of course pose the question of how this will affect the Red Army and its deep rear in the country. In other words, are we making a step toward the strengthening or toward the weakening of the USSR?

Everything said above permits to give a definite answer to this question. The transformation of the People's Commissariat of Foreign Affairs and the People's Commissariat of Defense which follows from the expansion of the tasks and functions of the Union Republics within the country and beyond its confines, far from running counter to the interests of the strengthening of our Union, on the contrary is being effected in the name of and for the purpose of the further strengthening of our great State.

Since the time when the Soviet Union was founded, the Constitution has insured to the Union Republics such a supreme expression of their sovereign rights as the right of free secession from the USSR. But as time passes the stronger becomes the desire of the peoples of the Soviet Union to live in close friendship among themselves, to help one another and to march together through all trials under the guidance of Soviet power.

The recognition by the Union of the increased requirements of the Republics in their state activities, including foreign activities, and legislative provision for these needs of the Republics, only serve to strengthen the fraternal relations among the peoples of our country and reveal still more fully the historic meaning of the existence of the Soviet Union to the peoples of the East and West.

It should be recognized further that the new forward stride in the solution of the national problem in the USSR is of great importance from the viewpoint of all progressive humanity. At a time when German fascism—this worst product of imperialism!—has reared its head and unleashed a World War to strangle its neighbors, to destroy free states and impose its bandit imperialist policy upon other peoples of Europe, and after that upon the peoples of the whole world—the new success in the realization of the Lenin-Stalin national policy in the Soviet State will have especially great international significance. This step of the Soviet power will constitute a new moral-political blow at fascism and its man-hating policy, hostile to its core to the interest of the free national development of peoples.

The Soviet Union and its Allies are already successfully beating fascism, which imposed this war, hastening the time of its utter military defeat. But we know that matters should not be restricted to the military defeat of the fascist forces. It is necessary to bring to completion the moral-political defeat of fascism as well. To this, we are certain, will successfully contribute those State transformations in the Soviet Union which are now submitted for your approval.

I express assurance that the Supreme Soviet will demonstrate the unanimity of the Soviet people in the solution of the question of the proposed State transformations.

I'd Rather Be Right

WASH STAR FEB-5-44 p6

Samuel Grafton

I do not quite know the meaning of the Russians' sudden return to states' rights. It sounds a little bit as if the Russians have been listening to Senator Taft denounce centralized government and have been much impressed.

But I do not really believe that explanation; I have heard that the Russians are turning to the right, but I doubt whether they are actually going Republican and returning to state government for love of same.

What, then, can the move mean? It has been said that the Russians are "needling" us for some reason, that they are pushing their weight about, that they are showing us who is boss by such cryptic moves as this one, of giving each of the 16 republics within the U. S. S. R. control over its own foreign affairs and army forces.

I do not think the Russians are "needling" us. I do not think so, because as pressure the move is too cryptic. There is not much point in cryptic pressure. How can the Russians hope to move us by pressure that is mysterious, for ends that are unstated?

* * * *

Vagueness is not a virtue in a pressure device. Besides, in spite of many popular legends to the contrary, the Russians have never been especially enigmatic in applying pressure against us. When they wanted a second front they used to say, in Pravda, "We want a second front." When the Russians did not want us to intervene in the Polish boundary question they said: "We do not wish you to intervene at this time." When they wanted to reprimand Mr. Willkie for not being willing to give them Eastern Poland out of hand they did not do it by obscurely shifting the constables of Kiev to Kuibyshev or anything of that sort. They said it out loud. The needling theory seems to me to fall to earth. If they are needling us, what are they needling us for?

Besides, why did Molotov praise the Teheran accord in the very statement in which he announced the new political changes? His remarks can only serve to convince us of the West that our governments are getting along with Russia; i.e., his remarks remove pressure. I doubt if we are being "needled." A needle needs a sharper point.

* * * *

I have said in the past that to understand Russian political maneuvers one must in every case study the objective result of the action taken. In other words, if the Russians pour a bucket of water on some one the inference is not that they are angry at him, but that they want him to be wet. What are the objective results of this new move? Let us stop trying to analyze Hamlet's character and let us see what Hamlet has actually done.

The objective results of the new move are that each of the Russian states has been given, at least in theory, sovereign rights. These rights go far beyond any American conception of states' rights. Mr. Molotov has explained that each Russian state will not only control its own foreign policy and its armies, but he expressly threw in and reaffirmed the right to secede.

It seems to me clear that he has done so with particular reference to Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania and Old Poland. In other words, by giving these states the attributes of sovereignty the Russians have set up a legal basis whereby these states, or parts of state, may become Russian, and still be recognized by us; i. e., they are not captured territory, but sovereign members of a federation and thus we may deal with them.

* * * *

Now this grant of rights may be fake as can be. I think it is. These states may be theoretically sovereign, but each will still be led by persons whom Moscow trusts. The change is purely formal and legalistic. But, even so, must we not say that the intention behind the new move is conciliatory? Surely it is no surprise to us that Russia wants these territories. She has said so often enough.

Against that background, cannot the theory be supported that the new move actually represents a certain softening of the Russian attitude, a kind of accommodation to our own regard for legalism? As I say, I don't know the full answer. But this reasoning seems to me to rest on at least as good support as the eager interpretation of the new move as a hostile one.

WASHINGTON STAR
FEB. 5, 1944
PAGE 6

Roosevelt Declines to Express Opinion on Autonomy of Soviets

Says He Is Not Well Enough Informed—President Sees Czech Vice Premier—Latvian Envoy Bitter Toward USSR

3

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

WASHINGTON, Feb. 4— President Roosevelt is awaiting more information concerning the grant by Moscow of autonomous powers to the sixteen component republics of the Soviet Union in the fields of foreign affairs and defense before he will be in a position to make any comment concerning it, he said at his press conference today.

When invited to say something about it he declined, explaining that, unlike some others, he was not making any comment because he did not know enough about it.

To keep quiet when one does not know, he declared, requires courage.

Later in the day President Roosevelt received in conference Jan Masaryk, Vice Premier and Foreign Minister of Czechoslovakia, who was accompanied by Vladimir Hurban, Czechoslovak Ambassador.

Mr. Masaryk, who called on the President prior to returning to London, was asked on leaving the White House what he thought of the speech made in London yesterday by Dr. Eduard Benes, President of Czechoslovakia. President Benes highly praised Russia and commended the new treaty with the Soviet Union.

"We are very close to Russia geographically," Mr. Masaryk replied, "and have to act accordingly."

He said he believed the Russians had proved their good faith and had provided his country with all necessary guarantees.

"If there were 130,000,000 Czechs," he said, "it would be different concerning everything. When you're small, things are more difficult. That's why we have to play penny-ante."

He remarked that there were only about 12,000,000 Czechs, but that they were "pretty tough."

One reason for President Roosevelt's refusal at his press conference to draw conclusion from the autonomy moves in the Soviet Union presumably is that the picture is still developing. Until it has developed further, diplomats here also are maintaining the same attitude.

One of the latest developments was the announcement yesterday of the resignation of A. E. Kornelchuk as Soviet Vice Commissar for Foreign Affairs. In that post he had charge of Polish relations. Also, he is the husband of Wanda Wasilewska, head of the Union of Polish Patriots in Moscow. He is a Ukrainian, but it is not known whether he is to be appointed to a post in the Ukraine.

His resignation might merely mean that Moscow wished to have him leave the Foreign Office at this time because of his close identifications with Polish affairs.

The resignation was followed today by a report that a new Polish committee had been set up in Poland and that it was favorably disposed toward Russia. The report lacked official confirmation here. If it is true, observeres will watch with interest to see whether the new committee may in effect replace the Union of Polish Patriots, and to learn Moscow's attitude toward is as compared with the Polish government in exile in London.

In the face of the various possibilities, confidence continued to be asserted today in the foundations laid at the Moscow and Teheran conferences for cooperation between the Soviet Union and the Anglo-American powers.

This is a clipping from page 3 of the New York Times for Feb. 5, 1944
Clipped at the Seat of Government.

Abroad

Implications of the New Soviet Union

By ANNE O'HARE McCORMICK

The Soviet Government is moving as fast politically as the Red armies are moving in the field. The two movements, of course, are closely related; this was never so apparent as in the decision to extend autonomy in foreign policy and military defense to the republics of the Union. The timing of the move, at the moment when the troops are crossing the disputed western borders, and the inclusion in the sixteen states of the five territories occupied, or reoccupied, in 1940—Moldavia, Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, the Karelian-Finnish Republic—are a clear indication of its immediate, perhaps its main, purpose. Whatever it means—and who can know more than the President on this point?—it certainly looks like a pattern for annexation, a new design for empire, an invitation cast into the void of Europe to join the Soviet system on very favorable terms.

This is by no means the whole reason for the action approved so quickly and unquestionably by the Supreme Soviet this week. It may look forward to a real devolution of central power. But why come out with that before the Constitution it amends is put in operation? Why stop in the middle of war just to put the finishing touches on a model for the future?

Certainly the amendment marks a new stage in the erratic but rapid development of Russian policy, which has not yet decided between the "one world" idea of international organization based on full cooperation between the four great Powers and what might be called a "four-world" set-up in which each of these Powers will rule its own region and direct its own security system.

Certainly it does not aim merely to increase Soviet representation in other capitals or in world councils. Even though the Soviet Government expects the sixteen republics to send and receive envoys from other countries it is obvious that sixteen segments of Russia could not exercise more power than Russia as a whole. It is more reasonable to suppose that Stalin's primary aim is to close the door on any stated plainly enough in the Moscow press, which explains that Russia has acquired "a flexible organization which will provide for the further growth of the power of the motherland." The flexibility might be useful if an occasion arose when Moscow desired to pursue a different policy in the East and the West.

The scheme may mean nothing—or everything. It may be just another paper pattern or it may be a bold plan for the reorganization not only of the Soviet Union and eastern Europe but of Germany and other regions east and west in the great land mass of Eurasia. Maybe it is Moscow's idea of a New Order, dropped into the political vacuum and the social chaos Hitler will leave behind him. In the ruins of the Continent there will be millions who have lost every prop and tie that held them to the old order, a vast proletariat with nothing more to lose, and looking for a place to go.

It was Stalin, as Commissar of Nationalities, who organized the administration of the Soviet republics. The federalism worked out under his direction is far more centralist in operation than that of the United States, but it encouraged culture and racial autonomy and provided for local control in such fields as education, agriculture, internal trade, social welfare. The emphasis on federalism was much stronger in the first decade of the revolution than in the second, when overall economic planning and the feverish speed-up of defense industries tightened the central controls.

At no time, however, have the autonomous republics enjoyed any political autonomy. All power is concentrated in and exercised by the Communist party. The Government of the whole union is the Party Congress working through the Political Bureau. This is recognized in the 1936 Constitution, which describes the party as "the directing nucleus of all organizations, both social and state, of the workers." The various peoples can read in different languages, but they read the same thing. They can vote, but for only one candidate proposed by the official bloc. And unless the obligatory interior passport has been abolished

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page 14 of th
New York Times for
Feb. 5, 194
Clipped at the Seat
Government.

The Union Republics

by James S. Alle

THE Union of Soviet Republics consists of 16 Union Republics and 19 Autonomous Republics within the Union Republics. The Union Republics represent the state formations of the 16 principal nations within the Soviet Union. The Autonomous Republics represent nations within the borders of the Union Republic. In addition to these national entities, there are also Autonomous Regions and National Areas within the Union Republics which represent the grouping of various national minorities.

The 16 Union Republics are:

The Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic, Ukraine, Byelo-Russia, Uzbekistan, Turkmenia, Tajikistan, Georgia, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan, Kirkhizia, Karelo-Finnish, Moldavia, Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia.

The Autonomous Republics are:

Tatar, Bashkir, Daghestan, Buryat-Mongolian, Chechen - Ingush, Chuvash, Kabardino - Balkarian, Kalmyk, Komi, Marilsk, Mordavian, North Ossetian, Udmurt, Yakut, Nakhichevan, Abkhazian, Ajarian, Kara-Kalpak, and Crimean.

The Supreme Soviet of the USSR has two chambers: the Soviet of the Union and the Soviet of Nationalities. One deputy on the basis of 300,000 of the population is elected to the Soviet of the Union. The Soviet of Nationalities represents all nations and peoples on the basis of 25 deputies for each Union Republic, 11 deputies from each Autonomous Republic, five from each Autonomous Region and one from each national area.

Each Union and Autonomous Republic has its own constitution and Supreme Soviet and its own council of People's Commissars.

* * *

THIS is the bare outline of the structure of the Soviet Union. It can be seen that this is a complex national structure, arising from the Soviet policy of according national rights to the many nations and national minorities within the Soviet Union.

As long as nations exist there is a national problem. It is enlightening to see how various nations

Within the old Tsarist Empire, the Great Russians were dominant not only in the sense that they constituted the largest national grouping within the empire but also in the political sense. They dominated the numerous nations, nationalities and tribal communities which had been subjected to the Great Russian power.

Today, the Great Russians are still the largest nation within the Soviet Union. But they do not dominate and oppress the smaller nations. The Leninist-Stalinist national policy is the very antithesis of the policies of the Great Russian landowners and capitalists.

After the Socialist revolution, full equal rights were accorded to all nations and national minorities. But this in itself was not enough to establish equality, due to the economic, political and cultural backwardness of the peoples oppressed and retarded by Tsarism.

It was necessary for the most highly developed nation within the socialist community to take special measures to aid in the economic, political and cultural development of the other nations. The tremendous aid given by the Great Russians to the other nations and national minorities in all these fields is at the heart of the fraternal and friendly co-existence within one union of so many nations. That is why the Soviet Union under conditions of the most terrible war in history has grown even stronger and more firmly united.

* * *

IN THE course of the war against Hitler Germany, aid from the Russian Republic to the other nations of the Soviet Union was increased greatly. The Great Russians contributed heavily of their blood in helping liberate the border republics. For the purposes of All-Union defense, many industries were shifted from the West to the areas of the various interior Republics, and new industrial centers were built. Special pains were taken to increase the production of the collective farms. In connection with conscription, education was even more rapidly extended within the army and in preparation for the army.

The whole process of economic, political and cultural development within the component nations and national minorities of the Soviet

Each nation and people arose a new height of creative endeav impelled by the cause of the p triotic war. Devotion to the co mon achievements of the socia revolution, embodied in the stru ture of each republic and in t union as a whole, impelled the So did patriotic love for their ov nation, in most cases only recent formed and established as a n tional state.

There can be no fiercer and a pervading patriotism than that nations which have establish themselves only recently as the r sult of a revolutionary struggle a a great historic experience shar in common with a whole comm nity of nations.

Soviet society is not static. It the most dynamic society in h man experience. And each Sovi nation, according to its own trai and particular conditions of d velopment, continues to grow. T approaching defeat of Hitler Ge many, which threatened each S viet nation with extinction, an the perspectives of an enduri peace set forth at Tehran, relea new springs of creative energy every Soviet nation.

The Soviet nations did not sto growing when the Soviet Union w established. That served as an im pulse for their further developmen Over a period of time the aspec of the national question arisin from the need to overcome the ef fects of Tsarist repression were solved.

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Daily Worker for
Feb. 5, 194
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NEW needs arise from the new phase of the forward-movement of the nations, needs of inner growth and greater maturity. These needs are met by the new Soviet changes, which accord to each of the 16 Union Republics the right to establish armies and to open direct relations with foreign states.

Only a society as flexible and free as the Soviet system, and as strong, could meet these inner and inter-national needs in a planned, intelligent, far-sighted and creative manner.

That is the real meaning of the change in the structure of the Soviet State. The international effects of this change will be important and most favorable to the Tehran peace primarily because of the strength and vitality of the Union Republics and the Soviet Union in their further growth.

PRAVDA ON THE 10th SESSION OF SUPREME SOVIET OF USSR

PRAVDA *writes editorially:*

The Supreme Soviet of the USSR has adopted two new laws on the transformation of the People's Commissariat of Defense and the People's Commissariat of Foreign Affairs from Union People's Commissariats into Union-Republican People's Commissariats. These transformations signify the great expansion of the activities of the Union Republics, which has become possible as a result of their political, economic and cultural growth, i. e., their national development, and in the first place, as a result of the strengthening of our Union as a whole.

At the same time, as Vice Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars of the USSR Molotov said in his report in this connection, in the expansion of the rights and tasks of the Union Republics "one cannot fail to see a new victory for our Lenin-Stalin national policy."

The enemy expectations of causing disunity among the peoples of our country and the defeat of the Red Army, suffered complete collapse. The Red Army is flesh of the flesh of the peoples of the Soviet Union. In Tsarist Russia there were peoples, step-children, to whom Tsarism barred entry to the army. In the Soviet time the high honor of the defense of the motherland is granted to all the peoples of our great country. In addition to the fact that millions of men of all the peoples of the Soviet Union have joined our army, we now have national army formations. At present a new forward stride has been made on this path. There can be no doubt that the institution of army formations of the Union Republics will serve the further strengthening of the Red Army's might. Every Union Republic will hold it a point of honor to strengthen it.

"The enemies of the Soviet Union need not doubt that as a result of these new army formations the forces of our State will grow still stronger. This will make them more cautious in the future." (Molotov).

The expansion of the rights of the Union Republics in the sphere of foreign relations is dictated both by the direct interests of these Republics and the interests of the entire Union State. This necessity arose now in connection with the changed international situation of the Soviet Union. The desire for the establishment and development of diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union becomes increasingly strong among foreign states. The international connections of the USSR are steadfastly expanding, they have consolidated and strengthened even under the difficult conditions of war.

It is sufficient to point out the existence of not only friendly but also allied relations with Great Britain, and the good relations which are established between us and the United States. The formation and growing stability of the anti-Hitler coalition headed by the Soviet Union, Great Britain and the United States, which has the greatest military and political importance for all democratic states, is also evidence of the strengthening of the international position of the USSR.

The recently signed Soviet-Czechoslovak Treaty, in its turn, represents an example of strengthened friendly relations between the USSR and European states.

The foundation has also been laid for lasting and fruitful cooperation in the postwar period. This is testified to by the results of the Moscow and Teheran Conferences, which gave the freedom-loving peoples assurance that the time is not distant when under the joint crushing blows of the Allies the enemy will be defeated, and that the common victory over the enemy will still more consolidate the alliance and friendship of the anti-fascist countries.

But just in virtue of this, we need a more complex and ramified organization than the Union People's Commissariat of Foreign Affairs. The Union Republics have quite a few specific economic and cultural requirements which it will be more easy and simple to satisfy through direct relations between these Republics and foreign states.

The expansion of the rights of the Union Republics is of the greatest international importance, since the new success in the realization of the Lenin-Stalin national policy in our State deals the gravest moral-political blow to fascism, to its man-hating policy so thoroughly hostile to the interests of the free national development of peoples.

To attain final victory over fascism, the military defeat of the Hitlerite army alone is insufficient; what is also needed is the complete moral-political defeat of fascism.

The new measure of the Soviet State undoubtedly presents a most valuable contribution to this struggle of the freedom-loving peoples against bloody Hitlerism.

Feb. 5, 1944 p. 6-8

REPORTS OF DEPUTIES TO 10th SESSION

Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars of the Russian SFSR, Kossygin

"Of the sum total of expenditures planned in the Republic for the current year," stated Kossygin, "more than two-thirds will constitute expenditures for financing social and cultural measures. In 1944 more than 9,000,000,000 rubles will be spent for public education as against 5,900,000,000 rubles last year. Expenditures in health protection are also increased by 800,000,000 rubles. In the RSFSR, 2,425 schools will be opened, while enrollment in elementary and secondary schools will increase by 2,700,000."

Speaking of the solicitude of the Government for the growing generation, Kossygin stated that during the war the network of children's homes in the Republic and the number of children in them had almost doubled. By the end of 1943 there were about 1,100,000 children being taken care of in kindergartens. Furthermore, millions of children were cared for in nurseries and in summer camps. In 1944 the number of places in children's institutions will be increased by 190,000.

Citing a number of figures to indicate the growth of health protection in the Republic, Kossygin continued: "In past wars in Tsarist Russia and other countries epidemics were unavoidable accompaniments of war; they took a toll of millions of lives. In the Soviet country we can record the absence of epidemics and reduction of infectious diseases rate. This has been achieved as a result of the growth of the culture of our people and the extensive prophylactic measures taken by the State."

Further, Kossygin spoke at length on the most important tasks of the rehabilitation of the economy in districts liberated from German occupation. Thanks to the heroism of the Soviet people and the enormous aid rendered by the Government, dwellings totaling

millions of square meters of floor space, water works, many power-stations, and hundreds of enterprises of food, light and other industries, have already been restored in the liberated regions of the RSFSR. Twenty-three thousand eight hundred and five schools with an enrollment of 2,800,000 have already resumed work. By the end of 1943, hospitals accommodating 52,000 patients, and 4,000 medical stations staffed by doctors, assistants, etc., were already functioning in these regions.

The rapid rate of restoration work will enable enterprises of regional and district importance and the handicraft cooperatives to produce in 1944 more than 1,100,000,000 rubles worth of goods. Kossygin also stated that appropriations of the 1944 budget for public utilities and improvement of towns were increased by 57 per cent.

Deputy Korniets, of the Ukrainian SSR

"The liberation of the Ukraine from the yoke of the German invaders developed successfully in 1943. Soon all the Ukraine, all the Soviet land, will be cleared of the German-fascist vermin. The entire Ukrainian people will again begin to live a free happy life in the family of fraternal peoples of the great Soviet Union.

"The grave trials which fell to the lot of the Ukrainian people failed to break its will to struggle against the hateful enemy. The bloody fascist regime with its accomplices—the pitiable handful of traitors to the Ukrainian people, the Ukrainian-German nationalists—proved powerless to force the Ukrainian people to its knees. Not for a single minute did the Ukrainian people cease its struggle against the base invaders.

"Retreating under the blows of the Red Army the fascist hordes are perpetrating monstrous crimes, committing towns and villages to fire and destruction. The great leader and strategist Stalin has called upon the peoples of our motherland to liquidate the consequences of the German occupation within the shortest time.

"The Bolshevik Party, the Soviet Government and the working people of the fraternal Republics show exceptional solicitude and render practical aid to the liberated districts. The working people of the Urals, Siberia, Moscow, Tbilisi and of the towns and villages are sending trainloads of equipment, spare parts, building material, agricultural machinery and cattle to the Ukraine. The Ukrainian people has begun extensive work on the restoration of Ukrainian industry and agriculture. But what has been done is only a beginning. The State budget of the Ukrainian Republic allocated about 1,000,000,000 rubles for the rehabilitation of the national economy of the regions of the Ukraine east of the Dnieper, and about 2,000,000,000 rubles for social and cultural measures. In addition tremendous funds are appropriated for this purpose in the Union budget. These appropriations will enable us to launch large-scale production for the front, as well as of general commodities, in 1944.

"After consideration of the draft budget the question arose in the Union Government of allocation of funds for the newly-created People's Commissariat of Dwellings and the Civil Construction of the Ukraine, for restoration of liberated towns and villages, for which purpose 170,000,000 rubles are earmarked. I request that the session include this sum in the State budget of the Ukraine for 1944."

Deputy Maslennikova, of the Kursk Region

At the recent session of the Soviet of Nationalities, Deputy Maslennikova spoke of the monstrous destruction and atrocities perpetrated by the German-fascist invaders during the temporary occupation of the Kursk Region. Forty thousand young boys and girls of Kursk are languishing in penal servitude in Germany. Twenty-five thousand people have been shot or tortured to death by the Hitlerites.

The German invaders destroyed 3,030 industrial enterprises, 500 schools, 373 medical institutions, and some 2,000 libraries, clubs and movie houses in the Region. They caused tremendous damage to agriculture by destroying the buildings of the machine and tractor stations of the collective and State farms, and by cutting down about 20,000 hectares of orchards. They burned or demolished 100,000 houses, leaving over 300,000 people without shelter.

The working people of the Kursk Region (said Maslennikova) will never forget that despite wartime difficulties the entire country rendered support to the Region and sent it cattle, machines, industrial goods and foodstuffs. Thanks to the aid of the Soviet Government, over 47,000 buildings have been erected and more than 200,000 collective farmers have moved into new cottages. Schools started functioning within one month after the liberation of the Region. About 17,000 orphaned children have been accommodated in children's homes or adopted by families. Nine special children's homes have been organized, and children's nurseries and dining rooms opened in the Region.

Enthusiastically supporting the appropriation of 128,400,000,000 rubles for defense, Maslennikova declared that the working people of the Kursk Region will know no peace so long as one Hitlerite murderer remains unpunished.

Russia and Federal Regionalism

Much of the confusion and cross-purposes that have thus far surrounded the commentaries on the new Russian move for the autonomy of the republics, is caused by the assumption that the Russians must have only one purpose. Hence the arguments as to whether this purpose or that one is the "real" one. My own assumption is that there may be a number of purposes that play in with one another in an interweaving net.

Walter Lippmann, for example, devotes his whole comment to the thesis that this is a genuine move to decentralize power and administration. That may well be so, although one may ask why—if this were the only purpose—Stalin and Molotov should have chosen this moment for the proposal. Lippmann dismisses as "amateurish" the idea that Russia might be aiming at more votes to counter those which Britain and America will control in world councils. But is this in reality an idle calculation? If it were, the Russians could dispose of it quite simply by disavowing it.

The Importance of Votes

Undoubtedly the great and formative decisions about the peace will be made not by voting, but by the meeting of minds of the leaders and peoples of the Great Powers. And yet within the framework of these big decisions, there will be smaller but important ones to be made at such technical meetings as that of the Food Conference or UNNRA: and at such meetings, votes count. As they will also count if another World Assembly is ever created.

Both these purposes are compatible with still another, which I have discussed in an earlier article, but would like now to develop further. I call it, for brevity, "federal regionalism." Actually it poses the important questions of the role that the structure of a loosely federated commonwealth of states on the one hand, and of a tightly knit regional power on the other, can play in riveting down the peace of the world and in insuring a long-run victory for the forces of social democracy.

From this long-range standpoint the Russian move opens up breath-taking possibilities. And it opens up also explosive possibilities of conflict. It becomes thus one of the great events of a decade crammed full of great events.

Highly Centralized

Let us take first the idea of a federated commonwealth, and of autonomy within it. Obviously the Russians are, with shrewdness and realism, evaluating the political uses of various political forms. They have a highly centralized state power, and one which is likely to stay highly centralized and under the control of a single-party system for some time. They can thus afford to grant a greater measure of "states' rights" or commonwealth control to the constituent units of their over-all structure than systems like the British or American which allow for the existence of an Opposition, and are torn by internal conflict.

How attractive also must be the idea of using this structure of federalism to achieve certain immediate objects. For example, it has been pointed out time and again that the re-inclusion of the Baltic states within the Soviet Union will be eased if they come back with the right to have their own republican armies and their own diplomatic representatives. The cry that has been raised in the American press about the Polish boundaries will undoubtedly be redoubled when the newspaper axis sheds copious tears about the "free" governments of Estonia and Latvia. This may prove one effective sort of answer. And for the American State Dept., which still recognizes those governments, it would be easier to deal with a changed personnel in the legations than to close them entirely.

Welding Nationalities

All this strikes me as being for the good. How it strikes Anthony Eden and Cordell Hull is another matter. Yet officially it is difficult for the British and

This is a clipping from page 12 of the PM for Feb. 4, 1944
Clipped at the Seat of Government.

American Governments to protest against a federal idea which is so closely linked with their traditions. For both the American nation and the British Commonwealth are federal unions. Churchill proposed a federal union to France in 1940, and on both sides of the Atlantic there have been many advocates of an Anglo-American federal union. And it must be remembered that Stalin has always been the great expert on the subject of nationalities and how they can be welded together into a socialist state, and has a book of collected speeches on the "national question." In terms of semantics, the Russians could scarcely have done better on this score.

I suspect that it is not the aspect of federal union, but the aspect of regional power that will evoke the real fears among those who fear the Russians. Russia is undoubtedly looming as a great people whose power will extend beyond their boundaries proper to include the energies, the population, the industrial capacity, and the fighting strength of a whole vast region. Whether or not you like and trust the Russians, this fact must be faced as a fact.

Hindsight

There is a form of pretentious wisdom among commentators and historians, which is the wisdom of being wise after the event. Now that the Russians have made their move, it seems in many respects a logical one. But who among us could have foreseen it a year ago or even six months ago? And yet it might have been foreseen.

Let me put it this way. We have known for years that if the world is to save itself from another world war, it must be through a world federation of some sort. And we have also known—and I have several times written it—that it would be impossible to bridge the gap between the nation-state and the international federal state at one leap; that it would be necessary to work through each of the Great Powers as the center of a regional federation. What was not clearly seen was that in moving toward the setting-up of its own regional power, Russia would have its own characteristic mode of action.

It looked for a while as if the method the Russians would choose would be the model pact with Czechoslovakia. That has not been abandoned, but to it the Russians have added an implied invitation to the Balkan and Central European states that will emerge from the war to associate themselves more closely with the Russian commonwealth of republics. Whether the invitation will be taken remains to be seen. But, in any events, here are two methods open now for use in the creation of a Russian regional power in Central and Eastern Europe.

Is this justified? Let it be said straight off that the aim is no different from that of the English or the Americans. The now classic speech by Gen. Smuts, and the recent one by Lord Halifax, indicate pretty clearly that the British feel they must build up a strong power in western and northwestern Europe They are, moreover, as Churchill warned some time ago, not liquidating their Empire. The U. S. A. is planning to acquire new bases, and is moving with greater firmness in its Monroe Doctrine policy for Latin America. The Chinese will also undoubtedly rise to their stature as a Great Power, and may find the new Russian formula of federal regionalism a good one.

Ignore Liberal Opinion

The fact is that moves of this sort were from the very beginning implicit in the whole idea of a "nuclear alliance." The Russians have taken the first open steps. Flushed with their victory and their strength, their diplomacy has become confident, daring, impatient of criticism. If it be said that by such a diplomacy they risk the loss of the democratic opinion of the Western peoples, the answer must be that since 1939 the Russians have placed realism ahead of public opinion, and have hacked their way through to their present position without caring overmuch about liberal opinion. The moves of Anglo-American diplomacy have also not been too concealed in their aims, nor—in Spain and Italy and North Africa—too scrupulous in their methods. The Russians seem committed to the idea that they will never be able to exact more from the world than their power warrants.

One may accept this, and still ask a crucial question. If the Russians endanger the whole structure of a United Nations world, are their efforts to create a regional power justified? One may, of course, ask the same question of the Anglo-American powers. For unless the great regional powers operate within a larger framework of United Nations trust and co-operation, even a socialist regional federation will not resolve the problem of world peace. Without a United Nations framework the bigger and better regional federation will only lead to bigger and better wars.

This is the issue that every Russian and American and British statesman must keep foremost in his mind. Every act must be judged in terms not only of whether it gives the Great Powers a sense of security, but also of whether it helps build the United Nations. The Russians cannot make this judgment by themselves. What they do must be subject to analysis and criticism by their friends, as well as by their enemies. For we are all on the same stormy seas of world history. And it will not profit any nation, however valiant and however much on the side of the people, to shut itself up in an airtight chamber on a sinking ship.

MAX LERNER.

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FILE

Shvernik Named To Key Soviet Post

MOSCOW, Feb. 3 (ICN).—Nikolai M. Shvernik was unanimously elected first assistant chairman of the presidium of the Supreme Soviet at the concluding session of the Supreme Soviet here yesterday. He was nominated by Mikhail Kalinin, chairman of the presidium of the Supreme Soviet.

Shvernik is chairman of the Soviet of Nationalities and secretary of the All-Union Council of Trade Unions of the Soviet Union.

This is a clipping from page 1 of the DAILY WORKER
Date Feb 4 1944
Clipped at the Seat of Government

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SOVIET PAPERS SEE NEW RUSSIAN POWER

Say Autonomy for 16 Republics Will Strengthen Nation

MOSCOW, Feb. 3 (U.P.)—The official Soviet press, emphasizing the international importance of the Supreme Soviet's action granting the sixteen constituent republics military and foreign affairs autonomy, said today that Russia now "acquires a * * * flexible organization which will provide for the further growth of the power of the motherland."

Izvestia, organ of the Praesidium of the Supreme Council of the Soviet Union, commenting editorially that "it is generally known how the international connections of the * * * Soviet Union have increased and strengthened," observed that the new laws "reflect a new stage" in Russia's development.

Concerning the new set-up, it was noted here that it opened the way for a substantial modification of the union in order to permit the republics to conform to local conditions. There is no reason to suppose that this policy will be changed when the Red Army completes its reconquest of the Baltic States.

MOSCOW, Feb. 3 (AP)—The Soviet Government expects each of the sixteen constituent republics of the Soviet Union to establish relationships with foreign countries and conclude separate agreements abroad under their newly granted autonomy in foreign affairs, the official Soviet press indicated today.

The Government newspaper Izvestia, the Navy organ Red Fleet and the Army newspaper Red Star indicated that the sixteen republics would each send envoys to the nations with which Russia has diplomatic relations, and that the way would be open for each foreign country to send its envoy to each of the sixteen republics.

This is a clipping from page 7 of the New York Times for Feb. 4, 1944
Clipped at the Seat of Government.

IZVESTIA AND THE VATICAN

Of all the incendiary literary bombs manufactured in Moscow since the Teheran conference and thrown with such light-hearted recklessness into the unity of the Allied nations, none is likely to do greater damage than Izvestia's unjust and intemperate attack upon the Vatican as "pro-Fascist." The palpable insincerity of this document may be judged by one of the accusations it presents. It denounces the Vatican for having kept silent when Italy launched her "stab-in-the-back" attack on France in June, 1940. And where, may we ask, was Izvestia's own protest on that occasion? Where was the protest of the Soviet Government? History records that at the moment when Mussolini stabbed France in the back the Soviet Government was selling war supplies to Hitler.

There is no profit in recalling matters of this kind, or in raking over the old coals of what ought to be bygone disagreements. Izvestia makes it necessary to do so, as the only available means of measuring the good faith of its own attack. Izvestia is the official newspaper of the Soviet Government. It ought to be well enough informed to know that the Vatican, as a temporal power, is a neutral state with which Russia's two great allies, Britain and the United States, have friendly and confident relations. These nations have no doubt where the real sympathy of the Vatican lies in this struggle. They recognize the inescapable neutrality of the Pope's position; but they have had no difficulty in finding in his eloquent declarations clear evidence of his detestation for those who have violated the rights of the little nations, who have committed bestial acts from one end of Europe to the other and who have attempted to elevate the dogma of Totalitarianism to the dignity of a new religion.

Izvestia's attack is damaging to the unity on which victory depends. It is all the more disconcerting because it comes at the very moment when an Allied army stands at the gates of Rome and when an Allied commission, in which Russia is a full partner, must soon accept new responsibilities for salvaging what can be saved in Italy.

This is a clipping from page 14 of the New York Times for Feb. 4, 1944
Clipped at the Seat of Government.

On the Record

WASH. STAR - Feb. 4 - 44 - p. 6

Dorothy Thompson

Let us dismiss from our minds immediately the idea that the reorganization of the Soviet Union, as proposed in the speech of Foreign Commissar Molotov before the Supreme Soviet in Moscow, is designed for the purpose of getting 16 votes at the peace table instead of 1. The Soviet Union does not think in such terms. Soviet leaders understand the nature of power, and know that 1 vote or 16 votes carries exactly as much weight as the actual power it, or they, can command.

No, this is much more important. In fact, it is the most important single event foreshadowing postwar policies, to have happened since this war began.

It is necessary to consider this new Soviet policy systematically—and that will require more than one column.

First, what does it reveal in regard to internal Soviet affairs? All thoughtful students have observed that the war's extraordinary test has not been without effects inside Russia.

It has increased enormously the prestige and importance of the Red Army; it has led to far more energetic criticism of past policies than would have been possible in time of peace; it has immensely augmented national feeling, which for two decades was played down by Communist ideology; it has restored the church, and it has de-centralized administration.

It has not restored a vestige of capitalism, in the sense of private ownership of the means of production. But it has released new private initiatives inside a system of state capitalism.

These initiatives have not been restricted to individuals. National groups have taken unaccustomed responsibilities.

Various parts of the Soviet Union have developed during the war into areas of greater or lesser importance. Before the war, Russia proper, centered in Moscow, overshadowed everything to the outer peripheries. During the war Siberia has assumed importance economically. It has been industrialized at a fantastic pace, and now has the elements of becoming, in itself, within the next generations, one of the strongest industrial areas of the globe. Already it is the most industrialized part of Asia, overshadowing China and Japan.

The leaders of the Soviet Union draw the consequences of these developments. They can afford to do so, because the war has demonstrated the extraordinary cohesion of the union. It is unthinkable that a union that has fought through to victory will dissolve itself.

Now, the leaders are shrewd enough to recognize that after the war there will be great numbers of men and women all over the union who have demonstrated capacities of leadership; that these must continue to be adequately employed as they cannot be in a highly centralized state covering one-sixth of the earth.

Furthermore, they want to give the Red Army a further vision, and also, I guess, avoid the always potential political danger of highly centralized militarism. Sixteen armies, however integrated, are much less dangerous to the political power than one army.

The Russian communiques have indicated that the decentralization of the armies has already taken place. For instance, we read of Gen. Ivan C. Bagramian and the "Baltic" armies, of Vatutin and the "Ukrainian" armies, etc.

* * * *

Stalin certainly has not forgotten the Tuchachewsky affair of only seven years ago. A conspiracy of generals is possible—but much less likely of success in 16 decentralized armies.

Also there is a difference whether you have one army and concentrate all the national enthusiasm upon it or 16 armies upon which are concentrated 16 national enthusiasms. There is greater opportunity for personal recognition in 16 than 1—and the Soviet Union has learned the creative power of private ambition.

When it comes to external affairs, the interests of such an enormous area are not synonymous. Siberia, for instance, is an Asiatic country, with a long frontier on China and an immediate interest in all that happens in the Far East. The Soviet Ukraine is in Europe. The Caucasian republics are in the Middle East.

* * * *

Thus, many economic and cultural ties are possible for these three republics which are not of interest to the whole of the Soviet Union. Had the Soviet Union any fear that the internal cohesion was weak, these various republics might be centrifugally attracted. But since there is no such fear they can hope for the opposite—namely, that the nearby states in both Europe and Asia will be centripetually attracted.

(Released by the Bell Syndicate, Inc.)

WASHINGTON STAR
FEB. 4, 1944
PAGE 6

How Papers React to Soviet Gov't Change

(Daily Worker Foreign Department)

Outstanding American commentators and newspapers yesterday discussed the changes in the Soviet national structure, adopted by the Supreme Soviet, in a spirit of understanding and friendship quite in contrast with the half-cocked comments of Max Lerner in PM on Wednesday. It was noticeable that the so-called "left" papers, like the N. Y. Post, considered the Soviet action in the realm of muddying the waters of the anti-Hitler coalition. Newspapers like the Scripps-Howard World-Telegram saw alleged conflict between the Soviet Union and the British Empire, while PM continued to count the alternatives as though the matter were some deep mystery beyond the comprehension of ordinary mortals.

But Walter Lippmann, columnist for the N. Y. Herald Tribune, declared that the Soviet changes are "a development which is likely to have far-reaching and it may well be in the main beneficial consequences upon Russia and the other great powers of the world."

Lippmann discounts as "amateurish" the supposition first advanced by Lerner that the Soviet Union is interested in getting sixteen votes at some future peace conference or world League of Nations.

NOT THE ISSUE

He points out that "the only way the decisions can be taken is under the leadership of the great powers, and by their consent, in consultation and so far as possible in agreement with the other powers. . . . Voting cannot and will not be the method of deciding the great issues and the very idea of voting in things of this sort should be put out of our minds."

Lippmann sees a progressive decentralization of the Soviet Union in keeping with the decrease of external pressures and says that "of all measures of decentralization the formation of national armies is the most convincing."

He finds that an increasingly decentralized Soviet federation will be a "more comfortable political system to deal with." And he credits Stalin, "who knows his Russia," with having "correctly read the signs of the times."

HERALD TRIBUNE

The Herald Tribune editorial likewise dismisses the idea that the USSR is trying to "pack" the peace councils, and speaks of the granting of military autonomy "as understandable enough as a means of heightening the patriotic enthusiasm of the various Russian peoples, and perhaps as a matter of administrative convenience."

David Lawrence, influential in business circles, writes in the N. Y. Sun that "the American people ought to welcome the news that the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics is to be split up into 16 separate entities each with its own military forces and the management of its own foreign policy."

He sees this development as progress toward democracy and genuine federation in the USSR and says that it is "mistakenly interpreted as just a bid for sixteen seats at the peace table."

He also foresees significant implications of this move in Siberia. Lawrence stresses that isolationist forces after the last World War used their objections to the British Empire's structure as a means of building anti-British sentiment and wrecking the League. He cautions that mistaken interpretations might be used in this country now to crystallize anti-Soviet sentiment.

NEW YORK TIMES

The New York Times' editorial cannot of course reconcile itself to this development at face value. But it does relate this most recent action to the decentralization long developing in the USSR. It speaks of this event as a "step toward greater democracy" and says "there is no reason to regard this as mere propaganda."

Of course the Times never lets well enough alone, and therefore concludes on the note that may be just a concealed way of "sovietizing" neighboring peoples.

The Times also credits seriously this business of sixteen seats at a peace table which Lippmann had called "amateurish." And the newspaper ends up wearily with its usual refrain that there are now more problems to be settled between the Soviet Union and the Allies. . . .

The London Times, authoritative British newspaper, however, welcomed the Soviet action editorially yesterday. It says that together with the British commonwealth plans and the American good-neighbor policy, the Soviet action presents a step toward "multi-national groupings which will provide practicable solutions" to the problems of "national freedom" and "international order."

This is a clipping from page 2 of the Daily Worker for Feb. 4, 1944
Clipped at the Seat of Government.

Soviet Press Hails New Gov't Changes

MOSCOW, Feb. 3 (UP).—The official Soviet press, emphasizing the international importance of the Supreme Soviet's action granting the 16 constituent republics military and foreign affairs autonomy, said today that the USSR now acquires a . . . flexible organization which will provide for the further growth of the power of the motherland."

Izvestia, organ of the Presidium of the Supreme Council of the Soviet Union, commenting editorially that "it is generally known how the international connections of the . . . Soviet Union have increased and strengthened," observed that the new laws "reflect a new stage" in Soviet development.

The army newspaper Red Star described the law permitting each state to organize its own "battle units" as of "the greatest importance in the development of the military strength of the Soviet Union," and recalled the statement by Foreign Commissar Vyacheslav M. Molotov that the "question of entering the international sphere of activity has acquired for a number of republics vital importance."

"Explaining the new changes, Andrew Rothstein, London director of Tass, according to a French language broadcast from London heard in New York by the United Press, noted that "the transfer of thousands of factories, the immense expansion of war industries, and the enormous development of public services" as a result of the war contributed to the "strength and potential prosperity of each Soviet republic individually."

(Stressing that the Soviet Union is preoccupied by totally different interests than those of 25 years ago, Rothstein said that "these interests can much better be served if they are dealt with in direct and immediate contact with foreign countries, parallel to the relations which the whole of the Union will continue to maintain with all foreign countries.")

This is a clipping from page 2 of the Daily Worker for Feb. 4, 1944
Clipped at the Seat of Government.

Reds' Autonomy Act Seen Ace in Hole

Bargaining Power Of Soviet Believed Made Stronger

Moscow, Feb. 2 (AP).—The Soviet Union is regarded as having scored a great strategic success in diplomacy in granting a new measure of autonomy in foreign relations to its 16 constituent republics.

(A Reuters dispatch from Moscow said a decree had been issued putting the new plan into force.)

Some diplomatists here expect the new status of the 16 Soviet republics will give Moscow great bargaining power in foreign relations, and believe the Russians will seek to realize as much as legally possible from the reconstruction period.

(In London it was suggested that Moscow, by announcing autonomy in foreign affairs for Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania along with the other constituent Soviet republics, was making an effort to solve the problem embodied in the provisions of the Atlantic Charter stipulating freedom of action and decision for small nations. The Soviet governments of these three Baltic states have not been formally recognized by the United States and Britain.)

If the usual policy is followed, foreign nations should be informed shortly of the new development. Meanwhile, the new diplomatic setup of the USSR is causing intense speculation.

Foreign diplomats in Moscow saw possibilities of the Soviet Union's creating one of the broadest and most elastic foreign policies of any government in the world, one which would give Russia the opportunity to swing great weight in the Allied countries.

The new program was being scanned closely for an indication of the trends Soviet foreign policy may now take; whether, for instance, Moscow will seek separate representations in the various countries with which it now maintains diplomatic relations.

Autonomy of the 16 Soviet republics in foreign affairs would give Moscow the legal right to ask for multiple representation on such councils as the League of Nations, a type of representation the British Empire now enjoys.

Hull Silent on Move

Secretary of State Hull, apparently reflecting the uncertainty of American diplomats about the full significance of Russia's new reorganization of its component states, declined yesterday to attempt any evaluation of the move.

Asked if we might favor a similar reorganization of the United States so this country would be able to send 48 diplomats abroad, Hull responded that he had not come to that subject yet.

This is a clipping from page 2 of the WASH. POST for Feb. 3, 1944
Clipped at the Seat of Government.

London Sees Soviet Empire Bid, With Big 4 Dividing Up 'Spheres'

By JAMES B. RESTON
By Cable to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

LONDON, Feb. 2—The Moscow radio announced tonight the terms of two decrees giving the constituent Republics of the Soviet Union a certain degree of autonomy in the conduct of their defense and foreign relations.

These decrees form a legal basis for the new Russian Commonwealth plan outlined by Foreign Commissar Vyacheslaff M. Molotoff in his speech before the joint meeting of the Supreme Soviet in St. Andrew's Hall of the Kremlin yesterday.

A preamble to the first decree, which gives the republics of the U.S.S.R. "powers in the sphere of foreign relations" said the object of the decree was "to extend foreign relations and to strengthen the collaboration between the U.S.S.R. and other states."

This decree gives the constitutent republics the right "to enter into direct relations with foreign States and to conclude, treaties with them," and, to make the decree valid, a number of amendments to the Soviet Constitution were announced, one which stated:

"Each Union Republic has the right to enter into direct relations with foreign States, to conclude treaties with them and exchange diplomatic and consular representatives."

The second decree, dealing with the transformation of the Central

Continued on Page Six

Drink GREAT BEAR Water. Ideal for office or home. CAnal 6-0816.—Advt.

N.Y. Times - Feb. 3 - 44 - p 1 + 1.

BRITISH SEE SOVIET TREND TO EMPIRE

Continued From Page One

Commissariat for Defense into a Union Republic People's Commissariats," grants each republic the right to its own "republic battle units."

But it is emphasized in another amendment to the Constitution that the Central Union Commissariat in Moscow "will organize the defense of the U.S.S.R. and direct all her armed forces."

These decisions are certainly the most explosive "Molotoff cocktail" thrown into the world political sphere since the Soviet Foreign Commissar signed the Russo-German pact of August, 1939, and, whatever their significance, they have added greatly to the discussions in diplomatic circles about the future foreign policy of the U.S.S.R.

Question Mark of Future

Ever since the Teheran Conference, when certain political questions were discussed but not solved, and especially since the Russo-Polish dispute over that strip of territory between the Curzon Line and the 1939 Russo-Polish boundary, Russia has surpassed the United States as the great question mark in future world policy.

What is Premier Joseph Stalin trying to do? Is he sincere in his United Nations policy? Has he really abandoned his isolationist revolutionary tactics? Is this latest action designed to increase the democracy and self-determination within the constitutent republics of the U. S. S. R.? Or is it maneuvre to strengthen Soviet Russia in her dealings with other powers now and after the war?

This correspondent has put these questions to all responsible United Nations' officials and diplomats available to him in the last two days and reminded them that this dispatch is a report of their tentative conclusions:

1. Soviet Russia, these diplomats believe, is prepared to collaborate with the United States and Britain under certain conditions. She is sincere in her determination to wipe out Germany and will abide by her military commitments under the Teheran agreement. She is evidently not prepared, however, to grant to the United States or Britain the right to interfere in the settlemen of the Baltic States and Poland or, indeed, the right to intervene anywhere in Eastern Europe though she is demanding the right, and has received, as a member of the United Nations, the right to cooperate with the United States and Britain in other parts of the world, is demanding the right to establish a Russian sphere of influence to the east of the line running roughly from Trieste to Prague and to Stettin and that east of that line she is going to insist upon the creation of "friendly" governments which would form a sort of cordon sanitaire in reverse, a chain of States, not to protect western Europe from Russia but to protect Russia from the possibility of any coalition that might be formed in western Europe.

3. Diplomats here differ in their interpretation of what Premier Stalin means by "friendly" governments, some thinking he means governments that would be dependent upon the Soviet Union and others thinking he means governments that would be both independent and friendly in the true sense of both words.

In general, however, there is a tendency among observers here to believe that Premier Stalin's sphere of influence policy is intended as defensive and not offensive and that he is going to pursue a Pan-Slav policy, more or less as the United States is pursuing a Pan-American policy, and that he is going to favor friendly governments in his sphere of influence in much the same way we tend to favor friendly governments in Central America.

4. As to the immediate decision to give a great degree of autonomy to the constituent Soviet Republics, London diplomats agree that this is, at this stage, essentially an internal affair of the Soviet Union though it has potentially far-reaching consequences in the rest of the world.

Peace Table Angle Indicated

Three points were generally expressed:

A. The move was designed as an attempt to increase the Soviet Union's voting strength in international organizations dealing with the post-war world an dto give Premier Stalin a bargaining counter against Britain which usually manages to get the votes of the British dominions on her side, and against the United States which usually succeeds in carrying the Latin-American republics with her in foreign affairs.

B. It was designed as a device to give a more legal aspect to the incorporation of the Baltic States.

C. It was a convenient way to invite any other Governments, such as the Bulgarian, Polish, Finnish or Persian Governments, to join the Russian "commonwealth of nations."

Most observers whom this correspondent approached, however, while admitting in various degrees the force of these three reasons, are inclined to believe that the decision was taken for three other reasons as well:

D. The idea of self-determination, it is pointed out, has not escaped Russia where there is Ukrainian patriotism just as Canadians have Canadian patriotism; and there is Georgian patriotism just as, indeed, we have a Georgia patriotism in Atlanta.

Thus, it is argued, Premier Stalin, whose first major job was Commissar of Nationalities, believes that the U.S.S.R., with Germany and Japan defeated, will be able to give over more autonomy to the constituent republics.

e. The acceptance of principle of States' rights and the decentralization of the Government in such a vast empire will, it is believed, be more efficient. For example, it is pointed out that in many cases, admittedly on small issues, the Asiatic republics might very well be able to negotiate with China quicker and more efficiently than Moscow could. f. Finally, it is pointed out. Premier Stalin is scarcely in such a weak condition, nor is he so legalistic in his approach to international problems that he is likely to change the Constitution solely to get extra votes at international conferences where votes seldom settle great issues or to get

the approval of the rest of the world for his territorial aims.

In summary, the concensus here is not that Russia's retreating from the world nor rejecting the offers of United States and Britain for cooperation but that she is laying the groundwork for an even greater empire than she now has and is pointing the way, not to a system of the present collective security but toward a world divided into these four great spheres of influence as follows:

A sphere dominated by Russia and extending from the Trieste-Prague-Stettin line east to the Pacific; another sphere dominated by the United States and taking in the Western Hemisphere from the Canadian border to the Falkland Island; a third dominated by Britain and including the British Empire and western European democracies from France in the south to Norway in the north, and fourth, a sphere — though Russia may not support this one—including southern Asia and dominated by China.

Many observers do not approve of this trend, but most of them admit the trend is growing and that it is being pushed forward by political activites of the Soviet Union.

U.S REACTS WARILY TO MOLOTOFF PLAN

Observers Link Autonomous States Move to Absorbing of Territories Occupied in War

HULL RESERVES JUDGMENT

Unofficial Sources, However, Tie Reform to Pattern of Other Recent Moscow Acts

By JOHN MacCORMAC
Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

WASHINGTON, Feb. 2—Though quotable official reaction from the State Department or the British Embassy here was lacking, Moscow's announcement that the sixteen Soviet Republics would receive autonomy as regards foreign representation and military defense had an effect in Washington today that caused one diplomat to nickname it promptly a "Molotoff Cocktail."

The effect of a Molotoff Cocktail, as those who read the war news know, is not stimulating, but explosive and incendiary.

Secretary of State Cordell Hull's response to questions about the matter at his press conference today was that the proposal had not come up during the Moscow conference which he attended recently, that news reports indicated it was within the exclusive jurisdiction of the Soviet Government and that it would be better to wait and see before commenting on it.

There was a disposition in less-exalted quarters, however, to agree with some of the interpretations that an alarmed German propaganda service has been reading during the past two days into this—the latest of a series of surprising Soviet moves.

It was felt, for instance, that in granting formal autonomy to its sixteen republics the U. S. S. R. was actuated not only by a desire to have stronger representation at the peace table, but to have a more acceptable frame within which to fit some of the territories it has absorbed or plans to absorb.

It was believed that there was a connection other than the mere order of chronology between the recent rebuke to Wendell L. Willkie, the rejection of Anglo-American offers of mediation of Russia's boundary dispute with Poland, refusal to negotiate with the present Polish Government-in-Exile, the Pravda separate peace allegation against the British Government, the new autonomy plan and the charge of pro-Axis bias made against the Vatican.

Poland is a Catholic country, Italy is a Catholic country, and there is a large Catholic vote in the United States. The Russians seem to have served notice on the Catholic Church that they can make trouble for it if it makes trouble for them.

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As for representatives here of the nations of the British Commonwealth, they seemed to be in doubt today whether Moscow has paid their form of government a great compliment or intends to make use of it for purposes quite other than those for which it was originally evolved.

N.Y. TIMES · FEB-3-44-17

RUSSIA DISCOUNTED AS EXPORT MARKET

Foreign Credit Bureau Hears Germany Is Expected to Be Chief Source of Supply

MAY BE BIG COMPETITOR

However, Minority Feels That Lend-Lease May Increase Demand for U. S. Goods

Russia is not likely to provide a large market for American exporters in the post-war period, since German industry will probably be impressed into service to supply Russian needs, and imports will undoubtedly be confined principally to capital goods, it was asserted yesterday at a meeting of the Foreign Credit Interchange Bureau at the Hotel Pennsylvania.

Despite shipments of non-military goods under lend lease, it was pointed out by members, Russia may not be expected to become an important market for American merchandise, and may even become a strong competitor, with purchases certain to be "closely controlled" by that Government. An official of the Foreign Economic Administration, concerned with lend-lease activities, also commented that foodstuffs now being sent to Russia are for the most part being shipped to such areas as the Ukraine and the Caucasus, which normally are heavy food producers. As a result, he said, when the war ends it is not likely that current shipments will have created any continuing demand.

"I believe that there will be very strong competition from Germany," another trader declared. "Russia will put German industry to work for them first before she will export gold. Buying here will be very selective — principally capital goods and things which are better or cannot be obtained elsewhere."

The minority viewpoint, however, held the opinion that lend-lease shipments to Russia were likely to increase demand for American products, at least indirectly. The amount of consumer goods sold to Russia always has been small, it was conceded, but American products now being supplied, may create a market which will last at least until American machinery can be obtained. Against this, however, it was asserted that any demand for such merchandise will probably be supplied by the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration or some other Government agency. Whatever the prospects, the members agreed unanimously that all purchases by the Russians would be directed by the Russian Government.

Since completion of the arrangement under which American creditors may obtain payments from Spanish accounts which were previously blocked, foreign traders concerned have been receiving offers of payment at "discounts" up to 40 per cent, it was brought out at the meeting. The offers, it was explained, are being made by individual importers involved, and are not on a general basis. American traders, generally however, it was explained, are receiving 100 cents on the dollar and those to whom discount offers have been made are, for the most part, insisting on full settlement.

NYT- F-6 3-44-p 25

EMBASSY OF THE UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS

Information Bulletin

(Issued Three Times Weekly)

Vol. IV, No. 14 Washington, D. C., February 3, 1944 5¢

10th SESSION OF SUPREME SOVIET OF USSR

PRAVDA *writes editorially:*

On January 28, the 10th Session of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR convened in Moscow. The very agenda of the session—approval of the State budget, reorganization of the People's Commissariat of Defense and the People's Commissariat of Foreign Affairs from All-Union Commissariats into Union-Republican Commissariats, the question of the first Vice Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR—indicates the tremendous part which the session is called upon to play in the life of our country. The People's Commissar of Finance, Zverev, and the Chairmen of the Budget Committees of the Soviet of the Union and the Soviet of the Nationalities, deputies Nikolayeva and Khokhlov, re-

This is a clipping from page ____ of the ____ story

clipped at the seat of Government

Feb. 3, 1944 p. 1 col 8

ported to the Supreme Soviet on the State budget for 1944 and on the results of the execution of the budget for the period of 1940-1942.

A picture of the tremendous work accomplished in our country during the war under the leadership of the head of the Soviet State, Stalin, opened before the deputies. The war started by the Hitlerite bandits placed the Soviet State, its economy and finance under the most difficult trials. The successful financing of such a war as the present one has put a strain on all the forces of the country. And our State found in itself sufficient strength to organize a rebuff to the enemy and to inflict heavy defeats on him.

Despite the temporary loss of large territory and the grave destruction caused by the fascist bandits to our national economy, the forces of our country, far from having been exhausted during the war—which was what the enemy counted on—on the contrary increased and grew stronger. Even in wartime conditions the budget of the Soviet State continues to grow and its appropriations for war requirements increase from year to year.

For this year the Government's estimates for war expenditures exceed 128,000,000,000 rubles. The war budget reflects the gigantic reconstruction of our economy to place it on a war footing, and the readiness of the people to devote all their forces to the final defeat of the hateful enemy. The tremendous rise of the national economy and the greatest patriotism of the Soviet people insure the financing of the war.

As in the years of peace, the revenues and accumulations of State enterprises and organizations are the principal source of the State budget. Our people help their State not only with their heroic labor, but also with their money. The Defense and Red Army Funds, the successful subscriptions to the war loans, and the lotteries have furnished the State with additional tens of billions of rubles for the successful prosecution of the war. Referring to the budget resources for the financing of the front, the People's Commissar of Finance noted the substantial importance of the aid rendered by our Allies in the shape of supplies of armaments, materials and food for the Red Army.

The budget of the great Soviet power earmarks over half its revenues for the prosecution of the war. At the same time, the distinguishing features of our budget are the large appropriations for further development of the national economy and the realization of a vast program of social and cultural construction, for which purposes now in the third year of war the budget earmarks 45,000,000,000 and 51,000,000,000 rubles respectively. The State has granted about 16,000,000,000 rubles for rehabilitation of the economy in the areas liberated from the German invaders.

The budget lays the foundation for further development of our entire socialist economy and culture, and the further consolidation of the military and economic might of our country. The work of the session is illuminated by the salutes of Moscow in honor of our victorious troops, heralding the approach of the day of our complete victory. The State budget of the USSR guarantees the stability of the material basis of this victory.

Russia's Eye Peeled—For Postwar World

Autonomy Measure Could Be Bid for United States of Europe

By ALEXANDER H. UHL
PM's Foreign Editor

WASHINGTON, Feb. 3.—The riddle of what was behind *Pravda's* famous rumor of British personalities discussing a separate peace with Germany had Washington by the ears for two days, but Moscow's decision to grant the Soviet Union's 16 states diplomatic autonomy really has every diplomat and foreign representative in the capital slightly groggy.

For there can be little doubt that Russia, sure of military victory, has been paying a whole lot more attention to political problems than was true two years ago. The *Pravda* incident, the strong *Izvestia* attack on the Vatican, the Russian denunciation of Fascist Spain and now this new autonomy measure—which cannot fail to have international political repercussions—all add up to less Russian preoccupation about a second front and more preoccupation about what's to come in the post-war world.

The Soviet Embassy was silent and Secretary Hull skated cautiously around a series of questions that were fired at him at his press conference. He said that he could not discuss the implications of the Soviet move at this time and parried suggestions that if Russia had 16 votes at the peace table, why then, maybe the U. S. A. could have 48.

He hinted, broadly, too, that the Soviet move might be an internal affair. Whether he had wind of it when he was in Moscow was rather clouded over by his answer that he had no recollection of the matter having come up then. At any rate, he would commit himself to precious little.

In Congressional circles there was much talk, though little for publication, and there was every indication that the isolationists will find Moscow's move perfect waters to fish in. If your remember how opponents of the League of Nations made hay out of the British Commonwealth's six votes, you can imagine the howls of anguish they will raise at the thought of Russia's having 16. Naturally, of course, American opinion would not tolerate any peace organization in which the U. S. A. had one vote and Russia 16.

That a claim for 16 votes would be a by-product of the Russian action may seem inevitable, but we still do not know how far the Russians intend to extend control of autonomy in authority over peace and war.

Loosely Constructed

It may be that the 16 to 1 cry will turn out to be of secondary importance. Dispatches from London, for instance, last night said that there was no disposition among experienced observers to assume that Russia was going to try to "pack" the peace conference by so disparite a proportion of votes. These quarters viewed the Soviet act as basically internal.

For a really long term view of the Russian action it would seem that Moscow—whether consciously or not—really has taken a long step toward facilitating a Russian concept of a United States of Europe. Clearly the Russian action in making the Soviet Union a more loosely constructed organism rather than a tightly centralized one stemming from Moscow does two things:

¶ Soften the implication of such territorial changes as incorporation of the Baltic States and Eastern Poland into the Union.

¶ Facilitate the entrance into the Union of other small states which may go socialist after the war.

Social Revolutions

Eastern Europe and perhaps even parts of Germany are bound to go through pretty thorough social revolutions before this war is over. Tito and Mikhailovitch represent the kind of cleavage that is likely to happen in more than one country; South Germany and North Germany have never been too compatible. If Eastern Europe splits into some irreconcilable units, some of them may look to the Soviet Union.

Hitherto one of the great barriers to any kind of European political union has been intense nationalism. It is interesting that the Molotov text stresses the success of the Soviet Union in preserving national entities and at the same time creating a union able to defend itself in a mighty war and to grow economically and industrially.

This is a clipping from page 7 of P M

for FEB. 3, 1944
Clipped at the Seat of Government

ONE RUSSIA BECOMES SIXTEEN

With the breathtaking speed possible only under a dictatorship, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, which in its new state anthem designates itself as "mighty Russia" and as "indissoluble," has suddenly reorganized itself into sixteen individual though not independent republics. According to a plan first approved by the Central Committee of the Communist party and adopted by the Supreme Soviet, each of these republics is to have a greatly increased autonomy. Each of them is to have its own Commissariat of Defense, with the right to raise its own army formations, and its own Commissariat of Foreign Affairs, with the right to maintain direct relations with other countries and to send its own ministers or ambassadors to them. In fact, in the words of Foreign Commissar Molotoff, each of them also has the "sovereign right" under the Constitution of 1936 to secede from the union and make itself wholly independent.

Taking this new constitutional set-up at its face value, the Soviet Union would appear to be on the way to becoming a much looser union than the United States of America and would more nearly resemble the British Commonwealth of Nations, which the Russian statesmen have studied for some time as a model for their own state. There is, however, this important difference. Under the Soviet system, the Communist party and not the state is the repository of final power. And since the Communist party continues to rule the individual republics under the supreme direction of its Central Committee in Moscow, the autonomy of the republics and especially their right to secede must remain problematical.

According to Mr. Molotoff, one reason for the new organization is purely internal. It is to help solve the complicated nationality problem in Russia, where 169 ethnic groups, of which one-quarter are yellow-tinted, were held together in the past only by the dictatorship of the Czars and afterward by the dictatorship of the Communist party. But according to Mr. Molotoff, all these nationalities, some of which are only at the dawn of national consciousness, have displayed such loyalty during the war, and have shown such general development, that they can be entrusted with additional functions without any danger of weakening the union. In that respect, therefore, the reorganization is portrayed as a step toward greater democracy. And there is no reason to regard this as mere propaganda. For even a dictatorship must take popular demands into account, while its own actions, in turn, stimulate developments in the direction in which it moves. Though decreed from above, the new decentralization seems bound to stimulate greater autonomy in the component parts of the Russian state.

In point of fact, this development is quite in line with a trend discernible in Russia for some time. After an initial period during which the Russian leaders were hypnotized by centralization and bigness for their own sake, and sought to outdo the world in both, they discovered the grave drawbacks of what they called "Gigantomania" and reversed the trend. The new policy was announced by Stalin early in 1939, but even before that time, party and state organizations, as well as economic and industrial units, were reduced in size and increased in number to achieve greater efficiency. The Communist party itself embarked on a "resolute struggle" to continue this process, of which the new organization is one manifestation.

But the reorganization has also important international aspects which have raised doubts among Russia's allies and which, unless clarified, could easily be used to feed Nazi propaganda. In the first place, the new set-up of the Russian state can be interpreted as an invitation to other nations to join the Soviet Union as "autonomous republics" under the new conditions. And such an invitation assumes a special significance when backed up by "patriotic" Communist parties in the invited states and by special unions of "patriots" organized in Moscow as potential governments for them.

In the second place, Moscow has already broached the subject of sending representatives of each of its republics to the international commissions for Europe's reconstruction, which would mean that Russia would be represented by sixteen delegates instead of one, thus smothering the voice of both the United States and the British Commonwealth. It seems unlikely that either of the latter countries would accept such an arrangement, and this raises another problem to be settled between Russia and her allies.

This is a clipping from page 18 of the New York Times for Feb. 3, 1944
Clipped at the Seat of Government.

U. S. REACTS WARILY TO MOLOTOFF PLAN

Observers Link Autonomous States Move to Absorbing of Territories Occupied in War

HULL RESERVES JUDGMENT

Unofficial Sources, However, Tie Reform to Pattern of Other Recent Moscow Acts

By JOHN MacCORMAC
Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

WASHINGTON, Feb. 2—Though quotable official reaction from the State Department or the British Embassy here was lacking, Moscow's announcement that the sixteen Soviet Republics would receive autonomy as regards foreign representation and military defense had an effect in Washington today that caused one diplomat to nickname it promptly a "Molotoff Cocktail."

The effect of a Molotoff Cocktail, as those who read the war news know, is not stimulating, but explosive and incendiary.

Secretary of State Cordell Hull's response to questions about the matter at his press conference today was that the proposal had not come up during the Moscow conference which he attended recently, that news reports indicated it was within the exclusive jurisdiction of the Soviet Government and that it would be better to wait and see before commenting on it.

There was a disposition in less-exalted quarters, however, to agree with some of the interpretations that an alarmed German propaganda service has been reading during the past two days into this—the latest of a series of surprising Soviet moves.

It was felt, for instance, that in granting formal autonomy to its sixteen republics the U. S. S. R. was actuated not only by a desire to have stronger representation at the peace table, but to have a more acceptable frame within which to fit some of the territories it has absorbed or plans to absorb.

It was believed that there was a connection other than the mere order of chronology between the recent rebuke to Wendell L. Willkie, the rejection of Anglo-American offers of mediation of Russia's boundary dispute with Poland, refusal to negotiate with the present Polish Government-in-Exile, the Pravda separate peace allegation against the British Government, the new autonomy plan and the charge of pro-Axis bias made against the Vatican.

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Victory at Stalingrad Scored Just a Year Ago

By Wireless to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

MOSCOW, Feb. 2—One year ago today the starved and frost-bitten remnants of the German Army and its Rumanian satellites, more than 300,000 strong, ceased to return the fire of Marshal Nikolai M. Voronoff's artillery in northwestern Stalingrad.

During the seventy-two days that had elapsed since Russian units, emerging from bridgeheads on the Don and Volga, joined hands behind the enemy's back 175,000 dead were reported to have been counted by the Russians. The battle's close found 137,850 on the Russian prisoner-of-war lists.

This is a clipping from page 5 of the New York Times for Feb. 3, 1944
Clipped at the Seat of Government.

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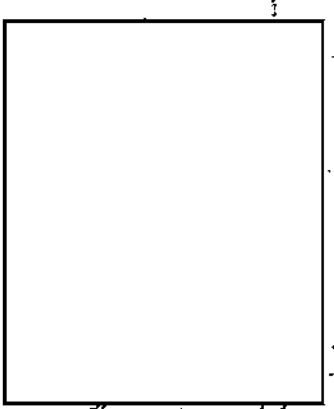

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Molotov Speech on New Status of Soviet Republics

By Wireless to Inter-Continent News)

MOSCOW, Feb. 2.— Following is the authorized text of Foreign Commissar Vyacheslav Molotov's statement yesterday to the Supreme Soviet:

The question of the reorganization of two People's Commissariats, namely, the People's Commissariat of Defense and the People's Commissariat of Foreign Affairs from All-Union into Union-Republican People's Commissariats has been raised before the Supreme Soviet. The Council of People's Commissars considers this question fully matured. It is not a question of the ordinary reorganizations of two People's Commissariats. It is a question above all of new, most responsible tasks being placed before the Union Republics.

The question has been raised of new tasks and rights of the Union Republics firstly, in the sphere of defense of our country and secondly, in the sphere of foreign relations with foreign states, and in connection with this, of important reorganizations in our Union State.

Up to now the Union Republics participated in the common work of the formation, organization and arming of the Red Army. Their army was built up as an All-Union Army; there were no separate army formations in the Republics.

It is now proposed to introduce army formations in the Republics which are to be integral parts of the Red Army. In connection with this, there arises the need for establishment of People's Commissariats of Defense in the Union Republics as well as the need of transformation of the Union People's Commissariat of Defense into Union-Republican People's Commissariat.

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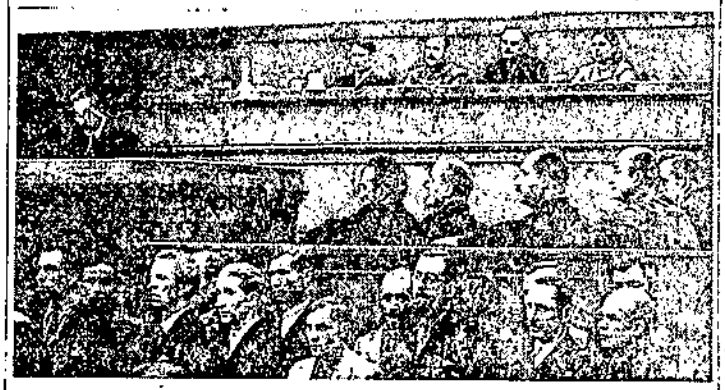
Following the creation of Union Soviet Republics in 1922, foreign political relations were concentrated wholly in the All-Union People's Commissariat of Foreign Affairs. Moreover, the separate Republics authorized this Commissariat to represent them with full powers, to enter upon direct negotiations with foreign states and to conclude agreements with them.

Naturally, once the Republics were vested with authority in the sphere of foreign relations, the grounds arises for establishing People's Commissariats of Foreign Affairs in the Union Republics and of reorganizing the All-Union People's Commissariat of Foreign Affairs into a Union-Republican People's Commissariat.

The meaning of the proposed reorganization is quite clear. This reorganization signifies a considerable extension of the activities of the Union Republics which has become possible as a result of their political, economic and cultural growth, in other words, as a result of their national development. One cannot fail to see in this a new important step in the practical solution of the national question in the multi-national Soviet state; one cannot fail to see a new victory

A Meeting of the Supreme Soviet



The above photo was taken during a meeting of the Supreme Soviet held four years ago, when it was unanimously decided to include West Byelorussian and the Western Ukraine in the Soviet Union. Pictured above are: Professor Panchianin, Deputy to the Popular Assembly of West Ukraine, greeting the sitting of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR. In the boxes are: Members of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR. Second from left in the front box is People's Commissar of Foreign Affairs, Molotov, with other members of the Presidium.

that we are proposing to effect this reorganization at the height of the patriotic war when the effort of our peoples is strained to such a pitch and when not every state would resolve on the carrying out of such major reorganizations.

I
Transformation of the People's Commissariat of Defense

I now pass over to the question of the reorganization of the People's Commissariat of Defense.

The bill proposes to establish that the Union Republics organize army formations in the Republics and that the People's Commissariat of Defense be reorganized from All-Union into Union-Republican.

In keeping with this it is proposed to introduce the necessary additions to the Constitution of the Soviet Union. We have national military formations in the Red Army at present. Our army has the following military formations: Lithuanian, Latvian, Estonian, Georgian, Azerbaijanian, Armenian, Kazakh and some others. Some of these units were formed during the patriotic war. Now, when all the peoples of the Soviet Union aspire to take their place in the ranks of the Red Army, the formation of military units in the Republics is of importance to us.

As is known in Tsarist Russia, certain nationalities were not called up for service, for instance, the Uzbeks, Kazakhs, Tadjiks, Turkmenians, Kirghizians, the majority of the nationalities of the North Caucasus as well as those of the north were not conscripted. Naturally, Tsarism did not trust the nationalities which it kept in a colonial or semi-colonial state. The Tsarist government did nothing to draw these nationalities into the army gradually.

In Soviet times, the situation underwent a radical change. It stands to reason that our legislation does not restrict the rights of any nationalities to be called up for service in the army. But grown stronger and their pride at the successes and heroism of the Red Army has mounted. Who does not see the glorious struggle which our army is waging for the liberation of the Ukraine, for the liberation of Byelo-Russia? Who does not appreciate with their whole heart what the Red Army is doing to prepare for the speedy liberation of Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, Moldavia and the Karelo-Finnish Republic? Who does not remember that the Soviet troops saved Azerbaijan, Georgia and Armenia from the invasion of German fascism? Who of the Soviet peoples does not glorify our army for holding our capital, for routing the Germans at Stalingrad, passing over to the offensive along the entire front, for defending Leningrad and completely raising the blockade of the city and for now driving the enemy hordes off the native soil without allowing them any respite?

Who, but those infected with fascism, failed to realize now that the Red Army is carrying out its liberation mission not only towards its own country but also towards all the democratic countries fighting for their honor, freedom and independence against the mortal danger of fascism? Further, who does not know that the men and women workers of our factories and plants, that the men and women peasants of the collective farms, that our intelligentsia, that all the Soviet people are prepared to do everything to strengthen the might of the Red Army, that by their selfless labor, they in practice are carrying out their duty to the country, to the heroic Red Army?

The formation of the military units in the Republics should serve to further strengthen our army as the defender of our country, as the reliable bulwark of the Soviet Union. The enemies of the Soviet Union may rest assured that the strength of our state will be further enhanced as a result of these new military formations. This will force them to be more careful in the future.

This new embodiment of the strengthening of the friendship of the peoples of the Soviet

of relations with foreign states in one center.

It was then the All-Union People's Commissariat of Foreign Affairs was formed, vested with the rights of the People's Commissariats of Foreign Affairs of the individual Soviet Republics. Since then, to this day, the Soviet state has been represented abroad through the All-Union diplomatic representatives. Treaties and agreements with foreign states were also concluded only on behalf of the Union. This was necessary at a definite stage in the development of our state and yielded its positive results, having strengthened our state and considerably raised its role in international affairs. But already then, at the Party Congress in 1923, Stalin said: "We will yet raise the national question more than once since both the national and international conditions are changing and may yet change. I won't vouch that perhaps we won't have to break up later some commissariats that we are now merging within the Union of Republics." . . .

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As the best expert on the national question, not only in our Party and not only in our country, Stalin — who together with the great Lenin laid the foundations of the Soviet Union—pointed out already at that time that changes in the international situation and national developments would more than once demand organizational changes in the administration of the Soviet state. It was impossible to imagine things otherwise especially in so youthful and rapidly growing a body as the Soviet Union. Today, the question of the foreign relations of the Union Republics is quite different than two decades ago when the Soviet Union was formed. It has developed from the vital needs of the Republics and its solution is dictated by the interests of the Union as a whole.

The time is long past when some foreign states tried to overlook the existence of the Soviet Republic, born of the October Revolution. Today on the contrary among the foreign states anti-fascist countries will be tempered. Nevertheless, it cannot be said that this general, positive development of the international contacts of the Soviet Union have fully satisfied not only the All-Union needs, but also the many growing demands of the Union Republics in the matter of foreign affairs. There are, for example, many specifically economic and cultural needs of the Union Republics which cannot be fully satisfied by the All-Union Representatives abroad as well as by the agreements and treaties of the Union with other states. These national demands of the Republics can be satisfied better through direct relations between the Republics and the respective states. Naturally, the said problems would have to be specially concretized in the All-Union and Republican bodies. Neither can it be denied that some time will be required to organize this foreign activity of the Republics. Such questions cannot have stereotyped solutions. Nevertheless, it is indisputable that the question of an outlet to the foreign arena has already acquired vital importance for a number of Republics.

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This is not only in the interest of one or another Union Republic, but also in the interest of the whole matter of broadening international contacts and strengthening the collaboration of the USSR with other states, which is so important in wartime and will yield fruit also in the post-war period. These are grounds for recognition of the necessity for the reorganization of the People's Commissariat of Foreign Affairs from an All-Union into a Union-Republican People's Commissariat. Whereas, during the first period there were only the Republican People's Commissariats of Foreign Affairs, and during the second, only the All-Union People's Commissariat of Foreign Affairs, at present the People's Commissariat of Foreign Affairs must be reorganized into a more complex and ramified organization—into a Union-Republican People's Commissariat.

There remains for me to add a few words about our diplomatic practice. I must state that the absence of special reference in the Soviet Constitution with regard to the rights of the Union Republics to exchange representatives with other states, and to maintain foreign relations, sometimes is given interpretations directly harmful to the interests of the Soviet Republics and the Soviet Union as a whole. The proposed addendum will serve to eliminate such facts.

II
A New Forward Stride in the Solution of the National Problem

The proposed reorganization of the People's Commissariats of Foreign Affairs and Defense constitutes a new step forward in the solution of the national question in the Soviet Union. This reorganization conforms directly with the principles of our Lenin and Stalin national policy.

Carrying out such steps at the present time, means that the Soviet State has reached a new stage of development, and is being transformed into a more complex, full-blooded body. One cannot but see in it, a new testimony to the state. As a result we now have a fully formed multi-national socialist state, which has stood all tests, and whose stability might well be envied by any national state in any part of the world."

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Seven more years have passed since then, and what years a that! It will soon be three years that we have been conducting a great, patriotic war against German fascism and its allies, who in their struggle against the Soviet Union, are utilizing the materials and manpower resources of almost all of Europe. This was a new moreover, a most serious test for our multi-national state. But the Soviet Union has passed with honor, this test, as well.

In his report on the Twenty-sixth anniversary of the October Revolution, Stalin summed up the latest period as follows: "All the peoples of the Soviet Union have risen as one to defend their motherland, rightly considering the present patriotic war the common cause of all working people irrespective of nationality or religion. By now, Hitlerite politicians themselves see how hopelessly stupid were their hopes of discord and strife among the peoples of the Soviet Union. Friendship in our country has withstood hardships and trials of the war, and become tempered still further in the common struggle of the Soviet people against the fascist invaders." In this, according to Stalin, lies one of the decisive sources of strength of the Soviet Union.

Now to sum up: In effecting these major state reorganizations we must of course ask how this will affect the Red Army and its rear in the country; in other words, are we taking a step in the direction of strengthening or weakening the USSR? All that has been said above, makes it possible to give a definite answer to this question. The reorganization of the People's Commissariats of Foreign Affairs and Defense, resulting from the extension of the tasks and functions of the Union Republics within the country and abroad, not only does not contradict the interests of strengthening our Union, but on the contrary, is undertaken precisely for the sake of and for further strengthening our great state. Ever since the formation of the Soviet Union, the Constitution has ensured the Union Republics such supreme expression of their sovereign rights as the right of free secession from the USSR.

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But the farther they go, the greater becomes the desire of the peoples of the Soviet Union to live in close friendship, help each other, and together pass all trials under the leadership of our Soviet power. Recognition on the part of the Union, of the greater demands of the Republics as regards their state structure, including also foreign activity and the legislative security of these needs of the Republics, merely strengthens the fraternal relations of the peoples of our country, and paves for fuller understanding of the historic meaning of the existence of the Soviet Union by peoples of both east and west.

It should further be recognized that this new step forward in the solution of the national question in the USSR is of great significance from the point of view of all progressive mankind. During this period when German fas-

of its national policy of Lenin and Stalin.

However, this reorganization has been made possible not simply as a result of the strengthening of our Republics. It has become possible [illegible] a result of the strengthening achieved of our All-Union state as a whole.

The strengthening of the Soviet Union that has come to pass is most convincingly proved by the fact that our Red Army which bears the full brunt of the struggle against the main forces of the most dangerous enemy, is routing the German fascist army and successfully bringing closer the day of the complete expulsion of the enemy from Soviet territory and the complete destruction of the enemy.

It is now more than clear how disastrously the enemy miscalculated as regards defeat of the Red Army and how short-sighted were the Hitlerite calculations on splitting the peoples of the Soviet Union.

Our army, into which there have merged millions of people of all nationalities in the Soviet Union and which is rendered inestimable assistance by our partisans in the enemy rear, is daily proving, with increasing success, the extent to which our country has grown strong, how powerful is the Soviet system, how great is the friendship of the Soviet peoples.

The present proposal of reorganization in the sphere of the organization of defense and foreign relations, providing a considerable extension of the functions of the Union Republics, should serve as new confirmation of our confidence in the strength and growth of the forces of the Soviet Union.

This confidence is demonstrated with greater force by the fact a certain period of time had to pass before it was possible to carry out in practice recruitment in the Red Army in all parts of the Soviet Union. Partial recruitment in the Red Army was practiced in past years in the districts of the U.S.S.R. where conscription into the army was not carried out in olden times.

Also, national military units were formed in the Red Army but up to the present these formations could not fully develop. Now, the situation has changed for the better.

Sufficient possibilities are at hand to form military units in the Union Republics. All the Republics not only possess trained rank and file, but also an officers' corps able to command corresponding military units. Thus the formation of units in the Union Republics can be placed on a firm footing. But Republican People's Commissariats of defense are needed to realize this task. Hence, the need of reorganizing the All-Union People's Commissariat of Defense into Union-Republican People's Commissariat.

It is to be assumed that in connection with this, the Republics will increase their attention as regards military training in the schools and universities which is imperative. Under these circumstances, the formation of military units in the Republics as integral parts of the Red Army will play a positive role. How will this affect our Red Army? Will this contribute to its strengthening, to the growth of its might? Yes, there can be no doubt of this. Our army has always been near and dear to the peoples of the Soviet Union.

In the course of the patriotic war, the love of the peoples of the USSR for their army has [illegible] their growth of the prestige of our country in the eyes of the peoples of the east and west.

II

Transformation of the People's Commissariat of Foreign Affairs

Of no smaller importance is the reorganization of the All-Union People's Commissariat of Foreign Affairs into the Union-Republican People's Commissariat. Prior to the formation of the Soviet Union, along with the People's Commissariats of Foreign Affairs of the RSFSR, there were People's Commissariats of Foreign Affairs in the Ukraine, Byelo-Russia, Georgia, Armenia and Azerbaidjan which in certain cases maintained relations with foreign states.

During the initial period when our state was not yet united in one All-Union State but consisted of isolated units, a number of treaties and agreements were concluded between the Soviet Republics and foreign states. In some cases the representatives of the RSFSR received special authorization from other Soviet Republics for participation in international conferences and the conclusion of agreements with other states on behalf of all or several of the Soviet Republics. At the First All-Union Congress of Soviets, Stalin said that "Although at that time the Soviet Republics acted jointly, they lived apart, occupied primarily with the problem of their own existence." At the initial stage this was inevitable.

When the USSR was formed in accordance with the common will of the Union Republics, it was decided to concentrate the matter [illegible] there is a tendency towards the establishment and development of diplomatic relations with our state. Of course, in the conditions of world war there are specific and no small difficulties in this respect; nevertheless, during the war as well, the international contacts of the USSR have steadily grown. It can even be said that precisely during the years of war the international contacts of the Soviet Union have risen to a new, higher stage. The facts are universally known. For the first time since the existence of Soviet power, we have established not only friendly but allied relations with Great Britain. Equally good relations have been established with the United States. A powerful anti-Hitlerite coalition has been formed, headed by the Soviet Union, Great Britain and the United States, whose military and political significance for all democratic states, it is hard to overestimate.

An example of the strengthening of friendly relations of the Soviet Union with European states may be seen in the recently concluded Soviet - Czechoslovak Treaty. Foundations have been laid for the collaboration of democratic countries, great and small, not only during the war against the common enemy, but also for the postwar period, for defending the peace against the new encroachments of aggressive powers. It is known that the Moscow and Tehran conferences played a most prominent role in the development and strengthening of the anti-Hitlerite coalition. More than ever before, the peoples of the anti-Hitlerite camp are confident in the nearness of complete victory, that the time is not far off when joint crushing blows will be delivered by the Allies against the common enemy and also confident that in this joint struggle the alliance and friendship of the [illegible] principles of organization in the Soviet Union.

In his report to the Congress of Soviets which approved the Constitution of the USSR in 1936, Stalin characterized the victory of the national policy of the Soviet power which ensured the successful formation of a multi-national state on the basis of socialism, in the following words: "The absence of the exploiting classes, which are the principal organizers of strife between nations; the absence of exploitation, which cultivates mutual distrust and kindles nationalist passions; the fact that power is in the hands of the working class, which is the foe of all enslavement and the true vehicle of ideas of internationalism; the actual practice of mutual aid among peoples in all spheres of economic and social life; and finally, the flourishing national culture of the peoples of the USSR, culture which is national in form and socialist in content—all these and similar factors brought about a radical change in the aspect of the peoples of the USSR; their feeling of mutual distrust disappeared, and a feeling of mutual friendship has developed among them; and thus real fraternal cooperation among peoples has been established within the system of a single, federated [illegible] perialism has raised its head and unleashed a world war in order to strangle its neighbors, destroy free states, force its predatory, imperialist policy upon other peoples in Europe, and subsequently upon the peoples of the world, new successes in carrying out the Lenin-Stalin National Policy in the Soviet state will have especially important international significance.

This step of the Soviet power will be a new, moral and political blow to fascism and its misanthropic policy which is entirely inimical to the interests of free national development of peoples. The Soviet Union and its allies are already successfully battering fascism which forced this war upon them, bringing nearer its complete military debacle. But we know that the military defeat of the fascist forces is not enough. It is necessary to pursue the moral and political defeat of fascism also, to an end. This, we are confident, will be successfully facilitated by the state reorganizations in the Soviet Union which are now being submitted for your approval.

I express confidence that the Supreme Soviet will demonstrate the unanimity of the Soviet people in solving the question of the proposed state reorganization.

[illegible] Amendment

Would Set Up Unworkable Plan

By Adam Lapin

(Daily Worker Washington Bureau)

WASHINGTON, Feb. 2.—Senator Robert Taft, the Ohio defeatist, today trotted out a triple-barreled bazooka designed to kill off the soldier vote bill once and for all.

Taft announced that he has introduced a new amendment to the Lucas-Green bill which has the sponsorship of 15 Republican and poll tax senators. The new Taft amendment combines the worst features of all pending amendments to cripple the Lucas-Green bill, but [illegible]

Dewey Throws Weight Against Soldier Vote

By Mac Gordon

In typically slippery fashion took a swipe at the Green-Luc[as] put his weight behind the so-

In a wire to Senator St[illegible] Republican, Dewey said:

"Any ballot authorized by Congress which would not list state, county and other local offices would be incomplete and not in accordance with the provisions of the Constitution of the State of New York.

"Therefore it would be incumbent upon the New York Legislature to make available to every citizen in the armed forces from the state of [illegible]

vote again some time tomorrow or Friday.

House Republicans who were earlier pressing for a speedy vote on the Rankin bill are now reported to be so confident of the outcome at the other end of Capitol Hill that they have reversed themselves and will stall until the Senate acts.

RANKIN'S TIRADE

Newspapermen and CIO legislative representatives were planning independent efforts to compile the vote in the House on the federal ballot issue—since a roll call was ruled out yesterday.

But House Republicans were preparing crippling amendments to the Worley federal ballot proposal. The effect of this will be to prevent even a clean-cut teller vote on the real issue.

Most disgraceful feature in the otherwise desultory House debate was a terrific standing ovation, joined by practically all Republicans and most of the Democrats, for Rep John Rankin, after he finished a 60-minute tirade.

Rankin went in for red-baiting and Jew-baiting, took some snide cracks at the President, dragged in by the tail the issue of Tammany Hall in New York by dubbing the federal ballot the "Aurelio ballot" and wound up this unsavory parcel with some old-fashioned flag-waving.

The new Taft farrago of crippling amendments ostensibly preserves the federal ballot but places every conceivable obstacle in the path of its ever being exercised.

UNWORKABLE PLAN

First, it permits the use of a federal ballot only if the states have failed to modify their laws by June 1. This provision, borrowed from the Ball amendment, would set up a complicated and unworkable dual system of state and federal voting.

Second, to get a federal ballot a serviceman would have to write away for it to a Soldiers and Sailors War Ballot Commission.

Third, the Eastland and Overton States's Rights amendments maintain perfectly clear that it is impossible for the armed services to transport to the 5,000,000 men and women who will be overseas a ballot that will contain every local office. Last Sunday, Mayor LaGuardia, in his weekly radio broadcast, warned of just such a trick from people who, actually, want federal supervision of the vote.

The Governor's position is no small matter. He is a leading Republican nationally, and is the actual head of the G. O. P. in the state, which has 21 congressmen in the lower House. Only four of these 21 voted for a roll-call on the issue Tuesday.

(Continued on Page 3)

Montgomery Says We'll Win in '44

City Labor Unites To Strengthen OPA

By Dorothy Loeh

All sections of New York labor got together yesterday on a program to back up OPA and to get real action on rent control, food subsidies and enforcement of price regulations.

Approximately 200 from CIO, AFL and Railroad Brotherhoods attended a conference and luncheon under the auspices of the OPA Labor Advisory Committee at Hotel Commodore, found themselves united on a program of action and won a comment from Mayor La Guardia, one of the speakers, who said:

"I'm pinching myself to see if I'm awake and seeing you all together in one room. It's nice. I hope it's the beginning of one united labor family." This drew applause.

Together on the platform were such representatives of labor as Martin Lacey, executive secretary of the AFL Building Trades Council; Saul Mills, City CIO secretary, and Charles Wysong of the Railroad Brotherhoods and speakers at the luncheon, besides the Mayor, included Thomas Murray, president of the AFL State Federation of Labor, and Louis Hollander, president of the State CIO.

PROMISE FOR FUTURE

Resolutions were all adopted unanimously, giving promise of future united action.

On rent control, delegates scored the interpretation of OPA rules made by Area Rent Director Fink that painting and decorating are not essential services and landlords may paint less frequently than has been their custom. Denial of painting actually violates the rent freeze, they said. They protested further an interpretation that would permit landlords, who formerly gave concessions to tenants when they signed

Yank Bombers Hit Fiery Berlin Again

LONDON, Feb. (UP). — U. S heavy bombers roared across the English Channel today to sow new havoc along the French Pas De Calais invasion coast area, following an RAF Mosquito bomber fire-stoking raid last night on hard-hit Berlin.

At the same time, U. S. Marauder medium bombers attacked an airfield in Normandy without loss, as the Allied offensive against northern France got under way again after a one-day lay-off in aerial operations against that area, attacked 35 times in 33 days. The Marauders were escorted by thunderbolt and lightning fighters.

Galetsky, Seaman first class John Quillan. (See story on page 3.) —Daily Worker Photo

Textile Union Backs United ALP Slate

The Textile Workers Union will support the slate of the Committee for a United Labor Party, initiated by the CIO Political Action Committee, in the American Labor Party state committee primary contests on March 28, Emil Rieve, national president of the union announced yesterday.

This is the first direct official expression from the leadership of this important union in support of the CIO candidates for the state committee of the American Labor Party.

Sidney Hillman, chairman of the CIO National Political Action Committee, stated a few weeks ago that Rieve, together with R. J. Thomas of the Auto Workers Union and Samuel Wolchok of the United Retail and Wholesale Workers, had agreed to back the Committee in the ALP primaries.

All other international CIO unions with a New York State membership are connected with the Committee for a United Labor Party.

RIEVE CLARIFIES ISSUE

In his statement yesterday Rieve said:

"The newspapers recently have carried many stories about the approaching primary in the American Labor Party in New York State; the picture is confused in the minds of many members of the ALP," Rieve said.

"Stripped of its non-essential elements, the issue is plain: Shall the CIO Political Action Committee be supported; shall the CIO slate of candidates for the state committeemen of the American Labor Party be elected?

"Our answer is 'Yes!'"

Rieve pointed out that the CIO Political Action Committee is the official political agency of the Congress of Industrial Organizations and has been established with the full authority of the CIO National Executive Board and the CIO convention in Philadelphia last fall. It also has the endorsement of the executive council and the convention of the New York State Industrial Union Council, he recalled.

"Under these circumstances, it is inevitable that the Textile Workers Union of America should support the CIO slate in the American Labor Party primary in New York next month," Rieve said.

Support of the textile workers to the united slate is important in upstate New York, in several counties the TWU is the dominant union and its members make up a large portion of the ALP enrolled voters.

Franco Legion (What's Left) Very, Very Blue on Soviet Front

MOSCOW, Feb. 2 (UP).—The Soviet Army newspaper Red Star's military analyst, Major B. R. Schin, disclosed today how General Kyrill A. Meretzkov's forces, in the first six days of their offensive on the Volkhov Front, wiped out 1,000 of the Spanish Legion's 3,000 men.

The Spanish Legion was formed from remnants of the original Spanish Fascist "Blue Division," which had been fighting with the Nazis on the Soviet front for two years. The unit took up positions in the second half of December near Lyuban, on the southeast side of the Leningrad Front and on the main Leningrad-Moscow railroad—a sector to which the German command attached special importance, Schin said.

Shortly after the Spaniards' arrival, Meretzkov started his offensive and, the Legion hastily retreated from its fortified positions and fled along the road to Kostov, Schin said. On the second day of the offensive, a Soviet battalion commanded by Capt. Sozmotzof caught up with the retreating Spaniards and inflicted a devastating blow. The Spaniards abandoned their dead and wounded and left behind them a trail of ammunition, clothes, helmets, even underwear and food, and tried to make a stand along prepared positions on the Kostov Highway, according to Schin.

The Soviets attacked and harassed the Spaniards by encircling movements from the north and west and finally drove them toward Lyuban. The breach in the line created by the Legion's flight had become so serious that the German command threw Nazi troops into the gaps in an effort to block further Red Army advances.

Cristobal Mirin Lainel, a Spanish artilleryman captured with other Legionnaires, said that "we lost 1,000 men in six days." He said the legion originally was supposed to be a volunteer organization, but the failure to recruit enough volunteers forced Spanish officers to persuade men from the decimated Blue Division to join, the Red Star article concluded.

Hull Sees Soviet Move Own Affair

WASHINGTON, Feb. 2 (UP).—Secretary of State Cordell Hull commenting on the Soviet Union's decision to give each of its 16 republics an independent voice in foreign affairs said today that he only had seen some news reports which appeared to indicate that it was a matter within the exclusive jurisdiction of the Soviet government.

London View of Soviet Plan

By Edward W. Beattie

(By United Press Staff Correspondent)

LONDON, Feb. 2 (UP).—Soviet Russia's constitutional reforms are not likely to prove in the long run the bogey which some criticism conjured up in the first excitement over last night's action by the Supreme Soviet in granting the 16 Soviet Republics their own defense and Foreign Affairs Commissariats, experienced observers said today.

On closer examination of the plan these circles believe its primary application will be internal and as such represents a remarkable stride in decentralizing the Soviet administration.

Official circles are awaiting more details from British and American observers in Moscow.

There is no dispositon here, however, to assume that the USSR, as the Nazi propagandists have been quick to shrill, is going to try to "pack" the peace conference by demanding 16 times as many votes as say, the United States, or that she intends to try to dominate any international organization like the League of Nations.

It is felt here that the Soviet Union has given every evidence of good faith thus far, and should not automatically be suspected of devious purposes every time some change occurs in her policy.

LONDON, Feb. 2 (UP).—The Supreme Soviet today passed a formal bill providing for the establishment of separate armed forces for each of the 16 Soviet Republics, the Moscow Radio said tonight.

Passage of the bill followed the Supreme Soviet's approval of the proposal made yesterday by Foreign Commissar Vyacheslav M. Molotov.

London Sees Soviet Empire Bid, With Big 4 Dividing Up 'Spheres'

By JAMES B. RESTON
By Cable to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

LONDON, Feb. 2—The Moscow radio announced tonight the terms of two decrees giving the constituent Republics of the Soviet Union a certain degree of autonomy in the conduct of their defense and foreign relations.

These decrees form a legal basis for the new Russian Commonwealth plan outlined by Foreign Commissar Vyacheslaff M. Molotoff in his speech before the joint meeting of the Supreme Soviet in St. Andrew's Hall of the Kremlin yesterday.

A preamble to the first decree, which gives the republics of the U.S.S.R. "powers in the sphere of foreign relations" said the object of the decree was "to extend foreign relations and to strengthen the collaboration between the U.S.S.R. and other states."

This decree gives the constitutent republics the right "to enter into direct relations with foreign States and to conclude, treaties with them," and, to make the decree valid, a number of amendments to the Soviet Constitution were announced, one which stated:

"Each Union Republic has the right to enter into direct relations with foreign States, to conclude treaties with them and exchange diplomatic and consular representatives."

The second decree, dealing with the transformation of the Central

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Commissariat for Defense into a Union Republic People's Commissariats," grants each republic the right to its own "republic battle units."

But it is emphasized in another amendment to the Constitution that the Central Union Commissariat in Moscow "will organize the defense of the U.S.S.R. and direct all her armed forces."

These decisions are certainly the most explosive "Molotoff cocktail" thrown into the world political sphere since the Soviet Foreign Commissar signed the Russo-German pact of August, 1939, and, whatever their significance, they have added greatly to the discussions in diplomatic circles about the future foreign policy of the U.S.S.R.

Question Mark of Future

Ever since the Teheran Conference, when certain political questions were discussed but not solved, and especially since the Russo-Polish dispute over that strip of territory between the Curzon Line and the 1939 Russo-Polish boundary, Russia has surpassed the United States as the great question mark in future world policy.

What is Premier Joseph Stalin trying to do? Is he sincere in his United Nations policy? Has he really abandoned his isolationist revolutionary tactics? Is this latest action designed to increase the democracy and self-determination within the constituent republics of the U. S. S. R.? Or is it maneuvre to strengthen Soviet Russia in her dealings with other powers now and after the war?

This correspondent has put these questions to all responsible United Nations' officials and diplomats available to him in the last two days and reminded them that this dispatch is a report of their tentative conclusions:

1. Soviet Russia, these diplomats believe, is prepared to collaborate with the United States and Britain under certain conditions. She is sincere in her determination to wipe out Germany and will abide by her military commitments under the Teheran agreement. She is evidently not prepared, however, to grant to the United States or Britain the right to interfere in the settlemen of the Baltic States and Poland or, indeed, the right to intervene anywhere in Eastern Europe though she is demanding the right, and has received, as a member of the Italian Commission and the European Commission to help settle the fate of Italy and other European countries.

2. Soviet Russia, in other words, has not acepted the principle that spheres of influence should be abandoned and that a general European settlement is to be arranged with each power having an equal say in the settlement of every area of the Continent.

There is, in fact, a growing feeling that Russia, while willing to

This is a clipping from page 1 of the New York Times for

Feb. 3, 1944

Clipped at the Seat of Government.

cooperate with the United States and Britain in other parts of the world, is demanding the right to establish a Russian sphere of influence to the east of the line running roughly from Trieste to Prague and to Stettin and that east of that line she is going to insist upon the creation of "friendly" governments which would form a sort of cordon sanitaire in reverse, a chain of States, not to protect western Europe from Russia but to protect Russia from the possibility of any coalition that might be formed in western Europe.

3. Diplomats here differ in their interpretation of what Premier Stalin means by "friendly" governments, some thinking he means governments that would be dependent upon the Soviet Union and others thinking he means governments that would be both independent and friendly in the true sense of both words.

In general, however, there is a tendency among observers here to believe that Premier Stalin's sphere of influence policy is intended as defensive and not offensive and that he is going to pursue a Pan-Slav policy, more or less as the United States is pursuing a Pan-American policy, and that he is going to favor friendly governments in his sphere of influence in much the same way we tend to favor friendly governments in Central America.

4. As to the immediate decision to give a great degree of autonomy to the constituent Soviet Republics, London diplomats agree that this is, at this stage, essentially an internal affair of the Soviet Union though it has potentially far-reaching consequences in the rest of the world.

Peace Table Angle Indicated

Three points were generally expressed:

A. The move was designed as an attempt to increase the Soviet Union's voting strength in international organizations dealing with the post-war world an dto give Premier Stalin a bargaining counter against Britain which usually manages to get the votes of the British dominions on her side, and against the United States which usually succeeds in carrying the Latin-American republics with her in foreign affairs.

B. It was designed as a device to give a more legal aspect to the incorporation of the Baltic States.

C. It was a convenient way to invite any other Governments, such as the Bulgarian, Polish, Finnish or Persian Governments, to join the Russian "commonwealth of nations."

Most observers whom this correspondent approached, however, while admitting in various degrees the force of these three reasons are inclined to believe that the decision was taken for three other reasons as well:

D. The idea of self-determination, it is pointed out, has not escaped Russia where there is Ukrainian patriotism just as Canadians have Canadian patriotism, and there is Georgian patriotism just as, indeed, we have a Georgia patriotism in Atlanta.

Thus, it is argued, Premier Stalin, whose first major job was Commissar of Nationalities, believes that the U.S.S.R., with Germany and Japan defeated, will be able to give over more autonomy to the constituent republics.

e. The acceptance of principle of States' rights and the decentralization of the Government in such a vast empire will, it is believed, be more efficient. For example, it is pointed out that in many cases, admittedly on small issues, the Asiatic republics might very well be able to negotiate with China quicker and more efficiently than Moscow could. f. Finally, it is pointed out. Premier Stalin is scarcely in such a weak condition, nor is he so legalistic in his approach to international problems that he is likely to change the Constitution solely to get extra votes at international conferences where votes seldom settle great issues or to get the approval of the rest of the world for his territorial aims.

In summary, the concensus here is not that Russia's retreating from the world nor rejecting the offers of United States and Britain for cooperation but that she is laying the groundwork for an even greater empire than she now has and is pointing the way, not to a system of the present collective security but toward a world divided into these four great spheres of influence as follows:

A sphere dominated by Russia and extending from the Trieste-Prague-Stettin line east to the Pacific; another sphere dominated by the United States and taking in the Western Hemisphere from the Canadian border to the Falkland Island; a third dominated by Britain and including the British Empire and western European democracies from France in the south to orway in the north, and fourth, a sphere — though Russia may not support this one—including southern Asia and dominated by China.

Many observers do not approve of this trend, but most of them admit the trend is growing and that it is being pushed forward by political activites of the Soviet Union.

This is a clipping from
page _____ of the
New York Times for

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Clipped at the Seat of
Government.

Text of Soviet Autonomy Decrees

LONDON, Feb. 2 (AP)—Following is the text of Soviet decrees putting into force a plan for granting independence to the sixteen Soviet Republics, as translated by the Soviet monitor from a Russian broadcast:

With the aim of widening international connections and strengthening the collaboration of the U. S. S. R. with other States and taking into consideration the growing need of the Union Republics in the establishment of direct relations with foreign States, the Supreme Soviet of the U. S. S. R. decrees:

A Union Republic may enter into direct relations with foreign States and conclude agreements with them.

2. To introduce into the Constitution of the U. S. S. R. the following additions:

(A) Add to Article VIV point (A) of the Constitution after the words "representation of the Union in international relations, conclusion and ratification of treaties with foreign States" the words: "the establishment of the general character of the relations between the Union Republic and foreign States." his point thus reads as follows:

A. Representation of the Union in international relations, conclusion and ratification of treaties with other States and the establishment of the general character of the relations of the Union Republic with foreign States.

B. To add to the Constitution of the U.S.S.R. Article XVIII (a) to read thus: "Each Union Republic has the right to enter into direct relation with foreign States, to conclude agreements with them and exchange diplomatic and consular representatives with them."

C. To supplement Article LX of the Constitution of the U.S.S.R. with point (e) reading: "Establishment of the representation of the Union Republic in international relations."

3. To transform the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs from an All-Union into a Union-Republican People's Commissariat.

KALININ,
Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R.

GORKIN, Secretary.

The Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R., with the aim of strengthening the defensive power of the U.S.S.R., decrees:

1. To establish that the Union Republics shall organize military formations of the Republics.

2. To add to the Constitution of the U.S.S.R. the following additions:

(A) Supplement Article XIV, point (H) of the Constitution after the words "organizing the fense of the U.S.S.R. and directing all armed forces of the U.S.S.R.," the words: "the establishing of the directing principles of the organization of military formations of the Union Republics."

This point thus reads:

"(H) Organizing the defense of the U.S.S.R., directing all armed forces of the U.S.S.R., the establishment of the directing principles of the organization of military formations of the Union Republics."

To supplement the Constitution of the U.S.R.R. with Article XVIII-B, as follows:

"Each Union Republic has its republican military formation."

(C) Supplement Article LX of the Constitution of the U.S.S.R. with point (E) as follows:

"Establishes the method of the creation of military formations of the Union Republic."

3. To transform the People's Commissariat for Defense from an All-Union into a Union-Republican People's Commissariat.

KALININ, Chairman of the Presidum odf the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R.

GORKIN, Secretary of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R.

Moscow, Kremlin, Feb. 1, 1944."

This is a clipping from page 5 of the New York Times for Feb. 3, 1944
Clipped at the Seat of Government.

Sixteen Russias

Further indication that, so far as the Kremlin is concerned, the fate of the Baltic states as integral parts of the Soviet Union is now beyond discussion is furnished in Molotov's speech to the Supreme Soviet of the USSR announcing a program of devolution in Russia. On paper the grants of local autonomy will be extensive. They will give individual Soviet republics within the Union the right to establish separate armies and have separate diplomatic representation abroad which would be empowered to negotiate treaties. In point of fact, separate army formations, according to Molotov, already exist in the Red army, though, presumably, in the new setup they would be given more formal recognition. It was in mentioning the existing army formations that Moscow's foreign commissar said that these included formations made up of Lithuanians, Latvians and Estonians.

It is quite possible that through this gesture Stalin hopes to bridge the diplomatic gap existing between Russia and her allies on the subject of the Baltic states and other newly incorporated Soviet areas. In other words, a seemingly autonomous Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia may be the bait held out to the United States and Great Britain to get us to accept the absorption of those nations by the Soviet Union. Once this has been achieved, the farce of autonomy could speedily be ended.

If this is the intention of the Kremlin, it is doubtful whether the world will view the gesture seriously. Certainly the examples Stalin cites of the exercise of autonomy by Soviet republics in the past, and his statement that in the Soviet Union "the right of free secession" exists, provide fuel for the skeptics. In the old days, Mr. Molotov pointed out, People's Commissariats of Foreign Affairs existed in the Ukraine, in Byelorussia, Georgia, Armenia and Azerbaijan. But these groups, as it happens, were merely transitional agencies that carried over between the period of more or less actual independence and the time when those independent regions were reabsorbed by Russia. Certainly the Kremlin did not regard with any measure of tolerance the efforts of the Caucasian republics to secede from the Soviet Union. Their independence movements were pretty thoroughly suppressed.

It is true that in the realm of language, literature, customs and folkways, the Soviet government has proved to be infinitely more enlightened than were the Czars. No effort has been made since the Revolution to Russify the non-Russian peoples. Since 1917 Russia has been, as Molotov rightly says, a multinational state. But no constituent republic has been permitted to have even a shadow of the freedom that is permitted, say, the individual members of the British Commonwealth of Nations. Thus the world will remain skeptical of the apparent readiness to extend to the Soviet republics a larger measure of ostensible autonomy.

The Kremlin's present move, in fact, will inevitably recall the case of the Far Eastern Republic which came into being in Siberia in the period following Allied intervention and on the surface at least was a democratic rather than a Communist regime. The record now clearly shows that the Far Eastern Republic was merely bait to win indirect recognition for the Soviet Union. When the usefulness of the Far Eastern Republic was at an end, it disappeared from the scene.

Wash. Post Feb. 4, 1944 p. 10

Izvestia Calls Pope Pro-Fascist; Says Catholics Are Disillusioned

By The United Press.

MOSCOW, Feb. 1—The Government newspaper Izvestia asserted today that Vatican foreign policy had disillusioned Catholics throughout the world—and "earned the hatred and contempt of the Italian masses for supporting fascism."

Endorsing a report issued on Jan. 15 by the Foreign Policy Association, New York, which said that a rising tide of anti-clericalism might be expected in Italy, the Soviet organ said the Vatican pledged its support to Italian fascism following conclusion of the Lateran treaty in February, 1929, "but the Vatican's support for fascism wasn't limited solely to Italy. It approved many acts of aggression by fascism although the true meaning of these aggressions was no secret.

"The Vatican is now suffering the consequences of its endorsement of the Italian conquest of Abyssinia and is now reaping the fruits of the débâcle of the Italian African empire."

Reviewing Vatican foreign policy before and during the present war, Izvestia said "the disgraceful role the Vatican played in Hitler's and Mussolini's Spanish adventure is widely known. The Vatican emerged in the role of a supporter of armed intervention."

It said Generalissimo Francisco Franco of totalitarian Spain was a "Vatican pet" and that Generalissimo Franco's Spain was the "image of the clerical states of post-war Europe" which the Vati-

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This is a clipping from page 1 of the New York Times for Feb. 2, 1944
Clipped at the Seat of Government.

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can would like to see emerge. Izvestia said further that the silence of the Vatican when Italy launched the "stab in the back" attack on France in June, 1940, and the fact that the Vatican was one of the first to recognize the Petain regime at Vichy were typical of its policy.

It added that Pope Pius XII in his appeal last Christmas declared his "impartial love of all peoples" but asserted the fact remains that in the present war the Vatican has supported Fascist States and sanctioned the destruction of other States.

[The Foreign Policy Association report, written by Sherman S. Hayden, reviewed in considerable detail the Vatican's foreign policy for the last twenty-five years.

[After pointing out that the sympathies of Pope Pius XII were openly on the side of Generalissimo Francisco Franco in the Spanish civil war and that "his blessing still rests on the governments of Franco, Petain and Salazar of Portugal," Mr. Hayden's report summed up:

["The view that the Pope is at heart a Fascist and wishes to see the triumph of modern dictatorships, while a long sequence of superficial evidence can be constructed to support it, proves to be without foundation in fact. At the same time, he is not a supporter of democracy but is just what he claims to be—indifferent to political forms, accepting any government which will meet the minimum demands of the church."]

Sees Russo-German Peace

The attack of Izvestia, official organ of the Soviet Government, on the Vatican, was characterized last night by Mgr. Fulton J. Sheen of the American Catholic University as an attempt to confuse the political atmosphere in Europe in preparation for a separate peace by Moscow with the German army after the expected overthrow of Hitler.

Mgr. Sheen predicted an alliance between Communist Russia and the Nazis, minus Hitler, for the bolshevization of Europe and declared that the Izvestia attack was designed to help destroy religion as the one great obstacle to the achievement of this objective.

"The Izvestia article on the Vatican accusing the Vatican of being Fascist is excusable," Mgr. Sheen said.

"The Soviets use words cleverly. As they massacred Jews under the name of Trotskyites, so they label all anti-Communists as Fascists. In this sense of the term the Church is Fascist. But by the same logic it is Communist because it is anti-Nazi and anti-Fascist. The Vatican within the last six months has been called Communist by the Nazis, Nazist by the Communists and anti-Fascists by the Fascists. And they all mean the same thing, namely that the Vatican is opposed to every anti-religious ideology.

Says Russia Aided Fascism

"It ill behooves Soviet Russia to make the charge of fascism against the Vatican for it was Soviet Russia that allowed fascism to spread over Europe by force of arms through the signing of the Nazi-Soviet pact of August, 1939.

"The Izvestia attack in itself is rather puerile. For example, it alleges that the Vatican is Fascist because 'it maintained silence when Italy attacked France in June, 190.' If this be so, is the Vatican Communist because it maintained silence when Russia attacked Finland and Poland. What was Soviet Russia doing when Italy attacked France? It was helping Nazi Germany.

"This charge against the Vatican is no great surprise. Every one who knows Soviet Russia knew it was coming. What was unexpected was its timing. The fact that it should come now rather than a month later proves how confident Soviet Russia really is in its avidility to control Europe.

"As Soviet Russia has already served notice that America and Great Britain may not interfere in the question of Poland, so now it serves notice on religion that it may not interfere in the question of Europe.

"From now on we may expect the development of Soviet Russia's policy to work out in two directions. First, we may expect a separate peace with the German Army after the overthrow of Hitler. Second, we may expect an alliance between communism and nazism for the communization of Europe."

1939 Encyclical Quoted

KANSAS CITY, Mo., Feb. 1 (UP) The charge made by the Russian newspaper Izvestia is "totally false," Bishop Edwin V. O'Hara of the Kansas City diocese, said tonight.

"Pius XII has expressed himself and his attitude towards fascism adequately in an encyclical "Darkness Over the Earth," issued Oct. 20, 1939," Bishop O'Hara said.

"In this encyclical he says:

"'Whoever considers that State to be the end towards which all is directed and all must bow is of necessity an enemy and an obstacle to all true and lasting progress among the nations."

Curley Disputes Charge

WASHINGTON, Feb. 1 (UP)—Archbishop Michael J. Curley, head of the Baltimore-Washington Archdiocese, said tonight "there is not a word of truth" to Russian charges that Pope Pius XII had followed a pro-Fascist foreign policy.

"It's just what I expected of Russia," he added with a smile.

He said the Pope had denounced fascism in Italy on numerous occasions and that, as former Vatican representative to Berlin, the Holy Father "knows what fascism and nazism are—and is opposed to them."

"Fascism is utter stupidity in itself and certainly can't be tolerated," he said. "I know the Pope holds the same view."

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Soviet Republics Get Right To Own Armies and Envoys

By D. J. LAWRENCE
By Wireless to The New York Times.

MOSCOW, Feb. 1—The Supreme Soviet late tonight unanimously approved a proposal by Foreign Commissar Vyacheslaff M. Molotoff for major changes in the Soviet constitutional system under which each of the sixteen constituent republics will form its own army formations and have separate diplomatic representation abroad.

In less than four hours of debate, including the forty-three-minute opening address by M. Molotoff, both chambers approved the constitutional changes by a show of hands without having the full text read to them. They had copies of the proposal in their desks but they waived the reading of it.

On the motion of President Mikhail I. Kalinin, the Supreme Soviet also elected Nikolai Shevrnik as first Vice President of the Presid-

Continued on Page Ten

SOVIET REPUBLICS VOTED NEW RIGHTS

Continued From Page One

ium of the U. S. S. R. and then adjourned sine die.

[The text of M. Molotoff's speech appears on page 10.]

While Premier Joseph Stalin looked on from a back-row seat on the platform, M. Molotoff, in a forty-three-minute speech, gave a general outline of the Government's new plan which, he said, resulted from the political and cultural growth of the constituent Soviet Republics and which, he said, was put forward as a means of strengthening the Soviet Union as a whole.

He gave no details of the specific working out of the plan, saying that it would take some time to work out.

He was interrupted a score of times by applause, the loudest outburst of which greeted his declaration that the war had brought about the creation of a "powerful anti-Hitler coalition headed by the Soviet Union, Britain and the United States, the military and political significance of which for all democratic nations could hardly be overestimated.

Amid applause he declared that the Moscow and Teheran conferences occupied the most outstanding place in the development and consolidation of the anti-Hitlerite coalition.

Reviews War Tests

With pride Mr. Molotoff reviewed how the Soviet Union and its army, composed of many nationalities, withstood the stern tests of war, emerging stronger than before. He said:

"Even Hitler can see how hopelessly stupid were his calculations for a rift among the peoples of the U. S. S. R."

More applause greeted his prediction that the Red Army soon would liberate the Soviet Baltic Republics and his declaration that the Red Army would fight on to complete victory.

This is a clipping from page 1 of the New York Times for Feb. 2, 1944
Clipped at the Seat of Government.

Vote New Status for 16 Soviet Republics

To Deal Directly In Foreign Affairs

(By United Press Staff Correspondent)

MOSCOW, Feb. 1 (UP).—Foreign Affairs Commissar V. M. Molotov, in an address to the Supreme Soviet this evening, proposed a revision of the Constitution of the USSR which would permit each of the 16 republics of the nation to enter into direct relations with foreign powers and to sign agreements with them, and his proposal immediately was adopted by the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R.

The Soviet Foreign Commissar also proposed a limited reorganization of the Red Army, providing for separate defense commissariats for some of the republics.

He spoke under the glare of a dozen klieg lights in the white-tinted, remodelled St. Andrew's Chamber of the Kremlin.

Premier Joseph Stalin was present and listened attentively as Molotov expounded the new set-up for the Commissariat of Foreign Affairs.

"The Red Army is beating the enemy and the moment is approaching when all the territory of the U.S.S.R. will be cleared and the enemy will be crushed," Molotov said.

"The Red Army reorganization is a sign of our strength. No other country would dare carry out such a reorganization in wartime.

"The proposed change in the Constitution will provide for Republic Commissars for Defense. We already have territorial troops—Latvian, Estonian and Lithuanian."

UNDER THE CZAR

Molotov explained that under the Czar certain nationalities in the empire were not admitted to the Russian army. Under the Soviet regime, he said, all nationalities are admitted and it is necessary to strengthen the war commissariats of the various republics of the U.S.S.R. on a territorial basis.

"How will this affect the Red Army?" Molotov asked. "Will it strengthen it? There can be no doubt about this.

"Everyone knows, and can see, what the Red Army is doing to liberate the Ukraine and the Baltic Republics. The reorganization of the Red Army will strengthen Russia. Our enemies need have no doubt about this."

Molotov said that "before the Union was organized the individual republics had their own commissariats for foreign affairs such as the Ukraine, Byelorussian and the Russian Soviet Federated States. Some of them concluded treaties with foreign countries independently. When the Union was organized the Soviet foreign office alone represented the whole country."

"The national needs of the republics can best be served by independent direct relations with foreign countries. This, of course, serves the general interests in bettering the international relations of the whole country.

"The Moscow and Tehran conferences did their best to strengthen the anti-Hitlerite coalition. Crushing blows to come soon will fortify further the anti-fascist coalition."

"The reorganization of the foreign office and our defense is a further step in the solution of our national problem," Molotov continued. "The Nazis themselves now realize how vain was their hope to sow disunity among Soviet nationalities.

"The new step has a great significance for all progressive humanity. When Hitler is trying to stifle and crush all of our neighbors, this is a step for promoting the free national development of peoples and it acquires double international significance."

Molotov said that "the time has long passed since certain foreign countries refused to notice the October Revolution. During this war the international position of the Soviet Union has reached a new high level. During this war we have established not only good but friendly relations with Great Britain."

The minister's remark about Great Britain was greeted with loud applause.

Molotov concluded his address at 7:50 P. M. There was prolonged applause when he said: "I am confident the Supreme Soviet will show unanimity in accepting this motion for reorganization."

A discussion of Molotov's proposal immediately was opened. The first speaker was President Yustas Paletskis, of the Lithuanian Republic.

The Lithuanian President told the delegates that a Lithuanian division is fighting with the Red Army and said that "Lithuanians have particular reasons for welcoming reorganization. It will be an important step in strengthening the friendship of Lithuania with the rest of the country."

The President recalled that about one-third of all Lithuanians live in America and said that they follow with keen interest developments in their homeland.

This is a clipping from page 1 of the Daily Worker for Feb. 2, 1944
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Mirza Far Bagirov, President of the Republic of Azerbaijan, spoke in support of the Molotov proposal.

Wilhelm Latsis, President of the Latvian Republic, said that there are more than ten Latvian generals in the Red Army. He denounced "certain Lebis in America—whom he described as acting as fascist agents. He described "the former Lettish minister in Washington, Bilmanis, as Hitler's lackey in America."

Alexander Bogomoletz, President of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences, supported the Molotov proposal. He said that the Ukrainians and Poles had very close and cordial relations before the last world war. He phrased the Molotov proposal as a step toward restoration of such conditions "with a friendly and democratic Poland."

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Soviet Budget Covers War, People's Needs

(By Wireless to Inter-Continent News)

MOSCOW, Feb. 1.—Commenting on the proposed Soviet budget for 1944, the Communist newspaper, Pravda, says that while half of the budget will go for purposes of state defense, the Soviet government has allotted substantial sums for the growth of the national economy, the social security and health of the Soviet people.

The finance commissar, A. Zverev, presented the proposed budget to a meeting of the Supreme Soviet now taking place in Moscow. It is now being discussed by the assembled delegates.

Zverev's budget proposed an outlay of 245,600,000,000 rubles for 1944, an increase of 17.1 over 1943.

Of this amount, 128,400,000,000 rubles will go to the war and navy commissariats, and the rest for building the economy, reconstruction of devastated areas, and social services.

ECONOMIC PROGRESS

Summarizing the figures, Pravda declares that the budget "lays the foundation for the further progress of the Socialist economy and culture and the further strengthening of the military and economic might of the country."

Some 45 billion rubles are allocated for development of the economy; 51 billion for social and cultural undertakings. Sixteen billion goes for reconstruction of the devastated areas.

"An exceptional solicitude has been shown for the network of schools, kindergartens, training of skilled workers, and improvement of public health," Pravda declares. Millions have been allocated for aid to Red Armymen and their families.

"1944 must be marked by the further development of industry, agriculture, transport, greater labor productivity and the decline in the cost of production," the newspaper continues.

"The fulfillment of the budget demands the strictest regime of economy. Its fulfillment will afford new evidence of the strength and the power of the Soviet country.

"The work of the session has been illumined by Moscow's artillery salutes in honor of the victorious armies. The roar of the Kremlin guns is heralding the approach of complete victory.

"The state budget of the USSR guarantees the stability of its material base. The state budget will embody the heroic efforts of millions of Soviet patriots and direct them towards the complete defeat of the German invaders and to the full triumph of our great, immortal cause."

This is a clipping from page 2 of the Daily Worker for Feb. 2, 1944
Clipped at the Seat of Government.

Says Vatican Policy Hurts Catholics

MOSCOW, Feb. 1 (UP).—The government newspaper Izvestia asserted today that Vatican foreign policy had disillusioned Catholics throughout the world and "earned the hatred and contempt of the Italian masses for supporting fascism."

Endorsing a report issued on Jan. 15, by the Foreign Policy Association, New York, which said that a rising tide of anti-clericalism might be expected in Italy, the Soviet organ said the Vatican pledged its support to Italian fascism following conclusion of the Lateran treaty in February, 1929.

"But the Vatican's support for fascism wasn't limited solely to Italy. It approved many acts of aggression by fascism although the true meaning of these aggressions was no secret.

"The Vatican is now suffering the consequences of its endorsement of the Italian conquest of Abyssinia, and is now reaping the fruits of the debacle of the Italian African empire."

Reviewing Vatican foreign policy before and during the present war, Izvestia said "the disgraceful role the Vatican played in Hitler's and Mussolini's Spanish adventure is widely known. The Vatican emerged in the role of a supporter of armed intervention."

FRANCO SUPPORTER

It said Gen. Francisco Franco of totalitarian Spain was a "Vatican pet" and that Franco's Spain was the "image of the clerical states of post-war Europe" where the Vatican which like to see emerge.

Izvestia said further that the silence of the Vatican when Italy launched the "stab in the back" attack on France in June, 1940, and the fact the Vatican was one of the first to recognize the Petain regime at Vichy were typical of its policy.

It added that Pope Pius XII in his appeal last Christmas declared his "impartial love of all peoples" but asserted the fact remains that in the present war the Vatican has supported fascist states and sanctioned the destruction of other states.

(The Foreign Policy Association report, written by Sherman S. Hayden, reviewed in considerable detail the Vatican's foreign policy for the last 25 years.

(After pointing out that the sympathies of Pope Pius XII were openly on the side of Franco in the Spanish civil war and that "his blessing still rests on the governments of Franco, Petain and Salazar of Portugal," Hayden's report summed up:

("The view that the Pope is at heart a fascist and wishes to see the triumph of modern dictatorships, while a long sequence of superficial evidence can be constructed to support it, proves to be without foundation in fact.

"At the same time, he is not a supporter of democracy but is just what he claims to be—indifferent to political forms, accepting any government which will meet the minimum demands of the Church."

("One could not have expected the Church to support the Spanish Republic, but is unfortunate that such whole-hearted support was given to General Franco—all the more because Pius XI seems to have suspected the true situation.

("One could not have expected the Church to look with favor on Soviet Russia, but one might have hoped for an earlier realization of where the graver danger lay for Europe and the world.

("One fears that in this case, a zealot's conviction replaced statesmanlike objectivity. It might also be argued that, when the anti-Christian nature of Nazi Germany became as well understood as it was by 1937, the Church should have taken a more militant stand.

("The delicacy of the Pope's international position is obvious, but his mistakes in policy, some now tacitly and almost openly admitted by the Vatican, cannot entirely be excused or explained away.)"

This is a clipping from page 2 of the Daily Worker for Feb. 2, 1944
Clipped at the Seat of Government

The text of this speech is also contained in the Daily Worker of Feb. 3, 1944 on page 2.

Text of Molotov Plan Enlarging Autonomy

MOSCOW, Feb. 1 (AP)—Following is the text of Foreign Commissar Vyacheslaff M. Molotoff's statement today to the Supreme Soviet as translated into English and broadcast by Tass, official Soviet news agency.

On the transformation of the People's Commissariat of Foreign Affairs from a Union-People's Commissariat into a Union-Republican People's Commissariat: Report by Molotoff in the Supreme Soviet of the USSR on February 1, 1944.

Comrades, Deputies!

The question of the transformation of two People's Commissariats—the People's Commissariat of Defense and the People's Commissariat of Foreign Affairs—from Union into Union-Republican People's Commissariats has been posed before the Supreme Soviet.

The Council of People's Commissars believes that this question is quite ripe. This is not a matter of ordinary reorganization of two People's Commissariats. This is primarily a matter of placing new and most responsible tasks before the Union Republics. The question has been posed of new tasks and rights of the Union Republics, firstly in the matter of the defense of our country and secondly in the sphere of external relations with foreign states and, in this connection, of important transformations in our Union State.

Heretofore the Union Republics took part in the common work for the creation, organization and equipment of the Red Army. Our army was created as an all-union army and there existed no separate army formations of the republics. Now it is proposed to institute army formations of the republics which should form component parts of the Red Army. In this connection there arises need for the creation of the People's Commissariats of Defense in the Union Republics as well as the necessity of transformation of the Union People's Commissariat of Defense into a Union-Republican People's Commissariat.

Right to Make Treaties

After the foundation of the Union of Soviet Republics in 1922 foreign political relations were wholly concentrated in the Union People's Commissariat of Foreign Affairs to which the individual republics delegated their powers in foreign relations. Now the Government of the Union proposes that the Union Republics be granted powers to enter into direct relations with foreign States and conclude agreements with them. Naturally, the granting of powers to the republics in the sphere of foreign relations renders it necessary to create People's Commissariats of Foreign Affairs in the Union Republics and to transform the Union People's Commissariat of Foreign Affairs into a Union-Republican People's Commissariat.

The meaning of the proposed transformation is perfectly clear. This transformation signifies great expansion of the activities of the Union Republics which has become possible as a result of their political economic and cultural growth, or, in other words, as a result of their national development. One cannot fail to see in this a new, important step in the practical solution of the national problem in the multi-national Soviet State, one cannot fail to see in this a new victory for our Lenin-Stalin national policy.

This transformation, however, has become possible not merely as a result of the strengthening of our republics. It has become possible as a result of the achieved strengthening of our Union of States as a whole. The strengthening of the Soviet Union that has taken place is most convincingly proved by the manner in which our Red Army, which bears the whole brunt of the struggle with the main forces of the most dangerous enemy, is beating the German Fascist army and successfully brings nearer the time of the complete expulsion of the enemy from Soviet territory and his utter defeat.

Now it is more than obvious how scandalously the enemy's calculations on the Red Army's defeat fell through and how near-sighted were the Hitlerites' calculations of causing disunity among the peoples of the Soviet Union. Our army, which was joined by millions of people from all the nations in the Soviet Union and which receives such invaluable help from our guerrillas in the enemy's rear, proves more and more successfully with every day how strong our country has become, how powerful the Soviet system is, how great the friendship of the Soviet people is.

Present proposal on the transformations in the organization of defense and in foreign relations; providing for great extension of the functions of the Union republics, should serve as a new confirmation of our confidence in the strength and the growth of the forces of the Soviet Union. This confidence is demonstrated all the more forcefully that we propose to effect these transformations at the height of a patriotic war, when the forces of our peoples are strained so greatly and when not every State would venture to undertake such important transformations.

Transformation of the People's Commissariat of Defense.

I proceed to the question of the transformation of the People's Commissariat of Defense. It is proposed by the draft of the law to establish that the Union Republics organize army formations of the republics and that the People's Commissariat of Defense is transformed from a Union into a Union-Republican People's Commissariat. It is proposed accordingly to make the necessary addenda to the All-Union Constitution."

Now, too, we have national army formations in the Red Army. Our army has Lithuanian, Latvian, Estonian, Georgian, Azerbaijanian, Armenian, Kazakh and certain other army formations. Some of these army units were created during the patriotic war. Now that all the peoples of the Soviet Union strive to take their place in the ranks of the Red Army, creation of army formations of the republics is of great importance to us. As is well known, in Czarist Russia certain nationalities and peoples were not conscripted for military service. For instance the Uzbeks, Kazakhs, Troszhiks, Turkmens, Kirghizians, most of the peoples of the northern Caucasus, were not subject to conscription. Czarism, naturally did not trust peoples which it kept in a colonial or semicolonial status. The Czarist power even did not do anything to prepare these peoples for gradual induction into the army.

In the Soviet time the situation has changed radically. Our legislation naturally contains no legal restrictions for some or other nationalities as regards conscription. But a certain time had to pass in order to render possible actual realization of conscriptions to the Red Army in all parts of the Soviet Union. Partial conscriptions of the Red Army were carried out in past years even in those districts of the U. S. S. R. where no conscriptions took place in old times. National army units were formed in the Red Army as well but up to the present time these formations could not really develop. Now the situation has changed for the better. Adequate possibilities have been created for army formations in the Union Republics. All the republics have not only cadres of rank and file fighters but also certain cadres of commanding personnel capable of directing the respective army units. Thus at present the creation of army formations in the Union Republics can be placed on a firm foundation.

Army Training in Schools.

But to realize this task it is necessary to have Republican People's Commissariats of Defense, and consequently there arises the necessity of the transformation of the Union People's Commissariat of Defense into a Union-Republican People's Commissariat. It is to be expected that this will also increase the attention paid by the republics to the organization of military training in schools and institutions of higher education, of which we stand in need. Under such conditions the creation of army formations in the republics as component parts of the Red Army will play a not insignificant positive part.

How will this affect our Red Army? Will this contribute to its strengthening, to the growth of its might? Yes; this is beyond any doubt. Our army has always been close to and cherished by the peoples of the Soviet Union. In the course of the patriotic war still stronger has become the love of the peoples of the U.S.S.R. for their army, still stronger and more universal has become the pride of the Soviet people in the successes and heroism of the Red Army.

Indeed, who fails to see what a glorious struggle is waged by our Army for the liberation of the Ukraine, for the liberation of Byelo Russia? Who fails to appreciate whole-heartedly what the Red Army does to prepare the imminent liberation of Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, Moldavia, the Karelo-Finnish Republics?

Who fails to remember that Soviet troops saved Azerbaijan, Georgia and Armenia from the invasion of German fascism? Who of the Soviet people does not glorify our Army for having defended our capital Moscow, for having routed the Germans at Stalingrad and launching an offensive along the whole front, for having defended Leningrad and fully lifting the the blockade from it and now for their chasing of the enemy hordes from native soil without giving any respite?

Who, have those plagued by fascism, fails to understand now that the Red Army fulfills its mission of liberation not only with regard to its own motherland but also with regard to all democratic countries which fight for their honor, freedom and independence against the mortal danger presented by fascism?

Who, further, does not know that the men and women workers of our mills and factories, that the men and women peasants on the collective farms, that our intelligentsia, that all the Soviet people are ready to give all their strength to enhance the might of the Red Army, that by their self-sacrificing labor they discharge by actual deeds their duty to the motherland, to the heroic Red Army?

The formation of army units of

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the republics should serve to strengthen our army as the defender of our country, as the reliable bulwark of the Soviet Union. The enemies of the Soviet Union need not doubt that as a result of these new army formations the forces of our State will grow still stronger. This will make them more cautious in the future. This new embodiment of the growing friendship of the peoples of the Soviet Union will contribute to the further growth of the prestige of our country with the nations of East and West.

II.

Transformation of the People's Commissariat of Foreign Affairs.

Of no less significance is the transformation of the All-Union People's Commissariat of Foreign Affairs into a Union Republican People's Commissariat. Before the foundation of the Soviet Union along with the People's Commissariat of Foreign Affairs of the R. S. F. S. R. (Russia proper) there existed People's Commissariats of Foreign Affairs in the Ukraine, in Byelo Russia, Georgia, Armenia and Azerbaijan, which on certain occasions maintained foreign relations with other States.

During the early period when our State was not yet gathered into one Union State but consisted of separate parts, a number of treaties and agreements were concluded between individual Soviet Republics and foreign States. On some occasions representatives of the R.S.F.S.R. were specially authorized by other Soviet Republics to participate in international conferences and to conclude treaties with other States on behalf of all or several of the Soviet Republics. Comrade Stalin said at the first All-Union Congress of Soviets that:

"At that time the Soviet Republics, although they acted together, marched separately, occupied primarily by the problem of their existence."

That was inevitable at the initial stage. When the U.S.S.R. was founded, in accordance with the common will of the Union Republics, it was decided to unify relations with foreign States in one center. Then was created the All-Union Peoples Commissariat of Foreign Affairs in which were vested the powers of the Peoples Commissariats of Foreign Affairs of the separate Soviet Republics.

Since then, up to our days, the Soviet State was represented abroad by all-Union diplomatic representatives. Treaties and agreements with foreign States were also concluded only on behalf of the Union. This was necessary at a certain stage of the development of our State and yielded its positive results by having strengthened the State and highly enhanced its part in international affairs. But even then, as far back as the party congress in 1923, Comrade Stalin said:

"We shall still take up the national question more than once, since national and international conditions are subject to changes and may still change. I do not preclude the possibility that subsequently we may have to separate certain commissariats which are now merging in the Union of Republics."

Stalin Forecast Changes

Being the best authority on the national question, not only in our party and not only in our country, Comrade Stalin, who together with the great Lenin laid the foundation of the Soviet Union, pointed out even then that changes in the international situation and national development would more than once call forth organizational changes in the machine of the Soviet State. No other state of affairs can be imagined, especially in such a young and rapidly gaining organism as the Soviet Union is.

Now the question of the foreign relations of the Union Republics stands differently from the way it stood two decades ago when the Soviet Union was being founded. It grew out of the vital needs of the republics and its solution is dictated by the interests of the Union as a whole. The time is long past when certain foreign States tried not to notice the existence of the Soviet Republic, born in the October Revolution. Now, on the contrary, among foreign States there is a growing desire to establish and develop diplomatic relations with our State. Certainly, under conditions of World War, this meets with peculiar, not insignificant difficulties, but still even in the years of war the international connections of the U.S.S.R. have been steadily extending.

We may even say that it was especially in the years of war that the international connections of the Soviet Union have risen to a new and higher level. The facts are universally known. For the first time during the existence of the Soviet power we have established not only friendly but even allied relations with Great Britain. Similar good relations have been formed between us and the United States of America. A powerful anti-Hitler coalition has been formed, headed by the Soviet Union, Great Britain and the United States of America, a coalition whose military and political importance for the whole range of democratic States can hardly be overestimated.

The recently concluded Soviet-Czechoslovak treaty may serve as an example of the strengthening friendly relations of the Soviet Union with European states. Foundations have been laid for the cooperation of large and small democratic countries, not only in time of war against a common enemy but also in the post-war period for the sake of safeguarding peace against new encroachments on the part of aggressive powers.

Extols Moscow, Teheran Talks

As is well known, the Moscow and Teheran Conferences played a most eminent part in the development and strengthening of the anti-Hitler coalition. Now as never before, great is the confidence of the peoples of the anti-Hitler camp in near and complete victory, in joint crushing blows of the Allies at the common enemy which are already not distant, as well as confidence that the Alliance and Friendship of the anti-Fascist countries will be settled in this common struggle.

And still it can not be said that this general positive course of development of the international connections of the Soviet Union could fully cover not only the requirements of the whole Union but also the multifarious and growing requirements of the Union Republics in foreign affairs.

Thus the Union Republics have quite a few specific economic and cultural requirements which can not be covered in full measure by All-Union representation abroad and also by treaties and agreements of the Union with other States. These national requirements of the republics can be met better by means of direct relations of the republics with corresponding States.

Naturally, questions of this kind require special concrete elaboration in union and Republican organs. It cannot be denied either that a certain time will be required to organize these external activities of the republics. Such questions are not solved after a cut and dried pattern.

It is indisputable, however, that the problem of emerging into the arena of external activities has already acquired vital importance for a number of the republics. Lastly, it should be acknowledged that this is in the interests, not only of this or that individual, Union Republic but also in the interest of the entire cause of the expansion of the international connections and the strengthening of the cooperation of the U.S.S.R. with other States which is of such importance in time of war and which will yield fruit also in the post-war period.

Such are the grounds on which the necessity of the transformation of the People's Commissariat of Foreign Affairs from a Union into a Union-Republican People's Commissariat should be recognized. Whereas, in the initial period there existed only Republican People's Commissariats of Foreign Affairs and in the second period only the Union Commissariat of Foreign Affairs, now the People's Commissariat of Foreign Affairs should be transferred into a more complex and ramified organization—into a Union-Republican People's Commisariat.

"A New Forward Stride."

It remains for me to add a few words on our diplomatic practice. It is necessary to note that the absence of special provisions in the Soviet Constitution as regards

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the rights of the Union Republics to exchange representations with other States and to maintain foreign relations is sometimes interpreted to the direct detriment of the interests of the Soviet Republics and of the Soviet Union as a whole. The proposed addition will serve to eliminate facts of this kind.

III

A New Forward Stride in the Solution of the National Problem

The proposed transformation of their People's Commissariat of Foreign Affairs and the People's Commissariat of Defense is a new forward stride in the solution of the national problem in the Soviet Union. This transformation is in direct accord with the principles of our Lenin-Stalin national policy.

Realization of measures of this kind at the present time means that the Soviet State has reached a new level in its development, turning into a more complex and virile organism. In this one cannot fail to see fresh evidence of the great significance of the Socialist principles of organization of the Soviet Union.

In his report to the Congress of Soviets which adopted the Constitution of the U.S.S.R. in 1936 Comrade Stalin thus characterized the victory of the national policy of the Soviet power which insured the success of the formation of an multi-national State on the basis of socialism:

"The absence of exploiting classes, which are the principal organizers of strife between nations; the absence of exploitation, which cultivates mutual distrust and kindles nationalist passions; the fact that power is in the hands of the working class, which is the foe of all enslavement and the true vehicle of the ideas of internationalism; the actual practice of mutual aid among the peoples in all spheres of economic and social life; finally, the flourishing national culture of the peoples of the U. S. S. R., a culture which is national in form and Socialist in content—all these and similar factors have brought about a radical change in the aspect of the peoples of the U. S. S. R.; their feeling of mutual distrust has disappeared, a feeling of mutual friendship has developed among them, and thus real fraternal cooperation among peoples has been established within the system of a single Union State. As a result we now have a fully formed multi-national Socialist State which has stood all tests and whose stability might well be envied by any national State in any part of the world."

State Tested and Proved

Seven years—and what years!—have passed since then. Soon it will be three years that we have been waging a great patriotic war against German Fascism and its allies, which use the material and manpower resources of nearly the whole of Europe in their struggle against the Soviet Union. This has been a new and most serious test for our multi-national State. But the Soviet Union passed this test, too, with flying colors. On the twenty-sixth anniversary of the October Revolution Comrade Stalin thus summed up the latest period.

"All the peoples of the Soviet Union have risen as one to defend their motherland, rightly considering the present patriotic war the common cause of all working people irrespective of nationality or religion. By now the Hitlerite politicians themselves see how hopelessly stupid were their hopes of discord and strife among the peoples of the Soviet Union. The friendship of the peoples of our country has stood all the hardships and trials of war and has become tempered still further in the common struggle of all the Soviet people against the Fascist invaders."

This, in Comrade Stalin's words, is one of the decisive sources of strength of the Soviet Union.

Let us sum up. Carrying out under present conditions important state transformations, we must, of course, pose the question how this will affect the Red Army and its deep rear in the country. In other words, are we making a step toward strengthening or toward weakening the U. S. S. R.? Everything said above permits me to give a definite answer to this question. The transformation of the People's Commissariat of Foreign Affairs and the People's Commissariat of Defense, which follows from expansion of the tasks and functions of the Union Republics within the country and beyond its confines, far from running counter to the interests of the strengthening of our Union, on the contrary, is being effected in the name of and for the purpose of further strengthening our great state.

Since the times when the Soviet Union was founded the Constitution has insured to the Union Republics such a supreme expression of their sovereign rights as the right of free secession from the U.S.S.R. But as time passes the stronger becomes the desire of the peoples of the Soviet Union to live in close friendship among themselves, to help one another and to march together through all trials under the guidance of the Soviet power.

Recognition by the Union of the increased requirements of the republics in their State activities, including foreign activities, and legislative provision for these needs of the republics, only serve to strengthen the fraternal relations among the peoples of our country and reveal a still fuller historic meaning of the existence of the Soviet Union to the peoples of East and West.

Sees World Significance

It should be recognized further that this new forward stride in the solution of the national problem in the U.S.S.R. is of great importance from the viewpoint of all progressive humanity. At a time when German fascism—this worst product of imperialism—has reared its head and unleashed world war to strangle its neighbors, to destroy free States and impose its bandit imperialist policy upon the other peoples of Europe and after that upon the peoples of the whole world, this new success in the realization of the Lenin-Stalin national policy in the Soviet State will have great international significance. This step of the Soviet power will constitute a new moral and political blow at fascism and its man-hating policy, hostile to its core to the interests of the free national development of peoples.

The Soviet Union and its allies are already successfully beating fascism, which imposed this war, are hastening the time of its utter military defeat. But we know that matters should not be restricted to the military defeat of the Fascist forces. It is necessary to bring to completion the moral-political defeat of fascism as well. To this, we are certain, will successfully contribute those State transformations in the Soviet Union which are now submitted for your approval. I express assurance that the Supreme Soviet will demonstrate the unanimity of the Soviet people in the solution of the question of the proposed State transformation.

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Ideas on Post-War Europe

6. 2/7

by James S. Allen

THERE is one principle which I have found very helpful in clarifying for myself a whole series of questions connected with the post-war perspective in Europe.

It is that the relations and policies established in the course of the war must necessarily serve as the basis for post-war development. The post-war is not some new-fangled contraption which will arise in our midst as soon as the war is over. Nor can the post-war be a sudden right-about-face to the state of affairs before the war got started. The post-war will be the continuation of the policies of the anti-Axis war into a situation where the military might of the fascist powers has been crushed.

* * *

THE war is a war of liberation. All peoples which fell victim to the Axis yoke will be freed from foreign fascist domination when the military conflict is over. Some nations will also have freed themselves from the internal fascist enemy, depending mostly upon the active participation of their peoples in the war of liberation. Others will still have to complete that task. All nations will have to assure the free and democratic development of their countries under conditions of peace.

A war of liberation which ends in complete victory over the enemy leads to a peace of liberation. The same policies which assured victory, extended and adopted to the post-war period, will assure a peace of liberation. The policies underlying the use of victorious military power against the foe will serve also as the instrument for assuring his complete political annihilation, that is, the destruction of the fascist structure in Europe and the extirpation of the remnants and influences of fascism.

That policy is the policy of national unity for victory over Nazi-fascism and for an enduring peace, as held forth at Tehran.

* * *

LET us apply this approach to a concrete situation, such as Yugoslavia. The People's Anti-Fascist Vece (Council) and the People's Liberation Army are the civilian and military organs of the patriotic war. They are national unity unfolding in the full course of struggle against the foreign oppressor. On one side are the patriots: workers, peasants, anti-fascist townsfolk and intellectuals, and such landowners and industrialists who have thrown their support to the liberation struggle. On the other side: the foreign enemy and all those, no matter of what class, who are his active Quislings and supporters.

There can be no demarcation line between the struggle to oust the oppressors from the country and to reconstruct a free and independent Yugoslavia. National unity, involving the broadest participation of the people during the war, will carry over into the transition and the reconstruction. The same political weapon—national unity—will be used to stamp out the remnants of Hitler's "New Order" and its supporters, who are the most reactionary, and backward elements in Yugoslavia.

This will undoubtedly involve important social changes within Yugoslavia. Many of these are already under way; for example, the rejection of Pan-Serbianism and the rise of Serb-Croat-Slovene unity; or the rise of anti-fascist and democratic forms and practices within the governing councils in the liberated areas and within the Liberation Army.

* * *

CHANGES already begun will prove entirely incompatible with the retention of the feudal system of landowning or the maintenance of the power of the big landowners in a post-war Yugoslavia. The creation of a united, democratic and independent Yugoslavia will involve extensive political and agrarian reform.

Such changes can be carried out by a policy of national unity, as developed in the course of the liberation war itself. The transformation of Yugoslavia from a backward, semi-feudal and semi-dependent state into a democratic and independent state will have been greatly advanced by the time the war is over. The process will have to be completed in the post-war.

Does this necessarily involve changes of a Socialist type? It need not. Democratic agrarian reform and the establishment of popular democracy can take place within the framework of capitalism, that is, without working-class dictatorship, the socialization of industry and the collectivization of agriculture.

There are instances in opposite parts of the world of such developments. One instance is that of the Mongolian People's Soviet Republic. The other is that of the Soviet Republics of Esthonia, Lithuania and Latvia after they affiliated with the Soviet Union and before they were overrun by the Nazis. During this period, many democratic changes and reforms took place within these countries which were directed against the pro-Nazi forces, without adopting socialism in its full economic or political sense.

This is not to suggest that Yugoslavia or other countries of Eastern or Southeast Europe will become People's Soviet Republics after the war. But it does seem that they will become popular democratic states, in which the most backward and most reactionary forces will be eliminated, and basic social reform will take place while retaining essentially capitalist economic relations within the country.

That in itself will be a sizeable revolution, but one of which national unity will remain the core. Like every major democratic development, it will be an advance toward socialism. It certainly will be a new and progressive experience to have democratic states in the Balkans, which have been rescued from the continual stress and strain of big power politics. And due precisely to the leading role of the Communists within the national front, a reliable guarantee exists of a peaceful transition to this new state of affairs.

Daily Worker
Feb. 2, 1944
p. 6

Red Republics Free to Deal As 16 States

Autonomy Granted On Foreign Policy

By HARRISON SALISBURY

MOSCOW, Feb. 1 (U.P.).—Foreign Commisar V. M. Molotov tonight proposed a revision of the constitution of the U.S.S.R. which would permit each of the 16 republics of the nation to enter into direct relations with foreign powers and to sign agreements with them.

Plan Limited Army Revision

The drastic plan also called for a limited reorganization of the Red Army and the entire program was given unanimous approval by the assembled delegates.

"The moment of victory is approaching," Molotov said as he put forward his sweeping proposal.

In a colorful and historic meeting held under the glare of a dozen klieg lights in the white-tinted, remodeled St. Andrew's chamber of the Kremlin, Molotov told the Supreme Soviet that the "national needs of the republics can best be served by independent direct relations with foreign countries."

Stalin Present

Premier Josef Stalin was present and listened attentively as Molotov expounded the new setup for the commissariat of foreign affairs.

Concerning the reorganization of the victorious Red Army, Molotov said:

"New and responsible tasks have arisen before the Soviet Republics. These problems concern new tasks and rights of the republics as far as the defense of our country and as far as our relations with foreign countries are concerned.

Called Sign of Strength

"It is now proposed to raise troops from the individual republics separately so that they will enter into the Red Army as such. Thus, the necessity has arisen for converting the All-Union Commissariat of Defense into the Defense Commissariats of the Soviet Republics.

"The Red Army is beating the enemy and the moment is approaching when all the territory of the U.S.R.R. will be cleared and the enemy will be crushed," Molotov said. "The Red Army reorganization is a sign of our strength. No other country would dare carry out such a reorganization in wartime."

Wash. Times-Herald
Feb. 2, 1944

Vatican's Influence on Postwar Europe Seen Target of Soviet Blast

By Selwyn James

The Soviet Union's attack on Vatican foreign policy, charging it with "supporting fascism," obviously was intended to discredit Vatican influence in postwar European reconstruction.

The attack, published in the Russian Government newspaper *Izvestia*, said the "Vatican's support of fascism was not limited solely to Italy," but that it "approved of many acts of aggression by fascism," including the Italian conquest of Ethiopia.

Moscow's opinion of the Vatican (and vice-versa) never has been a mystery and *Izvestia's* statement should cause no particular surprise. Its significance, however, perhaps lies in its timing as much as it does in its content.

The paper said the Vatican had "earned the hatred and contempt of the Italian people for supporting fascism." It then endorsed a report of the Foreign Policy Assn. of New York published on Jan. 15, which said that a rising tide of anti-clericalism might be expected in Italy.

Franco Vatican 'Pet'

With the liberation of Rome apparently not far off, the Russians may feel the Vatican will exert strong pressure on the Italian people to retain the House of Savoy and Marshal Badoglio as their rulers. The Russians support the liberal and Communist Italian elements outside the Badoglio Government.

Izvestia stated plainly what it believed the Vatican had in mind for postwar Europe. It described Gen. Franco as a "Vatican pet" and fascist Spain as the "image of the clerical states of postwar Europe" which the Vatican would like to see established.

The Vatican's support of Gen. Franco is a matter of record. Russia's attack on this point coincides with the recent deterioration in relations between the Allies and Franco. *Izvestia* apparently is trying to highlight the Vatican's friendliness toward Franco at a time when he is getting called to account for his moral and material support of Germany.

Looking to the possibility that the Vatican might prefer Marshal Petain, a Catholic, to a liberal French government after the invasion of France, *Izvestia* lambasts the Vatican for its "silence" when Italy stabbed France in the back. It also points out that the Vatican was one of the first to recognize the Petain regime.

Izvestia's endorsement of the Foreign Policy Assn.'s report lent the impression that the Soviets do not want to be accused of engaging in a sweeping denunciation of the Catholic religion. It was a way of saying that their opinions are shared by respectable non-Communists.

The FPA's report said that the Pope was "not a supporter of democracy," that his "wholehearted support" of Gen. Franco was "unfortunate," and that the Holy See's "close" association with fascism was to be "regretted."

Hope of Accord Out

Izvestia's attack has, of course, dashed all hopes for early establishment of Kremlin-Vatican diplomatic relations which last May were reported under discussion. At that time a Vatican informant in Berne, Switzerland, said that if Stalin would adopt a "radical change" toward religious education, a Soviet-Papal accord might be a "simple matter."

Last April the Vatican radio began broadcasting in Russian—which could only mean that the Pope hoped to extend Roman Catholic influence in the Soviet Union. This may have angered the Kremlin, perhaps driving it to the belief that a Soviet-Vatican accord would entail the right of the Pope to spread Catholicism in Russia, where its influence always has been slight.

Lastly, *Izvestia's* blast may have been inspired by a belief that the Vatican is supporting the Polish Government-in-exile's case against Soviet claims in Eastern Poland. Poland has always been close to the Pope's heart and the Vatican rarely misses an opportunity to defend Polish interests. Significantly, an estimated 2,500,000 Catholics live in Poland's eastern provinces.

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Constitution Change Proposed by Molotov, Adopted by Supreme Soviet

By Victor H. Bernstein

The Supreme Soviet of the USSR yesterday unanimously amended the Soviet constitution to permit each of the 16 republics of the USSR to enter into direct relations with foreign powers and to sign treaties with them.

Simultaneously, the groundwork was laid for reorganization of the Red Army, which will now become a "federated" army comprised of 16 "territorial" units, each representing a republic and each under the command of a republican commissar of defense.

Both proposals were made in an hour-long speech by Foreign Commissar Molotov, who told the assembled delegates of the USSR's highest legislative body that "the moment of victory is approaching" and that the "national needs of the republics can best be served by independent direct relations with foreign countries."

Stalin Looks On

A series of brief endorsements by representatives of Soviet republics followed Molotov's proposals. Among the first endorsers were those from Lithuania, Estonia and Latvia, which have been incorporated as individual republics into the Soviet Union but which are still occupied by the Nazis.

The proposals were adopted swiftly as Marshal Stalin, sharing

The 16 Soviet Republics

Republic.	*When Admitted.*	*Area (sq. miles).*	*Population.*
Russian Soviet Federated SR..	(a)	6,372,860	109,279,000
Ukrainian SSR	(a)	171,770	30,960,000
White Russian SSR	(a)	49,022	5,568,000
Azerbaijan SSR	(b) 1930	33,196	3,210,000
Georgian SSR	(b) 1930	27,020	3,542,000
Armenian SSR	(b) 1930	11,580	1,282,000
Turkmenian SSR	1925	171,384	1,254,000
Uzbek SSR	1925	145,908	6,282,000
Tadzhik SSR	1929	55,584	1,485,000
Kazakh SSR	(c) 1936	1,109,184	6,146,000
Kirghiz SSR	(c) 1936	76,042	1,459,000
Karelo-Finnish SSR	1940	16,173	500,000
Moldavian SSR	(d) 1940	19,300	3,500,000
Estonian SSR	1940	18,353	1,126,000
Latvian SSR	1940	20,056	1,950,000
Lithuanian SSR	1940	22,959	2,879,000

(a) One of the original four republics. Transcaucasian SSR, the fourth original state, was carved later into three republics.

(b) Carved from Transcaucasian SSR.

(c) Listed as republic when Stalin Constitution was adopted.

(d) Consists of former Moldavian Autonomous Republic, plus greater part of Soviet Bessarabia.

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the platform of the presidium of the Supreme Soviet with other state dignitaries, looked on.

Hints that the Soviet had some such action in mind had been prevalent for some weeks in Allied capitals, and it is known that Soviet diplomats in London had recently been studying closely the functioning of the British Commonwealth of Nations.

First reaction in Allied capitals was that the Soviet Union was preparing to be represented at the peace table with 16 votes—enough in themselves to outvote all but a scattered handful of the United Nations.

And whether or not Stalin would insist on 16 votes in the making of the treaty which would end World War II, it was felt in Allied capitals that he was laying the foundation for a 16-vote bloc which could be swung as a body in any postwar world organization which might result from the treaty.

Series of Absorptions

First Nazi reaction was that the Soviet Union was attempting to pave the way for a whole series of absorptions of eastern and southern European countries into the USSR, each of which could now be taken into the USSR as an "autonomous state," retaining its own army and its own control over foreign relations.

In making his proposals, Molotov said: "Before the union was organized the individual republics had their own commissariats for foreign affairs such as the Ukraine, Byelo (white) Russia and the Russian Soviet Federated states. Some of them concluded treaties with foreign countries independently. When the Union was organized, the Soviet Foreign Office alone represented the whole country.

"The national needs of the republics can best be served by independent direct relations with foreign countries. This, of course, serves the general interests in bettering the international relations of the whole country. The Moscow and Teheran conferences did their best to strengthen the anti-Hitlerite coalition. Crushing blows to come soon will fortify further the anti-fascist coalition.

"The reorganization of the Foreign Office and our defense is a further step in the solution of our national problem. The Nazis themselves now realize how vain was their hope to sow disunity among Soviet nationalities.

"The new step has a great significance for all progressive humanity. When Hitler is trying to stifle and crush all of our neighbors, this is a step for promoting the free national development of peoples and it acquires double international significance."

In endorsing the proposal, President Paletskis of the Lithuanian republic pointed out that a Lithuanian division is fighting with the Red Army.

Similar endorsements were made by Estonian, Latvian, Karelian and Moldavian representatives, such of them representing areas incorporated into the USSR since the war and all still occupied by the Nazis.

Molotov insisted that the reorganization of the Red Army would strengthen its power and said that "no other country would dare carry out such a reorganization in war time."

One Russia Into Sixteen Autonomous Republics

The Molotov cocktail with which Russia has presented the world (*story on Page 7*) is as explosive as the missiles of that name which Russian soldiers have been hurling with so good effect at the Germans. What Molotov proposed, and what the Supreme Soviet has agreed to, is that the autonomy of the Russian Soviet Republics, which has thus far been only a cultural one, be extended to the field of defense and foreign affairs. In effect, this means, in the foreign field, the conversion of one Russia into sixteen.

The Russians always do things in a big and bold way, and this move opens up long corridors of speculation into the murkiness of the world's future. Several interpretations have already been advanced:

¶ A spokesman at the Foreign Office in Berlin suggests that this is a new device for absorbing countries like Finland, or re-annexing Estonia and Latvia. Although this is an enemy interpretation, and advanced by the enemy with malignant motive, the Russians might well and justifiably favor a technique which allows for the inclusion of the Baltic States into the Soviet Union without any formal surrender of sovereignty on their part.

¶ A second interpretation, which the fervent Russian partisans are likely to stress, is that the Russians have decided to give actual political effect to their claim of being a union of autonomous republics, and that this is therefore a move in the democratic direction. There is a school of thought which asserts that the war has raised new claims among the Russian people, and that this is Stalin's way of meeting them. I am skeptical of this line of explanation.

Russia Can Throw Her Weight Around

¶ A third interpretation—and the one that will be favored in Washington and London—is that the Russians mean to throw their weight around diplomatically from now on. From this angle, 16 representatives instead of one in every world capital might give them the advantage both of diplomatic bulk and diplomatic flexibility. Even more, 16 votes instead of one in a world legislative assembly might come in rather handily in crucial decisions.

As we review these possibilities, several things seem clear. It is very unlikely that the Russians have taken this action without taking into account the effect that it is certain to have on British and American opinion. They are not naive, and they must know that in both countries there will be protest against Russian territorial expansion beyond the boundaries Russia had at its entrance into the war; and against a new weighting of Russian votes at the peace table, achieved by the device of a drastic loosening of the ties of Russian federalism.

Knowing this, why have the Russians chosen to take this action? Possibly because they are trying to say and to prove to the British and American Governments that they can cause trouble and create problems for us, if they wish to.

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I find immensely interesting Molotov's reference to those countries which refused to recognize the October Revolution. Obviously this refers, among others, to the U. S. A. and its stupid policy of nonrecognition for 17 years. But why bring this up now, and especially when the present American Administration is the one that first recognized Russia? The answer can only be that the Russians are continuing the needling diplomacy toward us that they have pursued for several months; that they are deeply dissatisfied with either our military promises or performance, our diplomatic attitudes or behavior.

What Russia Does Is Her Own Business

If this is true—and it can be only a guess at best—then the Russians are leading from strength. On this supposition let us (taking all their recent acts and interpreting them generously) imagine them saying something like this to us:

We know you will be worried by this move of ours. But it concerns our own affairs, and we have the right to make it. Moreover, we are showing you that the world is no longer dominated by the Anglo-American power, nor need we live any longer in its shadow, as we had to live during those long and bitter years of non-recognition. The German power is broken, the German armies are surrounded. We would prefer to work for a United Nations world, but we must be given a strong place in it, and not hemmed in continually by your fears and scruples. If you do not agree, we have an alternative: we can act alone. For we are more than a nation. We are a nation of nations, and we have a formula for the increase of their number. And we are willing to take the consequences of our acts. For we have a stable internal economy, a strong and victorious army, complete unity among our people, and a cohesion between the Republics so great that we can afford to give them plenty of scope.

If this is what the Russians are saying—and I submit that the whole pattern of their recent utterances points to it—then they are putting a tremendous strain on United Nations goodwill. Only the Big Three of the Allied statesmen are in a position to know what the provocations may be, if any, for the Russian be-

havior: only they know what was promised at Teheran and what is being fulfilled, what the mood of Teheran was and whether anything has happened to change it. But the crucial fact is that, *as peoples*, the people of America and Britain and Russia do not know it.

If yesterday's Russian action is a countermove, then it is a countermove to a move about which the Russians do not choose to enlighten us. We are watching a game of chess that is being played in the dark. We sense that the Russians are making moves that alarm us, that play directly into the hands of those who say that Russia means to be the commanding world power after the war. Even the friends of Russia cannot defend her. They can only say that she is playing a dangerous game of power politics within a United Nations framework—a game that, if pursued further, is bound to have disastrous consequences for all concerned.

Britain's Case Is Quite Different

One may say that the British will have more than one vote at any world assembly—that their strength will be as the strength of six, not because their hearts are pure, but because they once conquered an empire and converted parts of it into a Commonwealth. And one may ask, why not the Russians? The best answer is that the British Commonwealth is now a historical fact, while the Russians are producing an overnight paper construction, with specific purposes in mind. The U. S. A. might just as well call a Constitutional Convention tomorrow, give each of the 48 states the right to sign treaties and send out ambassadors and declare war, run the risk that Mississippi and Vermont would immediately declare war on the other states, and get 48 votes in future diplomatic negotiations. This is to reduce it to an absurdity, but the principle involved is the same.

There can be no question that there are real problems to be settled among the Great Powers. I have no doubt that the Russians have grievances, and just ones. But diplomatic needling and power politics will not settle any grievances, however just. They will only embitter the relations between the Powers in the most fateful period of the world's history. And they will only give further ammunition to those in America who have no particular love either for Russian socialism or for American democracy, and who would like to smash the understanding that has been built up between the two.—MAX LERNER

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Autonomy Plan of Russia Aids Problems

By the Associated Press

Moscow's plan to give the 16 Soviet republics a degree of autonomy is regarded here as being, in part at least, a Russian solution to territorial problems with international significance.

Five of the 16 republics, it is noted, cover territory which was made a part of Russia within the last few years. There are the Karelo-Finnish, Moldavian, Lithuanian, Latvian and Estonian republics.

The proposed reorganization puts the Russians in position to say to the world that all these territories will have autonomy equivalent to that of members of the British Commonwealth and that there can therefore be no question raised of Russia's domination of them.

Delicate Questions for U. S.

This action will pose some delicate diplomatic problems for the United States in respect to relations with these republics. It is assumed that eventually they will ask diplomatic recognition by this country in some form.

Yet the United States still recognizes the theoretical independence, at least, of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania and their ministries still exist in this country.

Other problems of paramount importance include:

Will each of the autonomous republics demand a separate vote in postwar treaty making?

Will Each Demand a Say?

Will each demand a separate voice in whatever postwar international league is created to maintain peace?

Will each demand a place on wartime commissions such as the advisory commissions already functioning for the European area?

There is some speculation here also that having set up a system of republics Russia might, if occasion warrants, seek to extend the system to include some of the Balkan states.

Russia

Wash. Post.
Feb. 2, 1944 p. 6

Increased Global Vote Seen Aim of Red Move

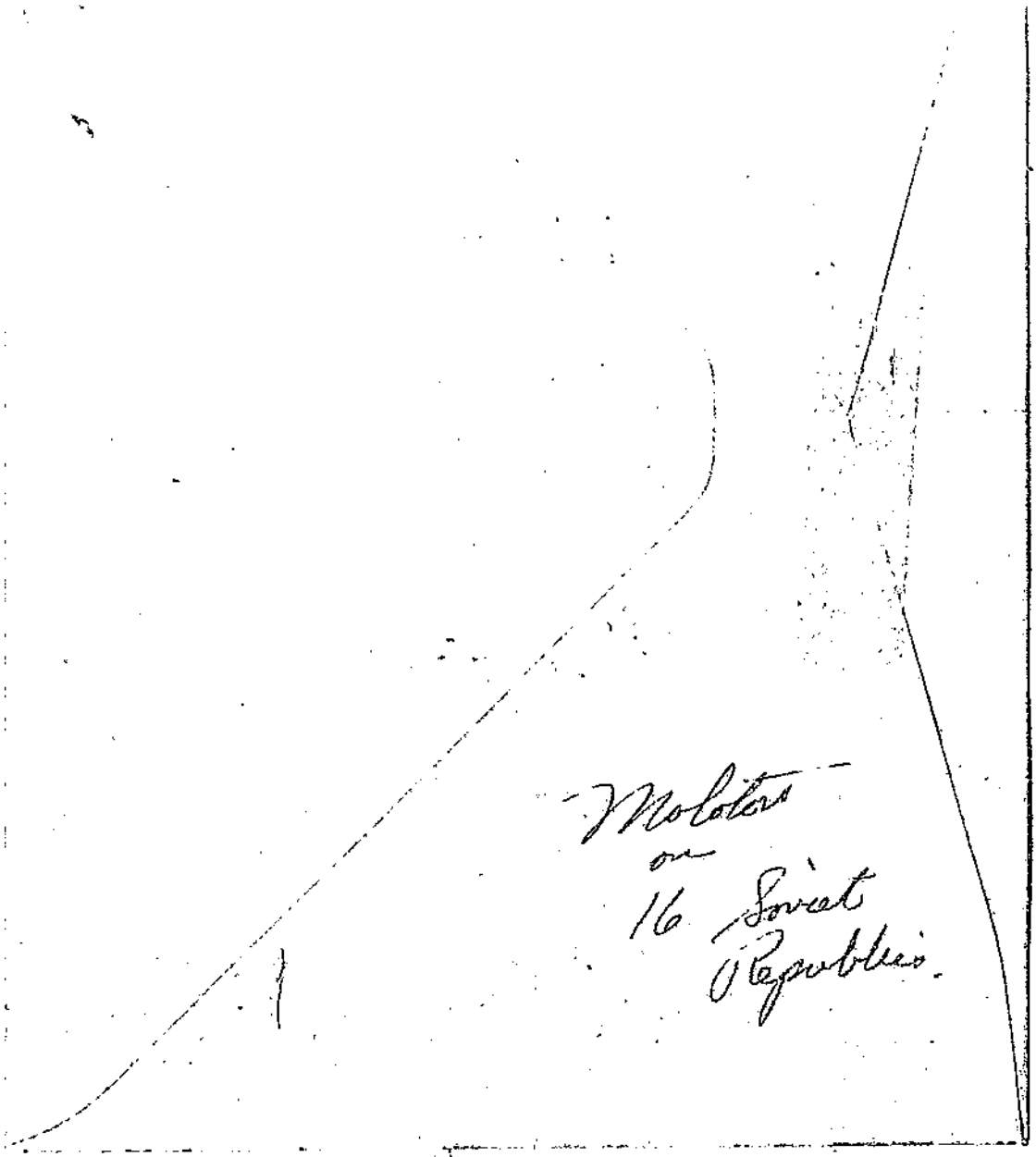
Foreign affairs observers last night interpreted the announcement of Soviet Foreign Minister V. M. Molotov that the 16 states of the U. S. S. R. would handle their foreign affairs independently as an effort by the Soviet Union to match the voting power of the other United Nations in any future world organization.

The move, it was said, could be directed primarily at Great Britain which in the League of Nations had a vote for each member of the British Commonwealth.

Under such an arrangement, it was pointed out, the United States would be at a disadvantage because its foreign policy centers in only one agency, the Department of State.

Russia

Wash. Times-Herald
Feb. 2, 1944


Molotov
on
16 Soviet
Republics.

Text of Molotoff Plan Enlarging Autonomy of Sixteen of the Soviet Republics

MOSCOW, Feb. 1 (AP)—Following is the text of Foreign Commissar Vyacheslaff M. Molotoff's statement today to the Supreme Soviet as translated into English and broadcast by Tass, official Soviet news agency.

On the transformation of the People's Commissariat of Foreign Affairs from a Union People's Commissariat into a Union-Republican People's Commissariat: Report by Molotoff in the Supreme Soviet of the USSR on February 1, 1944.

Comrades, Deputies!

The question of the transformation of two People's Commissariats—the People's Commissariat of Defense and the People's Commissariat of Foreign Affairs—from Union into Union-Republican People's Commissariats has been posed before the Supreme Soviet.

The Council of People's Commissars believes that this question is quite ripe. This is not a matter of ordinary reorganization of two People's Commissariats. This is primarily a matter of placing new and most responsible tasks before the Union Republics. The question has been posed of new tasks and rights of the Union Republics, firstly in the matter of the defense of our country and secondly in the sphere of external relations with foreign states and, in this connection, of important transformations in our Union State.

Heretofore the Union Republics took part in the common work for the creation, organization and equipment of the Red Army. Our army was created as an all-union army and there existed no separate army formations of the republics. Now it is proposed to institute army formations of the republics which should form component parts of the Red Army. In this connection there arises need for the creation of the People's Commissariats of Defense in the Union Republics as well as the necessity of transformation of the Union People's Commissariat of Defense into a Union-Republican People's Commissariat.

Right to Make Treaties

After the foundation of the Union of Soviet Republics in 1922 foreign political relations were wholly concentrated in the Union People's Commissariat of Foreign Affairs to which the individual republics delegated their powers in foreign relations. Now the Government of the Union proposes that the Union Republics be granted powers to enter into direct relations with foreign States and conclude agreements with them. Naturally, the granting of powers to the republics in the sphere of foreign relations renders it necessary to create People's Commissariats of Foreign Affairs in the Union Republics and to transform the Union People's Commissariat of Foreign Affairs into a Union-Republican People's Commissariat.

The meaning of the proposed transformation is perfectly clear. This transformation signifies great expansion of the activities of the Union Republics which has become possible as a result of their political, economic and cultural growth, or, in other words, as a result of their national development. One cannot fail to see in this a new, important step in the practical solution of the national [illegible]

Commissariat of Defense.

I proceed to the question of the transformation of the People's Commissariat of Defense. It is proposed by the draft of the law to establish that the Union Republics organize army formations of the republics and that the People's Commissariat of Defense is transformed from a Union into a Union-Republican People's Commissariat. It is proposed accordingly to make the necessary addenda to the All-Union Constitution.

Now, too, we have national army formations in the Red Army. Our army has Lithuanian, Latvian, Estonian, Georgian, Azerbaijanian, Armenian, Kazakh and certain other army formations. Some of these army units were created during the patriotic war. Now that all the peoples of the Soviet Union strive to take their place in the ranks of the Red Army, creation of army formations of the republics is of great importance to us. As is well known, in Czarist Russia certain nationalities and peoples were not conscripted for military service. For instance the Uzbeks, Kazakhs, Troszhiks, Turkmens, Khirghizians, most of the peoples of the northern Caucasus, were not subject to conscription. Czarism, naturally did not trust peoples which it kept in a colonial or semicolonial status. The Czarist power even did not do anything to prepare these peoples for gradual induction into the army.

In the Soviet time the situation has changed radically. Our legislation naturally contains no legal restrictions for some or other nationalities as regards conscription. But a certain time had to pass in order to render possible actual realization of conscriptions to the Red Army in all parts of the Soviet Union. Partial conscriptions of the Red Army were carried out in past years even in those districts of the U. S. S. R. where no conscriptions took place in old times. National army units were formed in the Red Army as well but up to the present time these formations could not really develop. Now the situation has changed for the better. Adequate possibilities have been created for army formations in the Union Republics. All the republics have not only cadres of rank and file fighters but also certain cadres of commanding personnel capable of directing the respective army units. Thus at present the creations of army formations in the Union Republics can be placed on a firm foundation.

Army Training in Schools

But to realize this task it is necessary to have Republican People's Commissariats of Defense, and consequently there arises the necessity of the transformation of the Union People's Commissariat of Defense into a Union-Republican People's Commissariat. It is to be expected that this will also increase the attention paid by the republics to the organization of military training in schools and institutions of higher education, of which we stand in need. Under such conditions the creation of army formations in the republics as component parts of the Red Army will play a not insignificant positive part.

How will this affect our Red [illegible]

the republics should serve to strengthen our army as the defender of our country, as the reliable bulwark of the Soviet Union. The enemies of the Soviet Union need not doubt that as a result of these new army formations the forces of our State will grow still stronger. This will make them more cautious in the future. This new embodiment of the growing friendship of the peoples of the Soviet Union will contribute to the further growth of the prestige of our country with the nations of East and West.

II.

Transformation of the People's Commissariat of Foreign Affairs.

Of no less significance is the transformation of the All-Union People's Commissariat of Foreign Affairs into a Union Republican People's Commissariat. Before the foundation of the Soviet Union along with the People's Commissariat of Foreign Affairs of the R. S. F. S. R. (Russia proper) there existed People's Commissariats of Foreign Affairs in the Ukraine, in Byelo Russia, Georgia, Armenia and Azerbaijan, which on certain occasions maintained foreign relations with other States.

During the early period when our State was not yet gathered into one Union State but consisted of separate parts, a number of treaties and agreements were concluded between individual Soviet Republics and foreign States. On some occasions representatives of the R.S.F.S.R. were specially authorized by other Soviet Republics to participate in international conferences and to conclude treaties with other States on behalf of all or several of the Soviet Republics. Comrade Stalin said at the first All-Union Congress of Soviets that:

"At that time the Soviet Republics, although they acted together, marched separately, occupied primarily by the problem of their existence."

That was inevitable at the initial stage. When the U.S.S.R. was founded, in accordance with the common will of the Union Republics, it was decided to unify relations with foreign States in one center. Then was created the All-Union Peoples Commissariat of Foreign Affairs in which were vested the powers of the Peoples Commissariats of Foreign Affairs of the separate Soviet Republics.

Since then, up to our days, the Soviet State was represented abroad by all-Union diplomatic representatives. Treaties and agreements with foreign States were also concluded only on behalf of the Union. This was necessary at a certain stage of the development of our State and yielded its positive results by having strengthened the State and highly enhanced its part in international affairs. But even then, as far back as the party congress in 1923, Comrade Stalin said:

"We shall still take up the national question more than once, since national and international conditions are subject to changes and may still change. I do not preclude the possibility that subsequently we may have to separate certain commissariats which are now merging in the Union of Republics."

Stalin Forecast Changes

Being the best authority on the [illegible]

United States of America, a coalition whose military and political importance for the whole range of democratic States can hardly be overestimated.

The recently concluded Soviet-Czechoslovak treaty may serve as an example of the strengthening friendly relations of the Soviet Union with European states. Foundations have been laid for the cooperation of large and small democratic countries, not only in time of war against a common enemy but also in the post-war period for the sake of safeguarding peace against new encroachments on the part of aggressive powers.

Extols Moscow, Teheran Talks

As is well known, the Moscow and Teheran Conferences played a most eminent part in the development and strengthening of the anti-Hitler coalition. Now as never before, great is the confidence of the peoples of the anti-Hitler camp in near and complete victory, in joint crushing blows of the Allies at the common enemy which are already not distant, as well as confidence that the Alliance and Friendship of the anti-Fascist countries will be settled in this common struggle.

And still it can not be said that this general positive course of development of the international connections of the Soviet Union could fully cover not only the requirements of the whole Union but also the multifarious and growing requirements of the Union Republics in foreign affairs.

Thus the Union Republics have quite a few specific economic and cultural requirements which can not be covered in full measure by All-Union representation abroad and also by treaties and agreements of the Union with other States. These national requirements of the republics can be met better by means of direct relations of the republics with corresponding States.

Naturally, questions of this kind require special concrete elaboration in union and Republican organs. It cannot be denied either that a certain time will be required to organize these external activities of the republics. Such questions are not solved after a cut and dried pattern.

It is indisputable, however, that the problem of emerging into the arena of external activities has already acquired vital importance for a number of the republics. Lastly, it should be acknowledged that this is in the interests not only of this or that individual Union Republic but also in the interest of the entire cause of the expansion of the international connections and the strengthening of the cooperation of the U.S.S.R. with other States which is of such importance in time of war and which will yield fruit also in the post-war period.

Such are the grounds on which the necessity of the transformation of the People's Commissariat of Foreign Affairs from a Union into a Union-Republican People's Commissariat should be recognized. Whereas, in the initial period there existed only Republican People's Commissariats of Foreign Affairs and in the second period only the Union Commissariat of Foreign Affairs, now the People's Commissariat of Foreign Affairs should be transferred to a more complex and ramified organization into a Union-Re-

the rights of the Union Republics to exchange representations with other States and to maintain foreign relations is sometimes interpreted to the direct detriment of the interests of the Soviet Republics and of the Soviet Union as a whole. The proposed addition will serve to eliminate facts of this kind.

III

A New Forward Stride in the Solution of the National Problem

The proposed transformation of their People's Commissariat of Foreign Affairs and the People's Commissariat of Defense is a new forward stride in the solution of the national problem in the Soviet Union. This transformation is in direct accord with the principles of our Lenin-Stalin national policy.

Realization of measures of this kind at the present time means that the Soviet State has reached a new level in its development, turning into a more complex and virile organism. In this one cannot fail to see fresh evidence of the great significance of the Socialist principles of organization of the Soviet Union.

In his report to the Congress of Soviets which adopted the Constitution of the U.S.S.R. in 1936 Comrade Stalin thus characterized the victory of the national policy of the Soviet power which insured the success of the formation of an multi-national State on the basis of socialism:

"The absence of exploiting classes, which are the principal organizers of strife between nations; the absence of exploitation, which cultivates mutual distrust and kindles nationalist passions; the fact that power is in the hands of the working class, which is the foe of all enslavement and the true vehicle of the ideas of internationalism; the actual practice of mutual aid among the peoples in all spheres of economic and social life; finally, the flourishing national culture of the peoples of the U. S. S. R., a culture which is national in form and Socialist in content—all these and similar factors have brought about a radical change in the aspect of the peoples of the U. S. S. R.; their feeling of mutual distrust has disappeared, a feeling of mutual friendship has developed among them, and thus real fraternal cooperation among peoples has been established within the system of a single Union State. As a result we now have a fully formed multi-national Socialist State which has stood all tests and whose stability might well be envied by any national State in any part of the world."

State Tested and Proved

Seven years—and what years!—have passed since then. Soon it will be three years that we have been waging a great patriotic war against German Fascism and its allies, which uses the material and manpower resources of nearly the whole of Europe in their struggle against the Soviet Union. This has been a new and most serious test for our multi national State. But the Soviet Union passed this test, too, with flying colors. On the twenty-sixth anniversary of the October Revolution Comrade Stalin thus summed up the latest period.

"All the peoples of the Soviet [illegible]

the common cause of all working people irrespective of nationality or religion. By now the Hitlerite politicians themselves see how hopelessly stupid were their hopes of discord and strife among the peoples of the Soviet Union. The friendship of the peoples of our country has stood all the hardships and trials of war and has become tempered still further in the common struggle of all the Soviet people against the Fascist invaders."

This, in Comrade Stalin's words, is one of the decisive sources of strength of the Soviet Union.

Let us sum up. Carrying out under present conditions important state transformations, we must, of course, pose the question how this will affect the Red Army and its deep rear in the country. In other words, are we making a step toward strengthening or toward weakening the U. S. S. R.? Everything said above permits me to give a definite answer to this question. The transformation of the People's Commissariat of Foreign Affairs and the People's Commissariat of Defense, which follows from expansion of the tasks and functions of the Union Republics within the country and beyond its confines, far from running counter to the interests of the strengthening of our Union, on the contrary, is being effected in the name of and for the purpose of further strengthening our great state.

Since the time when the Soviet Union was founded the Constitution has insured to the Union Republics such a supreme expression of their sovereign rights as the right of free secession from the U.S.S.R. But as time passes the stronger becomes the desire of the peoples of the Soviet Union to live in close friendship among themselves, to help one another and to march together through all trials under the guidance of the Soviet power.

Recognition by the Union of the increased requirements of the republics in their State activities, including foreign activities, and legislative provision for these needs of the republics, only serve to strengthen the fraternal relations among the peoples of our country and reveal a still fuller historic meaning of the existence of the Soviet Union to the peoples of East and West.

Sees World Significance

It should be recognized further that this new forward stride in the solution of the national problem in the U.S.S.R. is of great importance from the viewpoint of all progressive humanity. At a time when German fascism—this worst product of imperialism—has reared its head and unleashed world war to strangle its neighbors, to destroy free States and impose its bandit imperialist policy upon the other peoples of Europe and after that upon the peoples of the whole world, this new success in the realization of the Lenin-Stalin national policy in the Soviet State will have great international significance. This step of the Soviet power will constitute a new moral and political blow at fascism and its man hating policy, hostile to its core to the interests of the free national development of peoples.

The Soviet Union and its allies are already successfully beating fascism, which imposed this war, to the military defeat of the Fascist forces. It is necessary to bring to completion the moral-political defeat of fascism as well. To this, we are certain, will successfully contribute those State transformations in the Soviet Union which are now submitted for your approval. I express assurance that the Supreme Soviet will demonstrate the unanimity of the Soviet people in the solution of the question of the proposed State transformation.

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Text of Mo[illegible]

[illegible] Soviet State, one cannot fail to see in this a new victory for our Lenin-Stalin international policy.

This transformation, however, has become possible not merely as a result of the strengthening of our republics. It has become possible as a result of the achieved strengthening of our Union of States as a whole. The strengthening of the Soviet Union that has taken place is most convincingly proved by the manner in which our Red Army, which bears the whole brunt of the struggle with the main forces of the most dangerous enemy, is beating the German Fascist army and successfully brings nearer the time of the complete expulsion of the enemy from Soviet territory and his utter defeat.

Now it is more than obvious how scandalously the enemy's calculations on the Red Army's defeat fell through and how near-sighted were the Hitlerites' calculations of causing disunity among the peoples of the Soviet Union. Our army, which was joined by millions of people from all the nations in the Soviet Union and which receives such invaluable help from our guerrillas in the enemy's rear, moves more and more successfully with every day how strong our country has become, how powerful the Soviet system is, how great the friendship of the Soviet people is.

Present proposal on the transformations in the organization of defense and in foreign relations, providing for great extension of the functions of the Union republics, should serve as a new confirmation of our confidence in the strength and the growth of the forces of the Soviet Union. This confidence is demonstrated all the more forcefully that we propose to effect these transformations at the height of a patriotic war, when the forces of our peoples are strained so greatly and when not every State would venture to undertake such important transformations.

Transformation of the People's strengthening, to the growth of its might? Yes; this is beyond any doubt. Our army has always been close to and cherished by the peoples of the Soviet Union. In the course of the patriotic war still stronger has become the love of the peoples of the U.S.S.R. for their army, still stronger and more universal has become the pride of the Soviet people in the successes and heroism of the Red Army.

Indeed, who fails to see what a glorious struggle is waged by our Army for the liberation of the Ukraine, for the liberation of Byelo Russia? Who fails to appreciate whole-heartedly what the Red Army does to prepare the imminent liberation of Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, Moldavia, the Karelo-Finnish Republics?

Who fails to remember that Soviet troops saved Azerbaijan, Georgia and Armenia from the invasion of German fascism? Who of the Soviet people does not glorify our Army for having defended our capital Moscow, for having routed the Germans at Stalingrad and launching an offensive along the whole front, for having defended Leningrad and fully lifting the the blockade from it and now for their chasing of the enemy hordes from native soil without giving any respite?

Who, have those plagued by fascism, fails to understand now that the Red Army fulfills its mission of liberation not only with regard to its own motherland but also with regard to all democratic countries which fight for their honor, freedom and independence against the mortal danger presented by fascism?

Who, further, does not know that the men and women workers of our mills and factories, that the men and women peasants on the collective farms, that our intelligentsia, that all the Soviet people are ready to give all their strength to enhance the might of the Red Army, that by their self-sacrificing labor they discharge by actual deeds their duty to the *motherland*, to the heroic Red Army?

The formation of army units of [illegible] nation, not only in our party and not only in our country, Comrade Stalin, who together with the great Lenin laid the foundation of the Soviet Union, pointed out even then that changes in the international situation and national development would more than once call forth organizational changes in the machine of the Soviet State. No other state of affairs can be imagined, especially in such a young and rapidly gaining organism as the Soviet Union is.

Now the question of the foreign relations of the Union Republics stands differently from the way it stood two decades ago when the Soviet Union was being founded. It grew out of the vital needs of the republics and its solution is dictated by the interests of the Union as a whole. The time is long past when certain foreign States tried not to notice the existence of the Soviet Republic, born in the October Revolution. Now, on the contrary, among foreign States there is a growing desire to establish and develop diplomatic relations with our State. Certainly, under conditions of World War, this meets with peculiar, not insignificant difficulties, but still even in the years of war the international connections of the U.S.S.R. have been steadily extending.

We may even say that it was especially in the years of war that the international connections of the Soviet Union have risen to a new and higher level. The facts are universally known. For the first time during the existence of the Soviet power we have established not only friendly but even allied relations with Great Britain. Similar good relations have been formed between us and the United States of America. A powerful anti-Hitler coalition has been formed, headed by the Soviet Union, Great Britain and the

"A New Forward Stride."

It remains for me to add a few words on our diplomatic practice. It is necessary to note that the absence of special provisions in the Soviet Constitution as regards their motherland, rightly considering the present patriotic war military defeat. But we know that matters should not be restricted

SOVIET REPUBLICS VOTED NEW RIGHTS

Continued From Page One

lum of the U. S. S. R. and then adjourned sine die.

[The text of M. Molotoff's speech appears on page 10.]

While Premier Joseph Stalin looked on from a back-row seat on the platform, M. Molotoff, in a forty-three-minute speech, gave a general outline of the Government's new plan which, he said, resulted from the political and cultural growth of the constituent Soviet Republics and which, he said, was put forward as a means of strengthening the Soviet Union as a whole.

He gave no details of the specific working out of the plan, saying that it would take some time to work out.

He was interrupted a score of times by applause, the longest outburst of which greeted his declaration that the war had brought about the creation of a "powerful anti-Hitler coalition headed by the Soviet Union, Britain and the United States, the military and political significance of which for all democratic nations could hardly be overestimated.

Amid applause he declared that the Moscow and Teheran conferences occupied the most outstanding place in the development and consolidation of the anti-Hitlerite coalition.

Reviews War Tests

With pride Mr. Molotoff reviewed how the Soviet Union and its army, composed of many nationalities, withstood the stern tests of war, emerging stronger than before. He said:

"Even Hitler can see how hopelessly stupid were his calculations for a rift among the peoples of the U. S. S. R."

More applause greeted his prediction that the Red Army soon would liberate the Soviet Baltic Republics and his declaration that the Red Army would fight on to complete victory.

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More R. P. news on page 2

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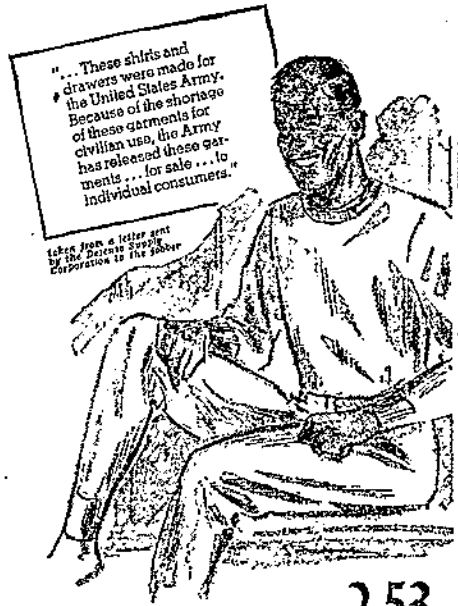

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PRAVDA SATIRIZES NEW CAIRO RUMOR

'Treaty' for a Soviet Balkans 'Fabricated by Fritz' and Planted in East, Says Paper

By Wireless to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

MOSCOW, Jan. 31—Pravda printed another Cairo rumor story today but this is one anti-Soviet in character concerning alleged plans for Sovietizing the Balkans and it is the subject of a bitter satire by David Zaslavsky, whose last major article ridiculed Wendell L. Willkie.

It was just two weeks ago that Pravda printed without comment a sensational dispatch from its own unidentified Cairo correspondent telling of a report from what he termed reliable Greek and Yugoslav circles that two leading English personalities had met Joachim von Ribbentrop, German Foreign Minister, on the Iberian Peninsula to clarify conditions for a separate peace with Germany. Two days later all papers published, also without comment, the formal British denial.

Today's Cairo story concerns an alleged treaty of Greek and Yugoslav Communist parties that had placed the border of the new Balkan Soviet Union on the Danube with an exit to the Adriatic Sea north of Fiume under which Istanbul and the Dardanelles would become independent autonomous republics under control of Russia.

For purposes of his satire Mr. Zaslavsky invented the characters of John Dovgochkhon, who is English, and Mr. Pererepopulo, who is Greek. They are patterned on the Russian Gogul characters, who love to discuss politics and do so with a mixture of ignorance and naivete.

The satire sets the scene in a Cairo open-air cafe with the Greek asking him sternly: "Have you heard that the Communist parties in Bulgaria and Greece have concluded a treaty to establish in the Balkans a Union of Soviet Socialist Republics?"

The Englishman looks doubtful and says it is impossible.

The Greek replies he has read the treaty, under which "the Balkans will be completely Soviet—Soviet mountains, Soviet rivers and Soviet people." Pererepopulo adds that the frontiers of the Soviet Balkans will be marked exactly along the Danube with an exit to the Adriatic north of Fiume.

"How awful," the Greek observes.

Dovgochkhon asks why the Greek and Bulgarian Communist leaders do not declare themselves new Byzantine emperors instead of making a gift of their possessions to Russia.

Having set up the rumor, Zaslavsky proceeds to denounce it.

"It is quite clear that those dreadful Soviet Balkans were fabricated not by Doron I of Greece and Dushan I of Gularia [the two men who allegedly signed the treaty] but by Fritz on the banks of the little river Spree.

"Such a document called a treaty really exists. It has been prepared in Berlin and thrown to the east. It has received some currency in Cairo circles. The Germans calculated that there would be found such naive men who would pick up a planted forgery, read it, believe it, and become terrified."

The Soviet Balkans are made of German Fascist papiermache badly glued together and crudely painted. Who will that scarecrow terrify?"

This is a clipping from page 6 of the New York Times for

FEB. 1, 1944

Clipped at the Seat of Government.

VISHINSKY TO MAP RUSSIAN REFORMS

Benes Says Stalin Will Keep Pledges Under New Set-Up

North American Newspaper Alliance.

Diplomatic sources have it that Andrey Y. Vishinsky, Vice Commissar for Foreign Affairs who was recalled by Moscow from Algiers last week, will be entrusted with the enforcement of the constitutional reform approved by the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. He will have to see to it that the splitting up of Soviet diplomacy and Soviet national defense into sixteen autonomous centers does not impair the efficiency of Russia's external action.

In the judgment of the most competent observers of Russian affairs the constitutional reform passed the other day must be held complementary to the Russian-Czechoslovak treaty of alliance signed last December.

Does it mean that the Soviet Union has parted with the declarations of Moscow and Teheran, that it is determined to play a lone hand, that it cannot be expected any more to participate seriously in a system of international cooperation and that, as regards Poland, it is bent on having its own way in everything?

In a long memorandum recently delivered to the British and American Governments, Dr. Eduard Benes, President of the Czechoslovak Government-in-Exile, deals at length with those points. His general conclusion is that Premier Stalin will remain true to his pledged word and that the Europe of tomorrow, as the latter pictures it, must include "a strong and independent Poland."

This is a clipping from page 6 of the New York Times for

Feb. 10, 1944

Clipped at the Seat of Government.

SOVIET SAID TO AIM FOR FRIENDLY TIES

Moscow Journal Sees a Trend to International Cooperation With Good Neighbors 3

MOSCOW, Feb. 9 (U.P.)—The authoritative journal War and the Working Class asserted today that Russia's constitutional changes proved more than ever the Soviet Union's desire for international cooperation and denounced as Nazi-inspired foreign speculation that the revisions were part of a plot to seize other countries and rule the world.

"Who can deny that the new decisions of the Supreme Soviet [granting military and foreign affairs autonomy to the sixteen republics] demonstrate the good-will of the Soviet state to develop and strengthen cooperation with other states?" the publication asked.

Another article in the same issue, discussing Soviet-Polish relations, declared the "Soviet Union needs neither spheres of influence nor vassal states."

Friendly Neighbors Wanted

"It needs friendly neighbors," said the article by N. Baltiski. "These neighbors need the friendship of the Soviet Union.

"Both the United States and Britain also want their neighbors, both large and small, to be their friends and not their enemies, and nobody blames them for it. If the United States protests when Argentina, 6,000 miles from New York, takes an anti-American position, why should the Soviet Union reconcile itself with the fact that its immediate neighbor, Poland, should occupy an anti-Soviet position that also is contrary to its own interests?"

Insisting that an independent Poland is not incompatible with a Poland friendly to the Soviet Union, the article observed:

"Normal political relations between the neighboring States include the establishment of normal economic relations. We believe that now Poland is not going to avoid economic cooperation with the Soviet Union."

In its editorial review of the Supreme Soviet's decisions, War and the Working Class asserted that Russia never has wanted to be isolationist in the past and described the new system of direct foreign relations between the republics and foreign nations as "proof of a desire to strengthen business connections with those countries that will treat our country's interests with proper respect."

Attlee Calls Effect Vague

LONDON, Feb. 9 (A.P.)—Deputy Prime Minister Clement R. Attlee told the House of Commons today that it was still too early to determine the precise effects of Russia's action in granting to sixteen Soviet States the right of self-rule and the power to make separate treaties.

The statement followed a question by Rhys John Davies, who has urged that the British Government grant similar status to parts of the British Empire, including Scotland and Wales, as a counter-stroke to the Soviet action.

"Changes in our constitution," Mr. Attlee replied, "will spring from the needs of the character of our own people, rather than from any comparisons with the constitutions of other countries."

China Ready for Change

CHUNGKING, China, Feb. 9 (A.P.)—China is prepared to deal with the autonomous Soviet republics fringing upon her territory, but must first wait for official notification of their powers from Moscow, Vice Minister of Foreign Affairs K. C. Wu indicated at a press conference today.

This is a clipping from page 3 of the New York Times for Feb. 10, 1944
Clipped at the Seat of Government.

Soviet Paper Replies To Critics of Change

(By Wireless to Inter-Continent News)

MOSCOW, Feb. 9.—Criticizing those who interpret the recent changes in the Soviet state structure as a "trick," calculated to incorporate non-Soviet peoples in the Soviet Union, the trade union journal, War and the Workingclass asserts that the USSR is more than ever before concerned with the closest, and most friendly relations with allied nations in all parts of the world.

As Molotov pointed out in his report, these decisions constitute a new, important step towards the practical solution of the national question in the multi-national Soviet state, War and the Workingclass declares.

Setting new, responsible tasks before the Union Republics and granting them new, extensive right and authority in the fields of defense and foreign relations, mark a new victory of the Lenin-Stalin national policy pursued by the Soviet state.

The implementation of these important state transformations at the height of the hardest struggle which has fallen to the lot of our country affords an especially striking testimony to the strengthening and development of the Soviet Republics, as well as the unbreakable might of the All-Union state as a whole.

INTERNATIONAL CONTACTS

Granting the Union Republics the rights to enter into direct relations with foreign states and to conclude agreements with them will undoubtedly facilitate the further extension of the international contacts of our country. This decision creates the necessary prerequisities for the future development of the international contacts of the Soviet Union, fully meeting not only the All-Union needs, but also the multifarious and growing needs of the Union Republics in foreign affairs.

The Soviet companionship of peoples consists of 16 republics. As regards the population of their territory, the industrial and economic production of their land, their cultural development so rich in history, so glorious in national traditions, the Soviet Republics successfully compare with many countries of Europe, and not of Europe alone.

Suffice it to recall that the Russian Federation, stretching from the Baltic to the Pacific has a population greater than any other European state. It is also known that the population of the Ukrainian SSR is only slighty smaller than that of France, while Byelorussia has a population greater than Belgium, Holland, Portugal or Sweden.

The Azerbaijan SSR is one of the world centers, while the central Asian Republics constitute big centers, for the production of cotton and a number of other important raw materials.

The undying cultural treasures created by the peoples of the Transcaucasian Republics are known to the whole world. The Baltic Republics have been called upon to play a prominent role in the merchant shipping of our great power.

BROADER COLLABORATION

Naturally for a number of the republics, the question of an outlet to the foreign arena in accordance with their specific economic and cultural needs, has already acquired a vital importance. The decisions of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR are creating a broader base for the development of the collaboration of the Soviet Union with other states.

Speaking in the spring of 1939 before the Second World War, when it was still possible by a real unification of the forces of the peace-loving peoples to avert the bloody aggression of Hitler Germany, Stalin said, "We stand for peace and the strengthening of business relations with all countries. That is our position; and we will adhere to this position as long as these countries maintain like relations with the Soviet Union, and as long as they make no attempt to trespass on the interests of our country."

As is known, in the past some states paid little heed not only to the interests, but even to the very fact of the existence of the Soviet Union. Today, however, it is clear to everybody that the Soviet Union is an important factor in international politics, which not a single state can ignore without injury to its own interests. Precisely in these years of war, we have seen the tremendous growth of the role and authority of the Soviet Union in the eyes of the freedom loving peoples, and the strengthening of the Soviet Union's contacts with other democratic states.

BRITAIN, U. S.

It is sufficient to recall the establishment—for the first time during the years of Soviet power—not only of the friendly, but also the allied relations with Great Britain, and similar such good relations with the USA. The creation and consolidation of the anti-Hitlerite coalition headed by the Soviet Union, Great Britain and the United States revealed to the whole world the possibility and necessity of friendly collaboration between the Soviet Union and other democratic powers.

Contrary to the apprehensions of many "skeptics" the difference in ideology and social system by no means presented an obstacle to the development of this close collaboration of the corresponding vital interests of all freedom loving peoples in war as well as peace-time.

During the course of the war it has been shown that without the participation of the Soviet Union, the defeat of Hitler Germany was unthinkable. It is equally clear that without the Soviet Union, the establishment of a firm, lasting peace between peoples is inconceivable. In the world-family of democratic countries which can be strengthened after victory over the common enemy, the Soviet Union must occupy a place corresponding to its contribution to the cause of the salvation of the world from the fascist plague, and its share in the political, economic and cultural endeavors of progressive mankind.

NOT SIMPLETONS

It is a known fact that there are still idle gossipers abroad who, finding no more useful occupation, are engaged in tea-leaf fortune-telling: "Shouldn't the Soviet Union be expected to 'revert to isolaton' after the war?" Of course these fortune tellers are by no means such simpletons as they would like to appear.

The whole world remembers that in pre-war decades, the policy of isolating the Soviet Union was pursued by the reactionary leaders of a number of powers who cleared the way for the rise to power of fascism and war. Today the isolated defenders of these bankrupt politicians are trying to whitewash their charges, and engage in confusing chatter about the never-existing Soviet "policy of isolation."

This is a clipping from page 2 of the Daily Worker for Feb. 10, 1944
Clipped at the Seat of Government.

In the light of the decision of the supreme organ of state power in the USSR, the absurdity of such allegations is especially clear. Who can deny that the new decision of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR demonstrates the good will of the Soviet state with regard to the development and strengthening of the collaboration with other states, and the extending of the framework of this collaboration?

Naturally the Hitlerite gamblers whose gangster diplomacy is as clearly bankrupt as the lauded German strategy, at the first news of the reorganization of the People's Commissariat of Foreign Affairs, burst into their usual shouting about "a bolshevik trick," "a Soviet maneuver," etc. No wonder that following the collapse of the Hitlerite plans for world conquest, the fascist swindlers on every pretext and without any pretext at all, slander the Soviet Union, alleging that it wants to swallow up dozens of states and subordinate all Europe, and by its influence establish no more and no less than world domination.

It should, however, have been expected that all people with any common sense, who have no interest in the Hitlerite attempts to poison the international political atmosphere, would, with proper contempt and disgust sweep away all kinds of "versions" and "guesses" which clearly bear the Berlin trademark. Precisely so marked, for example, are the afterthoughts alleging that the present state reorganization of the USSR is aimed at preparing for the incorporation of other countries in the Soviet Union and creating a weapon for "expansionist" policy, and that this move of the Soviet state means "a policy of the application of force within the framework of the United Nations," etc.

Soviet public opinion unanimously welcomes the historic decisions of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, which constitute a logical step in the development of the collaboration of our country with the outside world.

It is to be presumed that these decision will meet with the full understanding of all the friends of the cause of peace and freedom and will be received by them as a new proof of the unswerving will of the Soviet Union for strengthening its business relations with all countries capable of treating the interests of our country with proper respect.

This is a clipping from page of the New York Times for

Clipped at the Seat of Government.

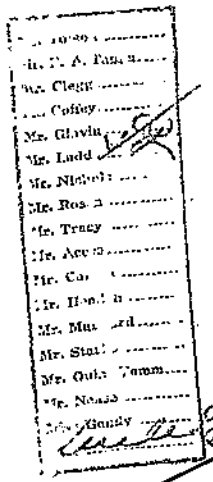
WASHINGTON DAILY NEWS

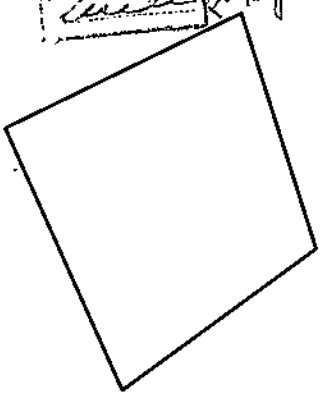
February 9, 1944

Soviet Chief

—News-Acme.

Nikolai Shvernik, secretary of Soviet Trade Unions, who has been elected vice-chairman of the Soviet Presidium, a position similar to vice president of this country.





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TASS QUOTES SLAP AT VATICAN POLICY

Soviet News Agency Reprints Charges That Fascism Was Supported by Pontiff

By RALPH PARKER

By Cable to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

MOSCOW, Feb. 8—The Russian Army newspaper Red Star followed up last week's Izvestia's article on Vatican policy by printing extracts from a pamphlet on Vatican policy in Europe, described as having been written by a former German business man and doctor of philosophy, Leopold Mannaberg. The extracts were cabled to Russia by a representative of Tass, Soviet Government news agency.

The pamphlet was described as a criticism on the "constant interference of the Vatican in other lands' policies and the Vatican's intrigues in international arena."

The author of this message said it underlined the leading role of the Vatican in fascism and nazism's rise to power in a number of European lands and also the constant support given to reactionary forces throughout the world. Dr. Mannaberg was quoted as saying that a stronge peace in Europe was impossible unless the Vatican was completely deprived of its political power.

The author was quoted as having said that the Vatican had mobilized all reactionary forces in the world to fight Russia.

Says Vatican Backed Hitler

Dr. Mannaberg was quoted as having described Vatican neutrality as a smoke screen to cover the bonds between it and the enemies of the United Nations.

With regard to the Vatican's role in Germany at the time the Nazis were gaining power the authorities quoted as having written that in 1932 when Adolf Hitler's popularity was on the wane and it was clear that the German people were against him the Vatican instructed German Ambassador Franz von Papen and Dr. Alfred Hugenberg, Nationalist leader and ublisher to influence President Paul von Hindenberg to replace Chancellor Gen. Kurt von Schleicher with Hitler. Herr von Papen's threats, according to this theory, were supported by the most influential political parties, the Catholic center party and the ultra-clerical Bavarian Populists representing the interests of Rhineland industrialists.

The message was printed prominently in the central press today, without comment, under the heading "New Book About Vatican Policy."

The pamphlet quoted in Russia yesterday was published by the Agora Publishing Company of 229 West Forty-eighth Street, New York, and was distributed in the United States was titled "Vatican Power Politics in Europe," The Associated Press said.

Albert Fehring, an Agora official, said the company was affiliated with Christ Mission, Inc., a Protestant organization, and that it published books, magazines and pamphlets in connection with the mission's work.

Mr. Fehring said Dr. Mannaberg had come to the United States four or five years ago and now was living in Virginia.

Among other publications of the Agora Company are a monthly magazine, The Converted Catholic Magazine, and a book, "Behind the Dictators," written by L. H. Lehmann, a director of the mission.

Sheen Assails Stalin

WASHINGTON, Feb. 8 (AP)—Mgr. Fulton J. Sheen, in sharply worded criticism of Soviet agitation against the Vatican, declared today that it is only natural for the Catholic Church to be opposed by a government "that has between eight and ten million political prisoners doing slave labor in Russia."

"No democratic nation has charged the Vatican with 'lack of sympathy,'" the Catholic prelate said in a statement.

"Only the Fascists, Nazis and the Soviets have done so and that is because the Vatican condemned all three."

"Why does the Soviet want the Vatican shorn of power?" he asked. "Because the Vatican is the only obstacle in Europe to its barbarization by the Soviets.

"Now that [Premier] Stalin attacks one of the four freedoms, we make use of the fifth freedom—the right to say thanks for showing us the serpent beneath the flower."

This is a clipping from page 3 of the New York Times for Feb. 9, 1944
Clipped at the Seat of Government.

Soviet Nations and Europe

by James S. Allen

IN HIS REPORT to the Supreme Soviet, Molotov spoke of the "political-moral" as well as the military defeat of fascism. The extension of the autonomy of the Union Republics of the Soviet Union at the moment when the liberation of the European nations is approaching is in itself a vast political-moral victory.

The height of world reaction was attained by the fascist Axis. Its essence is the subjugation of nations and the destruction of national rights. The ascendency of democracy on a world scale is represented by the anti-Hitler Coalition and in the United Nations.

The action of the Supreme Soviet is a vast step forward in the growth of nations. It applies directly and in the first place to the Union Republics of the Soviet Union, which already enjoy a high level of national freedom. But it will also advance the liberation and development of the non-Soviet nations as they are freed from the Axis yoke.

* * *

THE most immediate international effects of the Soviet constitutional changes are to be sought in relation to Europe. Seven of the Union Republics now enjoying autonomy in defense and foreign affairs border on other European nations and are now in the process of completing their liberation from fascism. They are starting from the North: Karelia-Finnish, Estonia, Lithuania, Latvia, Byelorussia, Ukrainia and Moldavia.

The full liberation of each of these involves the defeat of the German and satellite armies and also the complete political defeat of the German and Quisling fascists whether they operate directly within these territories or from without.

Again, start from the North:

The liberation of the Karelia-Finnish Soviet Republic cannot take place without the complete military defeat of the Helsinki armies and German divisions quartered in it. Nor can the liberation be complete unless the fascist-Social-Democratic Axis government of Helsinki and its internal reactionary supports are removed. There can be no lasting security for the Karelia-Finnish Republic unless Finland frees itself from the fascist and anti-Soviet warmakers.

The case of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania the problem of securing their liberation is partly that of defeating the maneuvers and political chicanery of the remnants of the old pre-Soviet and pro-Nazi governments, operating mainly abroad. The internal Quislings will meet their fate when the countries are liberated. The problem also includes establishing friendly relations with the countries bordering on the Baltic, most particularly with Finland, Sweden and Poland.

* * *

THE full liberation and security of the Byelorussian and Ukrainian Republics involve in the first place the freeing of all of West Byelorussia and Ukrainia, and the reunion of these peoples within their Union Republics. Also involved is the establishment of friendly relations with their European neighbors, primarily with a liberated Poland and Czechoslovakia.

The latter, acting through the Benes government, has already entered into a 20-year treaty of amity with the Soviet Union, demonstrating thereby how it is possible for the smaller and weaker nations to establish relations of equality and dignity with a peaceful big power.

The problem of Poland as it presents itself today demonstrates why it is necessary to complement the military victory with a political-moral victory over fascism. The Polish Cabinet in London carries over the German-inspired and fascist-nutured policies of anti-Sovietism. It is also a cubicle in which has been packed tight the remnants of the Munichite policies of the old Polish government and hangovers of the Chamberlain-Daladier appeasement policies. The attempt to restore such a government to power in a liberated Poland can result only in disaster, for it would be a negation of liberation and of European security.

The liberation and security of Moldavia involves friendly relations mainly with a liberated Rumania, where the miserable Antonescu-fascist clique at present sits on a volcano.

* * *

IT IS possible to explore the question of regional security further—for example, the Black Sea and Caspian areas, involving still other Soviet Republics and additional non-Soviet nations in the Balkans and the Middle East. But the examples sighted are sufficient to make the point.

It is clear that the greater autonomy of the Union Republics, as a result of which their own army formations will participate in the liberation of their territories and their own foreign offices will participate in the solution of political and diplomatic problems arising from the liberation, will facilitate the winning of the war and the establishment of an enduring peace.

The immediate putting into practice of the new constitutional changes stimulates even more the anti-Hitler resistance movement in the subjugated territories. It rouses to a new high level the unity and patriotism of the nations now completing their liberation. It is a political blow to the tricksters and pro-fascists operating abroad within the national communities. It facilitates the liberation of the European non-Soviet nations, while advancing the establishment of friendly relations between them and the Soviet nations. It helps establish a base for long-range security throughout Eastern Europe, one of the most decisive regions from the viewpoint of world peace.

Some shallow commentators have found a contradiction between establishing security along the Soviet European borders and the four-power understanding to secure world peace. There is no such contradiction. Every step made towards assuring security in any region of the world, on the foundation of mutual understanding and equality, is a step towards world security. Every step taken by the Soviet Union and its constituent Republics to assure friendly relations with their non-Soviet neighbors is a vast contribution to the realization of the enduring peace held forth at Tehran.

Daily Worker Feb. 9, 1944 P. 6

White Russia Names Leader

The Moscow radio said last night that the Soviet Republic of White Russia had announced the appointment of P. K. Ponomarenko as chairman of its Council of People's Commissars, with I. S. Bylinsky as first deputy chairman. The broadcast was reported by United States Government monitors.

N.Y. Times - Feb. 8-44- p. 8.

I'd Rather Be Right

STAR FEB 8-44 P.6

Samuel Grafton

It is a kind of crude, Tammanyish approach to say that the Soviet state has split itself into 16 republics, independent as to foreign policy and military management, for the sake of securing 16 votes at the peace table. That is a ward-heeler's analysis, and it displays the ward-heeler's special qualities of intense shrewdness and intense blindness.

Something far more complex than a vote-grab is intended. First of all, the new Soviet move breaks up the pre-war international formation, in which one communist state stood, in ideological isolation, against many capitalist states. It is now a case of many and many.

So long as it was a case of the one and the many, an ineradicable taint of temporariness hung over the Soviet experiment. The one exception in an otherwise orthodox world must always seem like a freak, a sport, an entity which has not quite proved its right to life.

* * * *

But now that it is a case of the many and the many, this old one-sided mathematical relationship is broken down; it becomes a case of many Soviet states engaged in intricate and complex relationships with many capitalist states; the Soviet system no longer rests on one base, but on 16; and thus its political right to live in the world is affirmed and strengthened.

We have sometimes thought that the Soviets might try to seize another European country, such as Germany, and turn it communist, in order to cure themselves of political loneliness; then, at least, there would be two. The Russians have surprised us by turning inward instead of outward to achieve this effect. They have found their "other communist countries" inside the big communist country. The result, in political terms, is not much different, though it is a great deal more palatable to the world, than if the effect had been obtained by outward expansion.

* * * *

The economic heterodoxy of the one becomes the economic orthodoxy of 16. If this seems like a bizarre way to have expanded the Soviet system, let us remember that reproduction by division is a commonplace in the biological world, and that it proves, under the microscope, to be a very efficient method of reproduction, indeed. You actually do get a lot of offspring that way.

Let us remember, too, that it is a prime article of the Soviet faith that to stand still, politically, is to die. We might say that both we and the Soviets believe in evolution, but that we like to wait and have it happen to us, while the Soviets, proud of what they call "the science of history," rather preen themselves on outguessing evolution, speeding it, and making it happen.

Red Star, the Soviet Army organ, and Red Fleet, the Soviet Navy paper, and all other leading Soviet journals agreed last week that to have 16 ambassadors in each foreign country, one from each of the Soviet republics, and to have each foreign country distribut 16 ambassadors, in turn, among the 16 Soviet states, is exactly what the Soviet government wants. It wants complexity. It deliberately seeks it.

* * * *

For, in the Soviet view, political progress is precisely this, the rise from more simple to more complex forms. Mr. Molotov said it, in his explanatory statement: "The Soviet state has reached a new level in its development, turning into a more complex and virile organism." It is ridding itself of the perils of oneness. Characteristically, it is doing so without giving up the advantages of unity, for one party will still control all.

The new move is a profound maneuver toward naturalizing the Soviet system among the permanencies of the world; a move toward the end of singleness, freakishness and isolation. Those who see in it only a grab for 16 votes at the peace table have seen only the shadow of what is here to be seen.

WASHINGTON STAR
FEB. 8, 1944
PAGE 6

Russian Might Split Up

Maj. George Fielding Eliot

The decentralization of the Russian military establishment, as recently announced, suggests that the people who have spent so much time and effort warning us about the coming Russian conquest of the world are very wrong indeed. A government which is planning a war of conquest, as Walter Lippmann has already pointed out, does not decentralize its army; it seeks rather for the utmost in centralized control.

Your intending conqueror wants his armed forces, the instruments of his ambition, responsive to his single will. He does not want to have to convince a number of secondary leaders, much less a number of legislatures, that the time has now come to start the attack on the neighbors. He wants all the value of suspense and surprise; he wants to be able to perfect his plans in secret and to strike when he is ready; not after long debate has given his intended victims warning.

* * * *

The history of Germany and Japan perfectly illustrates this point. The first care of the Prussian militarists who forged the German Empire out of the blood and iron of Bismarck's was was to bring about centralized Prussian control of the armed forces of the component states of the empire. This was done by conventions into which the smaller states were pressed to enter, Bavaria being the only holdout; and in every way, by every administrative device, gradual encroachment of the central authority upon the command and control of the Bavarian Army was pushed through the period 1871-1914. The other states had nothing at all to say about their soldiers.

After the World War, the control of the German Army became even more centralized; and under Hitler, even the remnants of autonomy still retained in political matters by the states disappeared, so that their very names were no longer used. One Reich-One Fuehrer. That was the idea.

The Japan constitution adopted after Japan emerged from the shadows of her hermit condition took great care to preserve the control of the Emperor over the armed forces, free from any possibility of civilian or local interference. The Ministers of War and Navy, and the chiefs of staff of the two services, were all given the right of direct access to the Emperor; which meant that the service ministers (who were required to be officers on the active list) could always by-pass the Premier, and that each chief of staff, if he thought fit, could always by-pass his own minister. No nonsense about decentralization of civil superiority to the military power in that arrangement! The leaders of Japan were not preparing an instrument for the defense of Japanese territory and Japanese rights, but an instrument of conquest, to be wielded by a single hand.

* * * *

Contrast this with the armies of the free nations. In the British Commonwealth, the great dominions have been extremely jealous of their military rights. One of the earliest demands of each, as it grew toward nationhood, has been the exclusion from its territory of United Kingdom garrisons. Each has formed its own military forces, controlled entirely by its own government; though for obvious reasons they all use the same training manuals and send selected officers to British military schools.

As for the United Kingdom, the crown possesses the right to have an army at all only on a year's sufferance; the Army Act (annual) must be repassed each year by Parliament in order for the British Army to have a legal right to exist. In Switzerland, the several cantons jealously retain their control of enlistments, etc., and the appointment of officers up to the rank of captain. In the United States, the size of the Regular Army is restricted by Congress, and in time of peace the States possess a great deal of authority over their National Guards, though training and organization are kept uniform throughout the nation.

Thus the Russian action in decentralizing military control and administration to any degree is a perfectly clear announcement of peaceful intent toward Russia's neighbors. It will not serve for the Russian-haters to claim that this is an insincere and really meaningless gesture, for human beings do not react that way. When a local Soviet is given military authority, some at least of its members will take that authority seriously.

It will never be possible for the central government at Moscow to act with the same degree of complete dictatorial control in military affairs which it might have exercised before the recent decisions were announced. Hereafter—or, at least, after this war is over—the local Soviets will assume, in whole or in part, the authority given to them by the new plan, and there will inevitably be friction unless they are allowed to have what has been promised them.

This action by the Russian government should, therefore, serve to increase American and British confidence in Russian good intentions, and thus contribute materially to the co-operation of the three great powers on which not only victory but the building of a just and lasting peace to follow victory must ultimately depend.

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Private Initiative Essential

From the Montreal Star.

The great necessity for a continuation of initiative in Canadian enterprise was one of the themes featured in the address of Lewis L. Lang, president of the Mutual Life Assurance Co. of Canada, at the annual meeting. Basing his argument on the axiom that where men are denied freedom of choice and action, initiative disappears and gives way to inertia and inefficiency, Mr. Lang declared that it would indeed be lamentable if, after making all sacrifices of an all-out war to defeat tyranny, Canadians found themselves in the grasp of a rigid governmental system of control, and added: "It seems now as certain as anything can well be that for some time at least Canada will have neither a complete system of governmental control and ownership nor one entirely free from governmental control."

Mr. Lang admitted that we must expect, for a time at least after the war ends, more government control and direction than before the war, and said that the great majority of Canadians recognize these facts, but that they hope and should strive to insure that the final mingling of government control and free enterprise will be such as will result in the greatest and most varied opportunities for the further development of the capacity for individual achievement which the Canadian people have demonstrated so effectively throughout their history.

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PAGE 6

WHITHER RUSSIA?

It is now more than three months since the Foreign Secretaries of the United States, Britain and Russia met in conference in Moscow and in collaboration with China agreed upon a program of close military and political cooperation in war and peace. At this conference, "conscious of their responsibility to secure the liberation of themselves and the peoples allied with them from the menace of aggression," they issued a Joint Four-Nation Declaration which explicitly reaffirmed the earlier declaration of Jan. 1, 1942, pledging support for the purposes and principles of the Atlantic Charter. This declaration provided for united action in the prosecution of the war and in the establishment of a general international organization based on the sovereign equality of all peace-loving states, large and small.

The Foreign Secretaries at Moscow also issued a joint communiqué which said: "The conference agreed to set up machinery for insuring the closest cooperation between the three Governments in the examination of European questions arising as the war develops. For that purpose the conference decided to establish in London a European advisory commission to study these questions and to make joint recommendations to the three Governments. Provision was made for continuing, when necessary, the tripartite consultations of representatives of the three Governments in the respective capitals through the existing diplomatic channels." Another advisory council was established for matters relating to Italy, and a warning to the Nazis on atrocities accompanied the establishment of a United Nations Commission for the Investigation of War Crimes. This program was again confirmed by another Three-Power Declaration issued by President Roosevelt, Prime Minister Churchill and Premier Stalin at Teheran.

The program announced at Moscow has been carried out to the extent that the commissions provided in it have been created and are ready to act. But if anything more has been accomplished in the nature of united action and cooperation in the settlement of the political problems that still trouble the United Nations it has not been revealed.

On the contrary, even more demonstratively after Teheran than before, Russia, while joining in the settlement of questions affecting western Europe, has so far rejected every attempt to carry out the Moscow program in eastern Europe and has proceeded to settle European problems of interest to herself by unilateral action according to her own methods and her own program. She has refused to submit to the European commission created for such purposes either the problem of the reconstitution of Poland or the problem of the Baltic states, which both the United States and Great Britain recognize as independent entities. She has rejected any tripartite consultations offered by the American and British for mediation of the Polish question and is proceeding to settle that question by making a Kremlin Vice Commissar of Foreign Affairs the Foreign Commissar of a Ukrainian republic dominated by Moscow while his wife heads a similar regime for Poland. She is making her own independent alliances in Europe and is barring other federation efforts.

When President Roosevelt himself admits that some recent Russian actions have puzzled him, it would seem that the time has come to ask the Russians whether the Moscow agreements still stand. Those agreements were acclaimed by an overwhelming majority of the American people as laying the basis for a sound peace in which we could cooperate willingly and generously and confidently with Russia.

N.Y. TIMES - FEB. 8-44-P. 14.

WHITHER RUSSIA?

It is now more than three months since the Foreign Secretaries of the United States, Britain and Russia met in conference in Moscow and in collaboration with China agreed upon a program of close military and political cooperation in war and peace. At this conference, "conscious of their responsibility to secure the liberation of themselves and the peoples allied with them from the menace of aggression," they issued a Joint Four-Nation Declaration which explicitly reaffirmed the earlier declaration of Jan. 1, 1942, pledging support for the purposes and principles of the Atlantic Charter. This declaration provided for united action in the prosecution of the war and in the establishment of a general international organization based on the sovereign equality of all peace-loving states, large and small.

The Foreign Secretaries at Moscow also issued a joint communiqué which said: "The conference agreed to set up machinery for insuring the closest cooperation between the three Governments in the examination of European questions arising as the war develops. For that purpose the conference decided to establish in London a European advisory commission to study these questions and to make joint recommendations to the three Governments. Provision was made for continuing, when necessary, the tripartite consultations of representatives of the three Governments in the respective capitals through the existing diplomatic channels." Another advisory council was established for matters relating to Italy, and a warning to the Nazis on atrocities accompanied the establishment of a United Nations Commission for the Investigation of War Crimes. This program was again confirmed by another Three-Power Declaration issued by President Roosevelt, Prime Minister Churchill and Premier Stalin at Teheran.

The program announced at Moscow has been carried out to the extent that the commissions provided in it have been created and are ready to act. But if anything more has been accomplished in the nature of united action and cooperation in the settlement of the political problems that still trouble the United Nations it has not been revealed.

On the contrary, even more demonstratively after Teheran than before, Russia, while joining in the settlement of questions affecting western Europe, has so far rejected every attempt to carry out the Moscow program in eastern Europe and has proceeded to settle European problems of interest to herself by unilateral action according to her own methods and her own program. She has refused to submit to the European commission created for such purposes either the problem of the reconstitution of Poland or the problem of the Baltic states, which both the United States and Great Britain recognize as independent entities. She has rejected any tripartite consultations offered by the American and British for mediation of the Polish question and is proceeding to settle that question by making a Kremlin Vice Commissar of Foreign Affairs the Foreign Commissar of a Ukrainian republic dominated by Moscow while his wife heads a similar regime for Poland. She is making her own independent alliances in Europe and is barring other federation efforts.

When President Roosevelt himself admits that some recent Russian actions have puzzled him, it would seem that the time has come to ask the Russians whether the Moscow agreements still stand. Those agreements were acclaimed by an overwhelming majority of the American people as laying the basis for a sound peace, in which we could cooperate willingly and generously and confidently with Russia.

This is a clipping from page 14 of the New York Times fo
Feb. 8, 1944
Clipped at the Seat of Government.

Red Political Offensive

Soviet diplomacy is moving as fast and as aggressively as the Soviet armies. In both cases the strategy is one of closely synchronized blows on several fronts. Last Sunday witnessed the simultaneous launching of three political drives, directed respectively against Poland, Bulgaria and Finland. WASH STAR

The Polish drive is the most important, especially for its wider implications. Last Saturday the Ukrainian Soviet Republic set up its own Department of Foreign Affairs, under the recent constitutional change whereby each of the 16 members of the Soviet Union has diplomatic powers. The new Ukrainian Foreign Minister is none other than Alexander Korneichuk, formerly Soviet Vice Commissar of Foreign Affairs and husband of Wanda Wasilewska, leader of the Moscow-sponsored "Free Poland" Committee. Within 24 hours, the Ukrainian diplomatic "representative" at Moscow appealed to Stalin to include in the Ukrainian Soviet Republic Polish territory west of the Curzon Line, which Moscow had previously intimated would be the basis for the new Polish-Soviet border. Also, the official Moscow radio declared in a broadcast that a "new democratic Poland" would arise thus establishing "all conditions for friendly co-operation of the Ukrainian and Polish peoples." The broadcast further stated: "The emigre Polish government (in London) not infrequently displays its imperialist pro-Fascist tendencies in its politics, and it is obvious that such tendencies preclude even the possibility of friendly agreement." Taken together, this would seem to mean that Moscow intends to ignore the Polish government in London, which America and Britain recognize, and will deal henceforth only with the "Free" Polish regime now in Moscow. It will be interesting to see whether the White Russian Soviet Republic, when it gets its new Foreign Ministry, will likewise make claims on Polish territory.

Moscow's diplomatic drive on Bulgaria was likewise started over the radio in the form of a bitter attack on the Bulgarian government for lending its territory to Germany for operations against Russia and its army for use against the Yugoslavs. It is to be remembered that Moscow has never broken diplomatic relations with Sofia and that the two countries are still technically neutral toward each other. Also, Moscow has hitherto refrained from press attacks on Bulgaria.

The third offensive, military in form, was a stiff air raid on Helsinki, the capital of Finland, the first in almost two years. Its political character, however, is obvious. The raid is a brusque warning for Finland not only to get out of the war, but apparently to surrender at discretion, because Tass, the official Soviet news agency, denies recent reports in foreign countries that peace negotiations between Finland and Russia had been started.

Thus, on every front, Soviet diplomacy appears to be moving swiftly, strongly and uncompromisingly for the attainment of its own objectives in its own way.

This is a clipping from page 6 of the ~~New York Times for~~ WASHINGTON STAR Feb. 8, 1944
Clipped at the Seat of Government.

Abroad

The Armies Are the First Policy Makers

By ANNE O'HARE McCORMICK

The Russians are so busy defining in action their policy toward Europe's eastern border states that it is natural that the position of the nations in the west should come in for special attention on the part of the British and American Governments. Moscow is proceeding at once to carry out the decree of the Supreme Soviet granting more autonomy to the constituent republics of the Union by setting up a Foreign Commissariat for the Ukraine headed by Alexander Korneichuk, husband of Wanda Wasilewska, leader of the Soviet-sponsored "Free Poland" committee. That these appointments are made by Moscow clearly indicates where "autonomy" centers in the new organization, but the chief point of interest in the move is in confirming the guess that a strong reason for Stalin's concern in the Polish Ukraine is to incorporate all Ukrainians within the Soviet Union and end forever the threat of a Ukrainian independence movement.

Armies Make Policies

Proof that Russia is going ahead without delay to block any outside federation in eastern Europe by building her own, and inviting outsiders to join, has no direct relation to reports from Washington that the Western allies are moving to re-define their policy toward France, Italy and Spain. This process has been going on for some time, but conditioned by and dependent on military developments, as policy in the indecisive stages of a great struggle has to be.

The example of Russia is the best evidence that in war the armies are the first policy makers. The Red legions have reached the point where the Soviet Government can stake its claims on the ground. The salvo of the Moscow guns ordered by Stalin yesterday to celebrate the rout of the Germans at Nikopol marks the seventeenth such salute for a major victory in five weeks. The Russians are victors in their vast theater; and they are in the mood of victors, confident that they can dictate terms that the enemy cannot and their allies certainly will not dispute by force.

On the western front the Anglo-American armies have not yet driven the Germans back almost to their own borders, as the Russians have. They have not knocked division after division of the Wehrmacht out of combat. But they have cleared the Germans out of Africa, delivered the *coup de grace* to Italy, destroyed the flower of the Nazi submarine fleet, worked havoc in the war industries and chief cities of the Reich. They have put France in the war again and kept Spain out.

All this was accomplished without sufficient military force at any one point—except latterly in the air—to enable the Allies to move boldly and swiftly in the political field. The length of the supply line made every landing so risky that they had to use all the help they could get to avoid failure. This is not merely the official alibi but the real and compelling reason for the policy in France, Italy and Spain. Its purpose was to hold the political situation in suspense while military footholds were achieved and made solid. It goes without saying that this *detente* in a time of revolutionary flux was risky, too; only the denouement can measure its effects on the future of Europe.

Now the picture is changed. We are moving toward recognizing the French Committee of Liberation as a provisional Government, which amounts to a recognition that France is once more a sovereign entity. We are removing the ban on political activity in Italy, with the object of releasing any forces of self-government that may be stirring in that prostrate and despairing country. We are stiffening our attitude in Spain to cut off aid to Germany.

The change is due first of all to the strengthening of the Allied military position. It is due to the clarification in the situation itself; the delay in taking a stand in regard to the French Committee, for instance, is plainly justified by the degree of unity developed in the probation period. To a far lesser extent this is true of Italy, where no convincing voices have come out of the political vacuum, and the real tests are still to come. But the trends are a little clearer now than they were in the confusion of the first landing.

Uneasy Days

The sense of climax in the war is likewise a factor, urging that policies for the liberated cannot be improvised in the tension of the grand-scale assault, but as far as possible must be ready in advance, proclaimed in advance. Moscow's political activity must also be a spur to London and Washington. It would be going too far to say that recent events are interpreted as a sign that Russia is proceeding on the spheres-of-influence plan for the organization of the peace. But they cause uneasiness. Viewed in relation to the Moscow Declaration, they imply that Russia is pursuing alternative policies—perhaps in order to be safe whatever happens—or at least that she is riding into her position as a decisive world power on a pretty high horse.

Inevitably this attitude tends to focus interest on the nations of western Europe, and our relation to them. But only tentatively; no Government on our side can give up faith that the four Powers that are winning the war will be the four pillars of a world-wide organization. Regional responsibility and regional security fit into that structure; but only as parts of an indivisible whole on which they depend. Russia's moves are disturbing because they suggest a contrary tendency—a division into closed zones of power and influence, and we all know that this larger isolationism is even more dangerous to peace than national isolationism.

This is a clipping from page 14 of the New York Times for Feb. 7, 1944
Clipped at the Seat of Government.

On the Record

Wash Star 2-7-44-p 6

Dorothy Thompson

I have called these columns on the Molotov announcement "The Soviet Commonwealth," because this is really the transformation proposed.

Having dismissed the childish idea that it is a maneuver for more votes at a peace conference, I want to add that this enormous change should not be regarded as occurring for any specific purpose, except the ever-present one of security through power. It must be seen and assessed inside the framework of the world situation.

Early in December, a speech of Field Marshal Smuts was published in which he proposed that smaller Western Europe democracies, should enter the British Commonwealth. The British Commonwealth is an attractive proposition. It combines mutual protection with economic advantages and national sovereignty. Its constituent members maintain their national armies and offices of foreign affairs, and even have the right of secession.

Field Marshal Smuts speech was an open bid for the extension of permanent British influence upon the continent of Europe and, throughout the European empires upon the Far East. And I think it wise to face the fact that the transformation announced in Russia is a competition for the same thing. As far as outer form is concerned, the lines of the new Soviet Commonwealth closely follow the British. But the content of the one is capitalist, and of the other socialist. Mr. Molotov, in his speech, reiterated the unswerving fidelity of the Soviet Union to the socialist idea.

The advantage of the British Empire has been its elasticity. For instance, Canada, may make treaties with the United States without committing Britain. Australia and New Zealand may come to agreements between themselves and neighbors. The Commonwealth, furthermore, does not consist of contiguous areas. This is just why the various governments of the dominions, unions and commonwealths increasingly demanded autonomy. By this development the British Empire became the one world-wide power, with all shades and degrees of contacts and connections.

The new structure of the Soviet Union makes it possible for it to play a similar role. The deepest reason behind it is that the Soviet Union foresees all shades of socialist experimentation in various areas of the world after the war. New economic developments are unlikely to reproduce the pattern of Russian Communism—the recognition of this is implied in the dissolution of the Comintern. But developments in numbers of states may be such as to make collaboration with a socialist state more attractive than with capitalist neighbors.

We may assume, for instance, that few modern and self-conscious states will wish to turn over their national resources to development by foreign capital. Yet there are states—and after this war there will be many such in Europe—where private national capital has all but been destroyed by the Nazis or, the nationals who have maintained it, have done so through collaboration with the Nazis.

Such states may be led toward some form of state capitalism by nationalism plus necessity. If they are opposed in this by the Anglo-American powers and supported in it by Russia, they would only be restrained in drifting toward the power-protection of the Soviet Union by considerations of sovereignty.

No Frenchman, for instance, wants to be ruled by Moscow. (Nor by London nor Washington.) But given the impossibility of standing alone, he will choose between alternatives. Many factors will enter into that choice, such as forms of economic organization, geography and protection against this or that possible enemy.

The new structure of the Soviet Union presents no claims whatsoever. But it provides the mechanism and structure through which petitions for membership could be considered.

There are countries much nearer than France, where such alternatives are certain to be considered. There is, for instance, Yugoslavia—a country of great undeveloped economic resources; there is, for instance, Finland, that once, under the Tsars, had something of that autonomy now offered every state of the Soviet Union. There are, for instance, the new countries of the Middle East, just awakening into national consciousness. And there is, for instance—and in the long run—Germany.

As a student of the Soviet Union's foreign policy, I have always been impressed with the way in which it reserves to itself unlimited possibilities within a clear plan, without committing itself to any fixed program. There is no question that this new step has immensely widened the possibilities. The extent to which they can be exploited, however, depends not alone upon the Soviet Union, but upon the policies of Britain and America.

The Soviet Union has entered into open competition, by open diplomacy, for a focal position as the magnet of Europe and Asia. If the western powers should think to answer this by force, they would be misled. Force has absolute limits in this world. Or if they think to answer it by letting nature take its course, I fear they will find that a planless world is at great disadvantage with one which has a clear concept.

The only possible answer is a western plan more attractive to the peoples.

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SOVIET UNION SEEN ON A NEW DIPLOMATIC TACK

NYT 2-6-44 P. E-3

Return to Old Spheres of Influence Policy Is Suggested by Her Moves

By JAMES B. RESTON

By Wireless to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

LONDON, Feb. 5—The Russian decision to offer autonomy in defense and foreign affairs to the Soviet Union's constituent Republics was a political "Molotoff cocktail" of considerable potency, and while the British managed to swallow it without losing their diplomatic balance, it looks as if the hangover is going to be greater than the celebration.

No one who understands what autonomy or the right to secede means seriously believes that the constituent Soviet Republics are to receive the freedom to oppose the will of the Kremlin in these matters. The Ukrainian Foreign Commissar, for example, would scarcely get "full rights to enter into relations" with the Polish Government in London.

It is necessary to distinguish between Russian constitutional forms and political realities. Until recently when he assumed the Premiership, the Soviet Constitution did not make any real provision for the authority which Marshal Stalin exercised. But, as The Economist points out this week, that did not make his authority any the less real.

Return to Past

It may be, of course, that Stalin is making a sincere attempt to move the Soviet Constitution back to something more like its original form under Lenin. At that time the Soviet Union was to a certain extent a federation of independent republics with each republic possessing a Government of its own and with separate Ukrainian and White Russian legations operating in the capitals of neighboring countries.

In those early days the U.S.S.R. was in its own lights an experiment in federal union and drew at least part of its revolutionary strength from the fierce national patriotism of the peoples for their various constituent republics. This experiment was wiped out by the Constitution of 1922 which replaced the federal structure with the union.

Several vague and unfair suspicions have been leveled against the Soviet Union this week because of its constitutional announcements, but it must be recognized that in part Stalin gave to the republics some powers which they already had and others which they can scarcely be expected to use. Each republic, for example, already had under the Constitution of 1936 the right to secede from the union, but no one who did not wish to take a long journey to the northeast ever dared to suggest secession. The record on this is quite clear. Even such agitation as did exist for a greater measure of autonomy in White Russia, the Ukraine and the Caucasus was suppressed, and so long as discussion of autonomy or secession is treated as an act of treason the constitutional right to independence and secession are meaningless.

The past is not as good a guide to the future policy of Soviet Russia, however, as it is in many other countries and it may be that with the menace of Germany and Japan removed from his flanks Stalin, who was originally Commissar for Nationalities and a nationalistic Georgian himself, may wish to encourage this trend as a means of further developing the vast territory he holds.

But for the moment it would seem that the explanation of the Russian action must be sought outside and not inside the U.S.S.R.

A great deal has been said about Russia wanting to "pack" the international bureaus, which the United Nations are planning to establish to coordinate world affairs after the war, by getting votes for all sixteen Soviet Republics, but this argument is not seriously considered here. Presumably such a maneuver would work in a technical body like the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration, but great policy decisions are not taken in international affairs on the basis of votes.

Red Star Satellites

For the sake of pride and prestige—which are much more important in Soviet calculations at present than is generally recognized—Stalin might wish for personal and historical reasons to give some prominence in the international field to the satellites that circle in his orbit, just as the British are surrounded by their satellites and we in these conferences by some of the Latin-American republics. But since Stalin's power does not rest on such devices it is perhaps misleading to place too much reliance on the theory that he was trying to "pack the court."

Similarly, it scarcely seems likely that Stalin has made these constitutional changes in order to make it easier for him to gain foreign recognition of the incorporation of the Baltic States within the Soviet Union. The Red Army is now well inside the Estonian border and the future of these States is an immediate problem. But Soviet officials always have emphasized that the future of the Baltic States was none of our business, so that either the Baltic States had very little to do with Stalin's constitutional decision or he has moved some distance toward our more legalistic approach to the future of these States.

There are, however, certain immediate advantages in the international political field which Stalin could gain from his constitutional changes. It is, perhaps, significant that a few days before this constitutional decision was announced the Ukrainians protested publicly against any territorial concessions to Poland.

Thus, it may be useful to have the Ukrainians and White Russians putting up their separate claims against the Poles. Certainly they would expect with some right to sit in on any discussions that might take place among the United States, Britain, the U.S.S.R. and Poland on the Curzon Line question. Similarly, Soviet claims against Finland could be put forward by the Karelo-Finnish Republic and the claims against Rumania for Bessarabia by the Foreign Commissar of the Soviet Republic of Moldavia.

Such an arrangement provides obvious freedom of action and maneuver for Soviet diplomacy and while it can be argued that Foreign Commissar Molotoff is in such a strong position in international politics that he did not have to rely on such devices, the fact remains that from Russia's point of view the system is not only convenient but, considering the complexity of this multinational state, it has a certain basis in right.

What is disturbing about Soviet foreign policy at the moment is not so much the actual machinery the Russians are establishing or even the territorial demands they are making, but their tactics in attaining their ends. After the Moscow Conference the hope here was that the spheres of influence doctrine had been abandoned and that there was a chance that Russia and the United States were prepared to cooperate with Britain in establishing a system of collective security in which the great powers would organize their will and their power for peace without infringing the rights of the small nations.

Britain's Concessions

In accordance with this ideal the British willingly agreed that Russia should have an equal say in western Europe and in the Mediterranean where Britain had always demanded special rights.

In the last few weeks, however, it has become apparent that Moscow expects to continue as a member of the Italian and Mediterranean Commissions to settle affairs all over Europe without conceding that we and the British should have an equal say in the way affairs are settled in eastern Europe.

Suspicion is a poor basis for foreign policy, as the United States and Great Britain discovered in their dealings with the Russians between the wars and certainly in London the officials are determined not to be overly suspicious of Russia's latest pronouncements in relation to Poland and in this new development over the Russian Constitution. But blindness is equally as dangerous in the realm of foreign affairs as unfounded suspicion and it seems to observers here that the world is again being divided into spheres of influence rather than united into an effective system of collective security which London prefers.

The new Russian Constitution establishes machinery which provides an opportunity for neighboring States outside the present U.S.S.R., like Poland, Bulgaria, Rumania and Persia, to join a larger Russian empire and still have the legalistic semblance of an independent existence. It does not follow from this that any State is going to join the Soviet Union simply because the Soviet Constitution has been changed.

What remains to be seen, however, is how far Moscow is prepared to stand by the recent Moscow trend—so definite in the Polish negotiations—of refusing to deal with a Government unless that Government removes certain members who do not happen to be persona gratae in Moscow.

Spheres of Influence

That the Soviet Union is going to have a sphere of influence from a line east of Trieste-Prague-Stettin to the Pacific seems reasonably certain. That this sphere of influence dominated by Russia would cooperate with other great groupings of powers in other parts of the world—an American sphere in the Western Hemisphere and a British sphere in the empire and in western Europe—also seems likely. But most observers here regret that events are moving in this direction rather than toward a single world system of collective security.

This does not mean that even if the present trend in Russian policy develops, the hope of collaborating with the Russians in the interests of peace is lost. The will and intentions of the Russians are more important than the machinery they create. Cooperation among the great powers may not be perfect, but it is better than no cooperation at all.

"No sight is more pathetic," remarks The Economist this week, "than to watch the perfect impede the good. Whether special groupings [of powers] are an assistance or a hindrance to the world-wide solution depends entirely on their purpose and their nature. Where the association is truly free and good neighborly and where the members are the champions of world order, not the aggressors upon it, it can surely do nothing but good."

London, in short, is waiting to see the purpose of the Russian policy more clearly before reaching too many conclusions on the basis of Moscow's tactics or Moscow's new constitutional machinery.

THE FUTURE

Smith in The Lynchburg News

"There's a beautiful mustache coming into your life."

Persona Grata Governments

Question and answer time after Wendell Willkie's address last week in Times Hall brought forth one suggestion from a member of the audience in the matter of the Russo-Polish frontier. The speaker thought that Moscow's attitude toward the Polish Government-in-Exile would be different if that Government were not tainted with fascism. Moscow would be very friendly if Poland had a "really democratic" Government.

To this Mr. Willkie replied: "There is a very persuasive argument to that effect. If that is true—and it may very well be true—I would hope that they [the Moscow Government] would be very clear about it." But does this mean that it would remain for Moscow to define what is democracy and to decide whether the Polish Government measured up to the Moscow definition?

Friendly With Fascists

But even if there were no doubts about the character of a certain Government, it does not mean that its rightful frontiers are one thing if it is democratic and another thing if it is fascist. Good relations between Governments do not depend on the nature of the governments but on their friendliness. All those years that we withheld recognition from the Soviets critics argued that Russia was entitled to have the kind of government it preferred and that this need not prevent capitalist America from being good friends with Communist Russia.

The definitive answer has, of course, been given by the Soviet Government itself. Soviet friendly relations with Fascist Italy endured from the very beginnings of Mussolini to the summer of 1941. Soviet Russia maintained friendly relations with Nazi Germany until attacked by Hitler. The Soviet Government still maintains friendly relations with Fascist Japan.

On the other hand, there is a familiar argument, just repeated by Mr. Benes, that Russia was driven into Germany's arms in 1939 by the "hostility" of the Western democracies. If this proves anything it proves that friendship between nations has nothing to do with their philosophies of government.

This is a clipping from page E-8 of the New York Times for Feb. 6, 1944
Clipped at the Seat of Government.

RUSSIA'S AUTONOMY ACT PUZZLES HER PARTNERS

Other Nations Are Quite Apparently Uncertain of New Powers Given 16 Members of U.S.S.R.

EXTERNAL SIGNIFICANCE SEEN

By EDWIN L. JAMES

Russia's action last Tuesday in announcing that the sixteen components of the U.S.S.R. would have in the future full diplomatic and military autonomy is not yet understood by her partners in the war against the Axis. Washington does not know just what it means or what it accomplishes or how it changes things. London is no better off and it is to be assumed Chungking is no better acquainted with the real reasons for the move.

It is much too simplist to say that it represents simply a development of interior Russian policies and politics. That in the midst of a war far from won a country should suddenly decide that its military establishment is split into sixteen pieces does not make much sense. To decide at the same time that the republics which make up Soviet Russia shall all have separate diplomatic representation abroad is scarcely a war measure. To emphasize that all the members of the U.S.S.R. have the right to secede is a queer emphasis to put forward when a nation is engaged in an all-out war.

It seems much more logical to believe, in the absence of official explanations from our Ally, that the new shuffle has something to do with Russia's new place in the world which she is winning by her war effort. At a time when guns are the chief business of a country, that it should make important plans relating to diplomatic representation justifies the belief that Moscow is looking toward the post-war period when diplomacy will resume an importance it does not have at the moment.

Post-War Prospects

Assuming then that the Russian move has something to do with post-war business, it becomes at once intriguing to speculate as to what extent the supposed decisions of Teheran enter into the picture now. If it was decided at Teheran that the four main United Nations would act together in war and in peace, the question naturally arises as to the effect of any more moves by the Soviets which might have an external significance.

The more so, because in certain matters, notably that of the Polish frontiers, Moscow has given a rather clear indication that it sets a limit on things to be settled jointly. It has indicated it intends to settle the matter of Polish frontiers in a manner other than by joint and common decision.

What can be meant by a change which gives to republics under the Moscow banner a greater degree of freedom and a larger exercise of independent rights?

So far there is no very clear answer. The idea that Russia seeks to have sixteen votes at the peace conference rather than one is not very solid. The British Commonwealth of Nations could work out a considerable balancing representation. The United States might ask for forty-eight votes. Seeing that the whole of Russia's sixteen votes would not in a conference dependent on power politics carry any more weight than one Russian vote, because both would be backed by Russian power and nothing else, this explanation does not seem serious.

Expert: Take a Try

Experts on foreign affairs have speculated pretty much around the clock. Some have seen just a matter of interior Russian policies. Some go back to 1930 and quote Stalin on the disadvantages of things too big and quote Molotoff at the same period as speaking against "Gigantomania" and seek to see simply a carrying out of that policy. Even The Daily Worker, apparently without inspiration, does not get it very well straightened out, but is confident that whatever is meant, it is all for the best.

Taking it for granted that Stalin has post-war business on his mind one can ask the question as to how the new set-up would be useful in that period. Here one can get into very interesting surmises. For example, Stalin knows that some of his partners have at one time or another assured the representatives of the Baltic States that they would regain their independence after an Allied victory. Then we have an Allied victory. Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia become persuaded (use quotes if you wish to) and announce that as independent States, with their own separate armies and even separate ministers abroad, wish to join up with the U.S.S.R. There it is: Stalin has the Baltic States and they have their independence.

Some Other Possibilities

The Ukraine is a member of the U.S.S.R. There is a considerable independent Ukraine movement. The war is over. The Ukrainians decide that they should be all one country. That takes in Polish Ukraine. Russian Ukraine and Polish Ukraine unite and then they become an independent nation affiliated with the U.S.S.R. That would be that.

Russia intends to take back Besserabia. Just to grab it from Rumania might well be held a violation of the Atlantic Charter. But suppose there emerges a State known as Moldavia, which would include Besserabia, and that this State, always independent, mind you, joins up with Moscow. Then Stalin has Besserabia. To go further, suppose Rumania, assured of independence by Moscow, would indicate a desire to come under the Kremlin. She might then be allowed to keep Besserabia and be given the rest of Moldavia. In that case Rumania might keep Besserabia.

One might even imagine a regime in Poland—Stalin doesn't like the present Government in exile—which would get East Prussia and German Silesia, thus insuring permanent enmity between Germany and Poland, and then as an independent State elect to enjoy the guiding hand of Moscow. That would settle a lot of things.

Long-Range Politics

But all of this raises important issues. At one time it was thought that Russia might use her power to dominate Eastern Europe while her allies dominated Western Europe and the Mediterranean region. But it has been thought that that plan was abandoned and that all of the United Nations would act in unison in settling the affairs of all Europe. The Russians have taken representation on the Allied Mediterranean Commission and on the London Political Commission, thus indicating that the rule of common action had been definitely adopted. That supposition tended to make off-side General Smuts' now famous speech on the wisdom of Britain's lining up the nations of Western Europe in a zone of influence.

However, if it is correct to read into Russian policy a plan to spread U.S.S.R. influence, if not government, in Eastern Europe by virtue of a plan which the Russians have not taken the trouble to elucidate to their allies, the situation begins to look different. Maybe, of course, Russia intends nothing of the sort. Maybe Stalin has just split the Red Army into sixteen armies as a piece of military strategy. Maybe all of the members of the U.S.S.R. are to have ambassadors and ministers abroad just to increase Russia's knowledge of the world at large.

But if that is what is intended why doesn't Stalin say so?

This is a clipping from page E-3 of the New York Times for Feb. 6 1944
Clipped at the Seat of Government.

94938

SOVIET REBUILDING AHEAD OF PROGRAM

Restoration of Rich Farming Regions Is Getting Priority, Official Report Shows

By W. H. LAWRENCE
By Wireless to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

MOSCOW, Feb. 5—The Soviet Government reported today the progress it is making in rehabilitating devastated farms, factories and homes in the territories that have been liberated by the Red Army from German occupation.

The work is going forward despite the terrific demands of the war on men and materials, and the official report said it was ahead of plan. Efforts are being made first to restore the rich agricultural area that were overrun by German troops, thus increasing the total food supply available for the Soviet peoples as well as reducing the amount of foodstuffs that must presently be shipped from other areas into the newly liberated districts.

The statistics presented in the official report to the Council of Peoples' Commissars, which covers two pages of today's Moscow newspapers, are indeed impressive, but there is no means of comparison with other accomplishments and other countries because the present rehabilitation effort is the largest the world has seen in the midst of war.

There is no indication what percentage of the total necessary rehabilitation work has been accomplished nor how long it will take to make these regions completely self-sustaining. In areas such as Stalingrad it will literally be necessary to rebuild completely from the ground up.

The Regions Covered

The report records the progress in carrying out the Government's decisions of Aug. 23, 1941, and covers the regions around Kalinin, Smolensk, Orel, Kursk, Voronezh, Stalingrad, Rostov, Voroshilovgrad, Kharkov, Sumy, Stavropol and Krasnodar.

Among the more impressive statistics are the reconstruction of 326,461 structures housing 1,813,614 persons, many of whom had been forcew to live in dugouts because their former homes had been destroyed in battle or sacked by the Germans.

Twenty-five building material factories and eleven lumber mills, which have a cutting capacity sufficient to produce lumber for the construction of standard houses containing 800 apartments monthly, have been built.

It is on the agricultural front that the greatest progress is being made because it has had priority. A total of 1,723,201 head of cattle and 516,853 chickens, ducks and geese have been sent to collective farms in the liberated areas.

This includes the return of 630,830 head of cattle and horses that had been evacuated eastward in the van of the advancing Germans and whose return was a major task in view of the inevitable wartime transport shortage. That task included the organization of fifteen large crossings along the Ural, Volga, Terek and Oka Rivers. The animals returned included 209,458 large-horned cattle, 368,764 sheep and goats and 54,621 horses.

Breeding Foundation Set Up

It was stated that a foundation for the complete re-establishment of cattle breeding in the liberated areas had been established and this included the reconstruction of breeding shelters, which had virtually all been demolished by the Germans. For this task alone the Government forests sent 1,610,000 cubic meters of timber.

A total of 96,324 tons of seed for the fall sowing has been made available and efforts are being made to provide sufficient machinery for the crops' cultivation and harvest. Thus far, 5,972 tractors have been returned from the east and workmen have reconstructed 575 machine tractor stations and 969 machine tractor repair shops. In addition, nine large repair stations have been built.

It is stated that tractor equipment valued at 18,620,200 rubles has arrived in the liberated areas and another 2,513,100 rubles' worth is en route.

The report said that a total of 3,587 specialists and leaders of agricultural work had been sent to the liberated territories, of whom 389 are administrators, 1,169 agronomists, 364 veterinarians and 499 mechanical engineers.

Railroads always are war targets and the destruction of transport facilities in the liberated regions has been very great. There are no figures given in today's report on the number of railway miles that have been restored to use, but it is stated that 122 stations have been reconstructed and 1,399 road-building barracks have been erected for the workers who are rebuilding the allroad.

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The American MERCURY

CAN STALIN'S RUSSIA GO DEMOCRATIC?

The fact that Russia, a completely dictatorial country, is on the United Nations side of the war against Germany is a paradox that raises both high hopes and profound misgivings. Can the Soviet régime under Joseph Stalin undergo an internal revolution — or evolution — that would give Russia democracy, at least in the American sense? Because the political future of Russia is a matter of the greatest significance to the whole world, we are pleased to present two sharply contrasting answers to the question. — THE EDITORS.

Yes — BY ARTHUR UPHAM POPE

CAN the *United States* become really democratic? This is a question that the Russians might and probably are asking today. But we cannot say whether the United States, Russia or any other nation is or can become democratic unless we ourselves are quite clear what democracy really is.

We used to assume that democracy and our own form of government were identical. Democracy, however, was not an American invention nor is it in any sense a unique American achievement. Indeed, if one were to take contemporary political debate seriously, it would seem that democracy is

ARTHUR UPHAM POPE, *organizer and chairman of the Committee for National Morale, is an internationally famous authority on the history of Persian culture, especially the development of Persian architectural forms. He has visited Russia fourteen times.*

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not working in the United States and that we might any day lose what we have. The President has been denounced by his political opponents as a dictator, charged with trying to purge Congress, demoralize the Supreme Court and set up a lifetime personal rule. If the Hearst-McCormick-Patterson press were to be believed, the scheduled Congressional elections of 1942 were to be set aside. Even a high-ranking bishop said if we ever got a million men under arms, "we would never be able to return to the ideals of democracy and a free people."

The disfranchisement of the Negroes in many sections, the operations of the poll tax, the pressure groups and rackets that often defy the will and interests of the majority — all this and more can be cited to prove that the United States itself, after one hundred and fifty years of this lively experiment, has not yet succeeded in becoming a perfect democracy. The achievement of democracy takes time, requires vigilant and continuous service, hard and honest thinking. National democracy cannot be had merely by multiplying the New England Town Meeting by a million and then standing pat. New problems, new magnitudes and complications require new forms. Democracy is not a gift but a challenge, not a fact but a process, not an achievement but an ideal.

There are, moreover, many ways of complying with the forms of political democracy but cheating on the substance. The essential or potential democracy of a nation cannot be fairly judged by the political practice of any given moment. It is the nation's fundamental ideal and the direction of its development that determine whether or not the nation is on its way to becoming democratic. Thus viewed, we can with confidence expect Russia to become a full-fledged democracy.

If Russia has not been rapid in developing the final forms of the democratic process, it is because she has envisioned democracy in a large way and has always, partly because of practical urgencies and partly because of her realistic logic, placed a prior value on social amelioration, actually the goal of democratic process everywhere, which Russians think can afterwards be permanently secured by the apparatus of political democracy. She has already attained economic democracy, democracy of education, full democracy between the sexes, and the very important ethnic democracy. In Russia racial discrimination and dissension are

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clear indication of Russian history is now to be frustrated.

We have been consistently wrong about Russia. We once believed that Lenin and Trotsky were German agents; that Lenin died eighteen times in one year; that Russia was a bedlam of criminal lunatics slaughtering millions of the intelligentsia.

We even believed the coarse joke about the nationalization of women; naïvely thought that we could remedy things by a blockade which brought thousands to their death while our food stores piled up almost in sight of the starving; that military intervention would help; and that the Soviet régime, anyway, was going to collapse — a fantasy which survived for a great many years.

Few believed that Russia, supposed to be a nation of illiterate, indolent and drunken *muzhiki*, constitutionally and incurably non-mechanical, could ever be industrialized. Well, it has and right thoroughly, too. We believed, and ranking military officials declared, that Russia would be overwhelmed by Germany in three weeks — then six weeks — ten weeks — three months — that Stalin was done for; that Moscow would fall was proclaimed by our own Assistant Military Attaché; that Stalingrad would hold out few imagined; that Russia could mount a formidable winter offensive and then an even greater summer offensive also was greeted with equal incredulity.

The United States was astonished at the success of the Moscow conference. Even Secretary of State Hull said it went way beyond expectations. But the Moscow conference was in complete accord with Soviet policy, and our expectations were not very generous or realistic. Then came Teheran, which provided further proof of that lack of realism and of generosity.

For twenty-five years we have continuously sold Russia short and on nearly every occasion we have been wrong; and we, as well as Russia and the whole world, have thereby lost immeasurably. We can no longer afford to make such mistakes. Had we fully understood and respected Russia ten years ago as much as we do now, had we cooperated with good will and mutual confidence, the war could have been averted.

No enduring or satisfactory peace is possible without good will and cooperation between Russia and the United States. We must not repeat our previous errors by doubting that Stalin's Russia can go fully and truly democratic. As Captain

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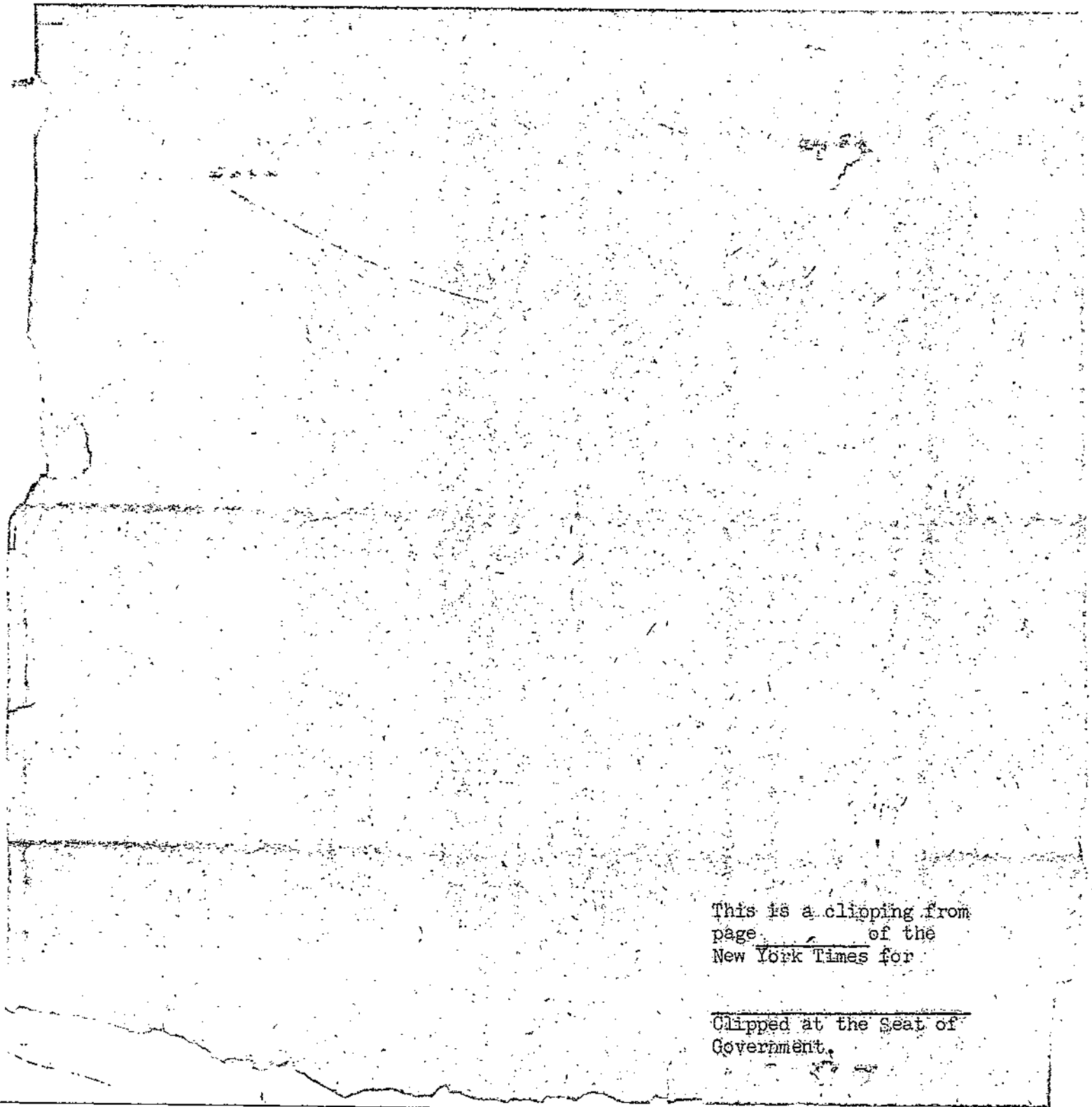

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insufficiently stressed feature of Soviet Russia today. For while the Soviet régime holds faithful to its socialist ideal, broadly conceived, yet it is steadily adapting its program to the realities, and the last twenty-five years have seen immense and truly fundamental changes.

Many of the original slogans of the revolution have been silenced. The rigidities of Marxian formulae have been relaxed; world revolution has been given up; Russia has become increasingly nationalistic, patriotic, disciplined, flexible and contemporary.

Moreover, the democratic ideal has been expressly formulated and endorsed and, further, made a feature of foreign policy. The people are growing in responsibility and sense of participation. This process is certain to be expedited at the end of the war. It was Lenin who demonstrated that great wars are the precursors of revolution and favor expanding liberties. To suppose that this process will be halted is to deny the plain teaching of history and Russian history in particular.

The direction of this development is forecast and controlled by the pledges of the new Soviet constitution. Here is the evidence, indeed the proof, that Stalinist Russia can and will become democratic. It is Stalin's own handiwork, quite as much as the Declaration of Independence was the work of Jefferson. Here is one of the great democratic documents, less democratic at a number of points than our own constitution; definitely more democratic at others.

It affirms throughout the sovereignty of the people, it acknowledges and proclaims the authority of the common man. It provides that all the natural resources of the country plus the principal means of production should "belong to the whole people" (Article 6), but that individuals have the right "to personal ownership of their incomes from work and of their savings" (Article 10) and personal property, including a plot of land and minor agricultural equipment (Article 7). Furthermore, each State in the Soviet Union is accorded the right "freely to secede" (Article 17).

III

What are universally regarded as the basic forms of political democracy are guaranteed in the most positive terms. Equality of all before the law is assured. All citizens, including women, are guaranteed equality "irrespective of their nationality or race, in all spheres of

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economic, state, cultural, social and political life" (Article 123). Similarly, the citizens of the USSR are guaranteed by law "freedom of conscience" and "freedom of religious worship" (Article 124), inviolability of person, the home and the right of asylum (Arts. 127, 128, 129).

Again, citizens are guaranteed (Article 125) "freedom of speech; freedom of the press; freedom of assembly"; and with the extraordinary realism that has marked the continuous development of the Soviet Union, the citizens are assured the means for implementing these rights — "freedom of street processions and demonstrations, printing presses, stocks of paper, public buildings, the streets, communications facilities and other material requisites for the exercise of these rights," the want of which has often in the western democracies frustrated the expression of the public will, and stifled the voice of the minority.

Of course, it will be said that Russia is a one-man and one-party government. It is, in certain particulars, but the one-party system is not required by the constitution and people who are promised freedom of speech, assembly, security of person, property, and the means to implement their opinions, certainly will have the power to make such changes in that system as they wish.

Here, then, is a document which, if lived up to, will provide a democracy as ample and as real as any in the world. But why was not the constitution put into full effect when promulgated in 1936? For the simple reason that Russia felt herself already at war. As Hitler said, "War begins long before the actual fighting." For ten years Russia has known that she would have to fight Germany for her very existence. She has also known that she had no chance of success unless she could industrialize with unprecedented speed which would require superhuman anguished efforts on the part of all. If industrialization and other urgent forms of preparation did save Russia, they knew that it would be by such a small margin that any slowing up or diversion because of political dissensions or even discussions by the Russians, who are great talkers, might be fatal.

And so, as is inevitable and right in times of grave national peril, certain constitutional guarantees were suspended, just as they have been in Great Britain and the United States, and a severe centralized control took all the responsibilities and made all the important decisions.

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Never has a government given its citizens a pledge more specific or so irrevocable as the Soviet constitution. It even anticipated the demand of the Russian people for full participation in government, and it was presented to them with a ceremony, a thoroughness and an enthusiasm which thrilled the entire nation. From one end of the land to the other there were impressive celebrations. Elaborate and costly copies are to be seen in every community and village. The Russians know their constitution, on the whole, better than we know ours.

IV

The constitution, moreover, is a contract with the people sealed with their blood. No mind can describe nor heart comprehend the vast and infinite sufferings of the Russian people in this war. Probably not less than fifteen million people have been done to death, most of them in the very extremities of anguish. Russia's lands have been devastated, her cities wrecked, her populations tortured and massacred.

The world has never seen a national effort so vast, so complicated, yet so genuinely unified as that which the Russian people have put forth in the present conflict. Could there be more overwhelming proof that the government of Soviet Russia rests firmly upon the will of the people? As Winston Churchill proclaimed in his Quebec speech of August 31: "No government ever formed among men has been capable of surviving injuries so grave and cruel as those inflicted by Hitler upon Russia." Powerfully established as it is, nonetheless, neither the Soviet régime nor any other government could default on such a pledge as that given by the constitution without inviting destruction. The Russian people now know how to wage war as no nation on earth — not even the Germans. They are thoroughly armed, even almost to the children, and will not be gainsaid or cheated of their hopes even if anyone so wished.

The Russophobes protested that Stalin was not supported by the people, that he would not trust them with arms, that he would not dare to take on himself the responsibility for the sufferings and disasters that war would bring. They were wrong in every respect, and will again be equally wrong if they imply that reaction and suppression are to be the rewards of the Russian people; and that the forward liberalization which is the trend of the Soviet régime and the

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unknown. The legal and social equality basic to democracy have actually been achieved. The next step, full political democracy, cannot be long postponed.

The democratic ideal is deep in the Russian character and even under the Tsars found expression in basic institutions like the village *mir*, and in the democratic county councils like the *zemstvos*. Moreover, those who know Russia know her capacity for self-criticism. The fury with which the shop committees can indict management; the sharp ridicule of bureaucracy, the outspoken criticisms of some of the government departments are signs of an alert and increasingly vocal public opinion. The Stalin régime operates through a superb system of information and reports that bring to the Kremlin the needs, the state of mind, the hopes of the people; and decisions are taken, not in tyrannical caprice, but after long, patient, open-minded discussions with those best qualified to advise. These are all elements that favor assumption of full democracy.

The basic determination of the Russians to have a voice in their own government is illustrated by an amusing incident recounted by Albert Rhys Williams:

> I found myself in a far away Russian village where an emissary from Moscow was persuading the peasants to install a radio loud-speaker. As a final argument he said, "Put in a loud speaker, and then you won't have to take *my* word as to what Stalin and Kalinin are saying in Moscow. You will be able to hear for yourselves." "Very good, Comrade talker," interjected an old, long-bearded peasant. "But will this new contraption talk backwards? Will they, in Moscow, be able to hear what we are saying in the villages?"

II

Russia is still a young and growing nation, a nation on the march, continually developing. Even the old Russia was not static. The revolution itself was not the sudden crash of flame and thunder that it seemed; the storm had long been gathering, and out of suffering, wrath and titanic ambitions, plans for a new order were steadily emerging; passion and turmoil were gradually rationalized and programmed. Its ideals were based on Russian experience and tradition, even its very violence was characteristic, and the exalted vision of a free and prosperous humanity which animated its sincere founders was typically Russian.

This combination of the Russian character and the spirit of change — growth-energy, the biologists call it — is a most significant but

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Eddie Rickenbacker said, after an extensive tour of the Soviet Union, "Russia is on her way to becoming the world's greatest democracy" — *unless*, we might add, America should get there first.

No — By William Henry Chamberlin

CAN Stalin's Russia go democratic? My answer is an emphatic No. I submit that by no fair or reasonable definition could Stalin's régime, with its highly perfected totalitarian setup, be considered a democracy. And I consider it extremely improbable that Russia under Stalin's rule will ever become a democracy.

I am not inclined to take the word of an absolute dictator that his régime is "democratic." When Mussolini, in an Italian encyclopedia, declared that "fascism is the purest form of democracy" it impressed me as a good item for the funnies. In precisely the same category is Stalin's comment, after the first national elections held under the provisions of the Soviet constitution of 1936: "Never in the world have there been such truly free and democratic elections." His foreign apologists don't dare claim that Russia now has political democracy; but the point is that Stalin does claim it — that's his strange idea of democracy.

The "elections" to which he referred in such lyrical terms were not elections at all, in the sense of permitting any freedom of choice between opposing political groups, or even opposing individuals. A single list of candidates, carefully handpicked by the ruling Communist Party, was put up to the voters. The procedure was about as democratic as the choice of a Fascist Chamber of Deputies or a Nazi Reichstag.

I do not conceive democracy as something that can be divorced from individual liberty. This identification of liberty with democracy was recognized when President Roosevelt stated America's war aims in terms of Four Freedoms. Officially Stalin has subscribed to the Four Freedoms. But words in such matters are meaningless. How far are the Four Freedoms a working reality in the Soviet Union at the present time?

1. *Freedom of speech*, with its logical accompaniments, freedom of the press, of election, of trade-

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WILLIAM HENRY CHAMBERLIN *is the author of a half dozen books on Russia, the most recent of which is* The Russian Enigma.

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union organization, is completely non-existent in the Soviet Union. I challenge anyone naïve enough to take the tinsel phrases of the Stalin Constitution about civil and personal liberties seriously to ransack books, magazines and newspapers published in Russia for the last decade and find even one derogatory phrase about Stalin personally, or about any major Soviet political or economic policy. And where there is no criticism it is a sound assumption that there is no freedom. One would not wish to insult the Russian people by assuming that they are all submissive robots and human gramophone records.

2. *Freedom of religion*, as Americans understand and practice it, is also non-existent in the Soviet Union. With the exception of a seminary which, according to a recent news dispatch from Moscow, is to be opened by the Orthodox Church with official permission, religious groups may not support schools and colleges from their own contributions, or train priests and pastors and rabbis in seminaries, or express their views in newspapers, or over the radio. The Soviet constitution only guarantees "freedom of religious *worship* and of anti-religious *propaganda*." Under Soviet administrative practice this means that "freedom of religion" begins and ends with the holding of services. Large numbers of priests, pastors, rabbis, mullahs have been arrested and arbitrarily sent to concentration camps without the preferring of specific charges. The majority of the churches, mosques, synagogues, religious houses of all kinds have been closed, destroyed or converted to secular uses.

The recent permission, accorded to those ecclesiastics of the Russian Orthodox Church who have escaped execution or exile, to elect a Patriarch does not imply religious freedom. The new Patriarch, Sergius, a holdover from the Holy Synod of the state-controlled Orthodox Church of Tsarist time, has for years proved himself a supple stooge, willing even to commit himself to the shameless lie that there has been no persecution of religion under the Soviet régime. He can be useful to Stalin as a religious "front" to pacify clerical opinion in England and America and still more, perhaps, for purposes of political intrigue in regions where the Orthodox Church possesses traditional influence. Indeed, it will not be surprising to see Sergius as the right hand and Comrade Tito as the left hand of a Soviet expansionist policy in the Balkans. It is a long road from the appointment of Sergius, the Tsarist

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prelate, to serve the very worldly purposes of an atheistic dictator to the establishment of that genuine religious freedom that can only exist side by side with personal, political and intellectual freedom.

3. *Freedom from want.* "Want" is, of course, a relative conception. But a few undeniable facts would show that freedom from want, taking that word in its most modest sense, is alien to the Soviet Union. A. Yugow, a serious student of Russian economics who is by no means unfriendly in his theoretical attitude toward the Soviet system, writes:[1]

> In 1938 the Soviet workman was not only more poorly fed than the French or German workman, but more poorly even than the Bulgarian. Compared with the Swedish workman, the Soviet worker, although he ate much more bread, had one-third of the meat, two-fifths of the fats, one-third of the milk, one-tenth of the sugar, one-fifteenth of the eggs, not to speak of vegetables, fruits and so on.

And 1938 was one of the most favorable years, from the Soviet standpoint. The worst effects of the man-made famine of 1932–33 had been outlived and the new rigors imposed by the war in Europe had not begun. Food shortage has been chronic under the Stalin rule; and real wages, as distinct from money wages, have declined steadily.

4. *Freedom from fear.* There can be no greater delusion than the belief that the Russians have gained security by relinquishing liberty. No one can be more acutely insecure than the citizens of the totalitarian state, as the high percentage of executions, mysterious suicides, arrests, etc., in Stalin's Russia and Hitler's Germany alike would testify. No government in the world has exceeded the Soviet record in political executions of its own subjects or in consigning its own people to hard labor in concentration camps. Even Nicholas II granted wide amnesties when Russia went to war; Stalin only made additional mass arrests; his political prisoners today run literally into millions, many of them communists.

Habeas cadaver, not *habeas corpus*, is the guiding principle of Soviet jurisprudence. In no country have I seen so many examples of abject fear, inspired by the government itself. Only in Germany is the political police system so vast, so arbitrary, so awe-inspiring.

It has been suggested, even in high American official quarters, that Russia's achievements in "economic democracy" and "ethnic democracy" make the strict ob-

[1] *Russia's Economic Front for War and Peace*, page 212.

servance of political and personal liberties outmoded and archaic. As for "economic democracy," I wonder how many American workers would choose this name for a system under which the boss and the head of the trade-union were both part of the same power-machine. How would American and West European workers like a system of all-out industrial conscription, in peace and in war, under which they are liable to fine or prison terms for changing jobs without permission or being absent or late to work?

The Soviet recognition of racial equality is both a right and a wise policy for a country of many races, headed by a dictator belonging to one of the minority races. But "ethnic democracy" is robbed of much of its practical value when not associated with political freedom and guarantees of personal security against arbitrary state power. What was the benefit of "ethnic democracy" to the Koreans of Eastern Siberia who were shipped off *en masse* to Central Asia? Or to Soviet Finns, uprooted from homes where their ancestors had lived for generations near Leningrad? Or to the Volga Germans, in Russia for centuries, but ruthlessly banished to Central Asia on a strict principle of racial selection after the outbreak of the war?

Contrary to a widely accepted fallacy, Russia's excellent showing in the present war has nothing to do with the "democracy" of the Soviet régime. Stalin is only one in a long line of absolute rulers, from Alexander the Great to Hitler, who has succeeded in building up a powerful military machine by imposing great sacrifices upon his subjects. The Russians who fought heroically against Napoleon were serfs — did they thereby attest their enthusiasm for serfdom?

To describe Stalin's Russia, at the present time, as a democracy, is to insult democracy, reason and common sense. That the notion can be seriously suggested is a triumph of totalitarian propaganda. As to the Russia of tomorrow, only a superficial observer would be dogmatic. Even in countries where there is freedom of discussion there is no unanimity of opinion about the shape of things to come. How then pose as an infallible soothsayer about Russia, a country where political life proceeds beneath the glacial ice-cap of absolute political controls?

Russia may achieve democracy — but then it will no longer be Stalin's Russia. For a dictator to survive in power after the dissolution of his dictatorship would be extraordinary, to say the least.

II

There is a tradition of freedom as well as a tradition of oppression and absolutism in the Russian past. There was the wild Cossack freedom of the Russian frontier that finds expression in the stormy careers of chieftains like Razin and Pugachev and Khmelnitsky. There was the reasoned freedom of Russia's thinkers and humanists of the nineteenth century. There was the local political freedom of the *mir* and the *zemstvo* under the Tsars.

If the Soviet younger generation should turn away from the officially approved figures of the Russian past, the despotic Tsars Ivan the Terrible and Peter the Great, and begin to absorb the rebel thought of Herzen and Belinsky, Tolstoy and Kropotkin, the consequences might well be explosive. The end of the war may unloose more demands for genuine "economic democracy," as opposed to the phony Stalinist brand, among the workers and peasants. The Stalin régime, like its Tsarist predecessor, may then face a revolutionary crisis.

But it is exceedingly improbable that Stalin would or could preside over the liquidation of his own totalitarian system. Dictatorships are built for self-perpetuation, not for self-liquidation. Political tyranny, secret police, concentration camps and the rest are not accidental — they are the instruments for retaining power. There is no example in history of the establishment of democracy and liberty through the free gift of an absolute ruler.

True democracy has always emerged from conscious struggle and popular demands, usually backed up with arms in the hands of the people. This is the common pattern of the British Civil War in the seventeenth century, of the American and French Revolutions in the eighteenth. Constitutions that were handed down by the gracious will of a sovereign who remained on the throne have always proved duds in practice.

Besides, tyrants tend to become prisoners of their own system of power. The safety, the very lives, of large numbers of officials and retainers would be endangered by an advance of democracy. Could Hitler, for instance, turn Germany democratic, open prison doors, permit freedom of speech, yet remain in power? Such a thing is no easier to imagine for Stalin. Could he risk permitting millions of embittered political enemies to stream back from concentration camps and internal exile points? Could he survive real freedom of speech, press

and assemblage in a country where nearly every family has suffered the effects of brutal liquidations, purges, politically-made famines?

What makes it especially improbable and even ludicrous that Stalin would be or could be a pioneer of democracy in Russia is that his whole political career has been devoted to stamping out with meticulous care those limited elements of democracy and individual freedom of expression that existed in the Communist Party in the first years of the Soviet régime. In looking up the records of the five Communist Party Congresses that took place under Lenin between 1917 and 1921 one is amazed, in the light of later Soviet conditions, at the amount of freedom and self-respect which the delegates enjoyed. Lenin's leadership was attacked in a way that became unthinkable under Stalin's iron rule.

As Stalin built up more and more arbitrary personal dictatorship, as he eliminated — first politically, then physically — most of the surviving leaders of the Bolshevik Revolution, these Party congresses became less frequent and mere rubber-stamp affairs. It would be out of character, to put it mildly, for Stalin, after systematically destroying by every weapon from the executioner's bullet to the concoction of fantastic slander every leader of an oppositionist tendency within his own party to inaugurate the right of opposition for the whole country. Those who imagine such a thing are, I suspect, victims of their own wishful thinking. A dictator can no more dispense with executions and purges and secret police than a drug addict could dispense with his shot in the arm.

And it is not a case merely of an individual dictator. Many developments of recent years in Russia point to a widening of the gulf between the Soviet ruling class and the masses of the people. I refer to such things as the increasing differences in income, the abolition of free higher education, the restoration of old privileges of rank to army officers, the greater insistence on distinction and subordination in the civil service, etc. It is scarcely possible, short of a miracle, that a ruling class will voluntarily give up such useful weapons of power as the monopolistic control of education and propaganda and the suppression of all independent criticism.

A modern totalitarian ruler, like the old-fashioned traditional absolute sovereign, is the creature as well as the master of his own power-machine. Two of the Tsars of the nineteenth century, Alex-

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ander I and Alexander II, possessed some genuine liberal impulses. But when they tried to translate these impulses into practice they were always frustrated or restricted to inadequate half-measures because of the overwhelming influence of the aristocrats and officials who surrounded them at court. The Autocrat of all the Russias could do practically anything — except liquidate his own autocracy. Stalin, the Autocrat of all the Soviet Republics, is in the same position. His huge machine of political domination and thought-control is a Frankenstein's monster that he could not dismantle. And there is certainly no convincing evidence that he cherishes any such desire.

It is no short or easy thing for a people to recover from a long period of confinement within a totalitarian strait jacket. Even after the fascist régime has been literally blasted out of existence the Italians are obviously obliged to go through a slow and painful process of convalescence before they can effectively resume the long suspended liberties.

It may be that the present war, from which Russia will emerge victorious but greatly weakened by human and material losses, is sapping the foundations of the totalitarian régime. Certainly a Free Russia would be one of the surest guaranties of a free and peaceful world. For all experience shows that the danger of aggressive war is in inverse ratio to the control which a people possesses over its rulers and their actions. *But it is not Stalin's Russia that will go democratic.* Should a Free Russia come into being as a result of developments that we cannot foresee now with any precision, it will not be associated with the name of Stalin, the arch-totalitarian and past-master of Machiavellian power politics at home and abroad.

It is reasonable to expect, sooner or later, some real abatement of terror in the USSR, such as the curbing of the powers of the State Political Police, amnesties and restitution of civil rights for some of the myriad political prisoners, open trials for all who are arrested, and so on. Such developments will be instantly hailed by wishful thinkers as the arrival of "democracy" in Russia. But gratifying as a let-down in terror would be to all friends of freedom, democracy must be measured not negatively but positively — by reference to freedom of speech, press and assemblage and in particular the right to organized political opposition.

AN EXPERIMENTAL PATTERN

SOVIET RUSSIA a welding shop for nationalities

by

Nicholas P. Vakar

THE Versailles Treaty added seven states and two free territorities to the former twenty-one sovereign European states. Some of the newly created states, such as Yugoslavia, embraced as many as ten different national minorities; in another, Poland, they comprised a third of the whole population.

Twenty-five years ago national minorities in Europe were of different degrees of self-consciousness and culture but with the new encouragement they received they all went on growing and growing fast. The more liberal a state was toward them the more demanding they became. To preserve their political integrity, nations tried to check this movement but the more they centralized political power the more agitation they created among the oppressed minorities.

The principles of national self-determination and independence may well be ideals to aim at. But detached from all moral, political and economic considerations, or elevated above them they have proved destructive rather than constructive social forces and—in part at least—were responsible for the present war. It seems obvious, therefore, that postwar planning must this time find a different solution for the minorities problem. It will be up to the leaders of the United Nations to find it. They are hardly likely, however, to do any better in handling the problem in Europe than they have done or are doing now in their own lands.

British and American policies are familiar to us. The Russian experience has long been hidden from most of the rest of the world by a red flag. It is time to draw that flag aside.

Whatever our political creeds and sympathies we must admit that the Western system toppled under the first onslaught whereas the Eastern or Russian system resisted invasion and returned blow for blow —a contrast suggesting that certain elements of Russia's experience in dealing with nationalities may, after this war, be used in or applied to Europe.

Soviet Russia today is composed of sixteen national republics, each of them in turn having various and sometimes very large national minorities. In 1927 the Soviet Academy of Sciences listed 127 different races and nationalities within the Soviet Union. Later on some mistakes were corrected. The census for 1939 officially recognized 49 nationalities. But in November 1942 Moscow newspapers stated that in the list of men and women decorated for heroism during the first fifteen months of the war the "70 different nationalities composing the Soviet Union" were represented. Before the war 8,550 newspapers with an aggregate circulation of 37,520,000 copies were published in 68 languages and dialects.

At the time of the Revolution the Russian Government had to deal with a situation similar to that which the Versailles Peace Conference dealt with in central and eastern Europe and in the Balkans. As a matter of fact Russia had actually split into fourteen independent states, each

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speaking its own language and fighting the central authority.

How was unity saved and maintained? As with all other federations, not without violence. But also and chiefly by the application of sound principles. Paradoxically the solution the Soviet Government applied to the problem was in direct contradiction to communist philosophy—and the problem was solved well. Essentially there is nothing new in the national structure of the Soviet Union. Only the political and economic framework is new. The federation is rooted in centuries of Russian history. The present system is a healthy synthesis of national instincts and the common good.

Nations in the Soviet Union may complain of general political, economic or social conditions or of the inefficiency and brutality of the totalitarian administration —but these affect them all equally. Everybody is treated alike, regardless of racial or national origin. If Soviet Russia is a paradise, as some people aver, citizens get an equal share of love; if Soviet Russia is a hell, as others believe, the pitchforks are as sharp for one as for another.

In the Soviet Government itself various races and nationalities are represented. Stalin is not a Russian but a Georgian. Home Commissar Lavrenti Beria is a Georgian and his colleague, the Foreign Trade Commissar, is an Armenian. Commissar of Communications Kaganovich is a Jew and Marshal Timoshenko is a Ukrainian. It is important to stress that they are members of the Central Government because of individual ability and not as official representatives of their respective nations. Nor are posts in the federal administration assigned according to any system of national quotas.

There are sixteen vice-presidents in the Council of Nationalities in Moscow (one from each Union Republic) and the same man, regardless of his nationality, may be reelected several times to the office of the presidency.

Anti-Semitism, which old Russia borrowed from Germany and Poland, was not widespread among the masses of the people even in czarist times. But what still remained of anti-Semitism in Western Russia and the Ukraine the Soviet Government drastically eradicated. It is true that the Soviet Government destroyed Jewish theological schools, closed synagogues and bitterly fought Zionism as a form of religious nationalism. But this was only a second front in the general battle against religion. The Jews in Russia suffered no more and no less than Christians.

On the other hand, in order to place the Jewish population on the same political and moral footing as all other nationalities, the Government offered them a large territory in Siberia and set up an autonomous Jewish province, Birobijan. Jews were under not the slightest compulsion to go there but many wished to and today in this province, with an area of about 30,000 square miles, there are six large cities and a total population of over 200,000.

Russia today embraces sixteen sovereign states *equal in right and honor*—despite the fact that some of them, like the Russian Union Republic, are almost twice as large as the United States, whereas others are as small as the state of Maryland. Peoples of less developed culture and national consciousness form autonomous republics and autonomous provinces within the boundaries of a union republic. For instance the Russian Union Republic includes the autonomous republics of Buriat-Mongol, Kalmyck, Yakut and others. Prior to 1941 it even included a German autonomous republic with a population of 600,000, of whom 66.4 per cent were German colonists. These people were served by 1,501 German elementary and secondary schools, 86 German high schools, 6 German-language newspapers and 6 German-language magazines. After the Russian-German war began, however, the German population was deported from European Russia to Siberia and Turkestan in order to prevent fifth-columnist activity.

Each of these national units speaks its own language and has considerable cultural freedom—subject, however, to the federal plan covering education. The Russian language was at first taught only as a necessary means of interstate communication. But subsequently it became a powerful instrument for cultural interdependence and unification and since 1937 it has been obligatory in public schools, making all Soviet states *bilingual*.

About 78 per cent of the people of mod-

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ern Russia are Slavs: Great Russians, White Russians and Little Russians or Ukrainians. Together they occupy two-thirds of the entire Soviet territory. Three of the sixteen union republics are 80 per cent Slavic, the greatest being the Russian Union Republic which includes the whole central and northern part of European Russia and all of Siberia.

Autonomous republics and autonomous provinces have their own governments and at the same time participate in the government of the union republic of which they are a part. They also have *direct* representation in the all-Soviet Council of Nationalities in Moscow. This body, a kind of American Senate or League of Nations, is composed of 713 delegates: 25 from each of the 16 union republics, 11 from each of the 22 autonomous republics and 5 from each autonomous province. Of the 713 votes represented, only 25 are allocated to the Russian Republic.

At the same time a Union Council, a kind of house of representatives, is elected directly by the citizens of the entire Soviet Federation on the basis of one deputy for every 300,000 people. On this body the Russians have a majority since they represent 59 per cent of the whole population of the Union.

The two bodies, after the pattern of the American Congress, form the Supreme Council. The Federal Government is responsible to the Supreme Council and accountable to it (Article 65 of the Constitution). All citizens who have reached the age of 18 have the right to vote. Furthermore Article 135 stipulates that "irrespective of race or nationality, religion, standard of education, domicile, social origin, property status or past activity" all such citizens have the right to hold office, if elected. In 1936 the right to nominate candidates was granted to trade unions, cooperatives, youth organizations and cultural societies (Article 141). And even though they are all dominated by the Communist party a large number of non-Communists were nominated and voted into office at the last elections.

Each republic has its own constitution, drawn up in full conformity with the Constitution of the Union. This latter document (Article 13) describes Russia as a federation formed on the basis of voluntary association and equal rights. The sovereignty of a union republic is restricted only by the common limits outlined in the Constitution (Article 15). The federal administration is charged with 23 specific responsibilities, the most important of which are those covering foreign affairs, questions of war and peace, defense, foreign trade, economic planning, education and labor legislation (Article 14).

Outside of these limits each union republic is supposed to exercise state power independently. The Constitution of the Union protects the sovereign rights of the republics (Article 15); the territories of the union republics may not be altered without their consent (Article 18); a union citizenship is established, making every citizen of a union republic a citizen of the whole federation (Article 21). If a union republic finds all this unsatisfactory it has the right freely to secede from the Union (Article 17).

Surprisingly enough the system works. National unity cannot be maintained by violence only, especially in wartime—and the unity of Russia is an obvious fact today. A man in a remote part of Russia, even if he cannot speak Russian, knows that without asking for a visa he can move freely all over the vast empire and that he will everywhere have the same opportunities and disappointments as anybody else. This is very important. If a Pole or a Greek or an Italian could feel he would have as many rights and opportunities everywhere in Europe as he has at home he would certainly become less self-minded, less intransigent and less jealous of his own.

The United States developed within the same framework of voluntary association and equal rights. On a similar basis Bismarck created the German Empire. But in Russia there is a difference. In America, however strongly the new immigrants may be attached to their native land, the original national ties are bound to disappear gradually and to give place to a new national consciousness, that of American citizenship. America is called the *melting pot* of nationalities. In Russia a new national consciousness, that of Russian (or Soviet) citizenship, gradually supplants original national ties and, without destroying them, makes them operate on common ground

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for common good. Russia may be called the *welding shop* of nationalities.

America melts, Russia welds. And Russia is as good a welding shop as the United States is a melting pot. In America national unity is achieved by the voluntary elimination of original traditions, reminiscences and language; in Russia, on the contrary, it is attained by developing various national instincts into a consciousness of being parts of the whole. These are two different ways of manufacturing the same product: a homogeneous community of disparate elements.

How can Russian experience in this particular field be used in organizing postwar Europe? The Russian pattern cannot be used in toto anywhere outside the Soviet Union. But certain principles, certain practical measures can be successfully applied—if not to the whole of Europe at least to some regions. Europe might well establish a common sovereignty and uniform citizenship—with voluntary or compulsory, but *equal,* limitation of the sovereign rights of each national unit for the sake of the common good; mobilize national culture as a means of combating political nationalism; organize the federal economy in such a way that every national group within the union feels itself strongly bound by ties of common interest and common political and economic profit (the various smaller national groups being considered as partners holding equal shares rather than as minorities). Finally, the governing body should be elected both by representatives of national governments and by a direct vote of the entire population. The solution arrived at in Russia is not inseparable from communism. And it furnishes ideas and concrete experience that could profitably be drawn upon in settling similar problems.

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HEARST ANSWERS PRAVDA ATTACKS

Says Stalin Is Trying to Steal Finland, Take Baltic States and Reravish Poland

SOVIET PRESS DENOUNCED

Publisher Also Recalls Time When Russia Was Ally of Hitler in Invasion

William Randolph Hearst charge that Marshal Joseph Stalin was "still trying to steal Finland and absorb the Baltic republics, and reravish Poland" in a column-long reply in The New YorK Journal-American last Sunday to attacks on the American publisher in Pravda, Communist party newspaper of Moscow.

"Marshal Stalin, in his controlled press, calls me a gangster journalist and a friend of Hitler's," Mr. Hearst wrote. "These accusations have their amusing side, coming from a gentleman who is the head of the Communist press—the only gangster press I know. And who was the closest and dearest friend Hitler had until that tratorious ally bertayed him and threw him over and refused any longer to divide the spoils of war with his eager partner?"

Criticizes Soviet Press

Defending his assertion that the Soviet press was a "gangster press," Mr. Hearst asked:

"Does not the Communist press continually and consistently advocate the Communist principles of defiance of law and order, of the violent overthrow of established government, of the extinction in blood and brutality of the well-to-do classes?"

Referring to his charge that Stalin was a friend of Hitler, he demanded:

"Was not the estimable Marshal Stalin, until recently Hitler's best beloved friend and buddy, his accomplice in the invasion of the Baltic republics, his pal in the rape of Finland, his partner in the plunder of Poland?

"Is not the genial Marshal—although assuming an air of superior purity and probity since his break with his pal Hitler—still trying to steal Finland and absorb the Baltic republics and re-ravish Poland?

"A leopard does not change his spots, although deserted by his former hunting companion and dearest friend."

Tells of Hitler Interview

Mr. Hearst said he had seen Hitler only once in his life, and then to interview him for his papers according to his habit of interviewing the conspicuous men in all the countries he visited. His interview was widely published in the English and American press and is available to anyone who wants to read it, he pointed out.

"There is nothing pro-Hitler in it; on the contrary, it is critical," he declared.

Hitler, he said, had been equally critical, making such a "childishly false and foolish" utterance in a speech as: "A gigantic organization of press lies was built up, and again it was a Jewish concern, the Hearst press, which laid down the tone of the agitation against Germany."

Mr. Hearst said that, having never been in Russia, he had never interviewed Marshal Stalin, but was "reserving the Stalin interview for my last interview" because, "from what I know of the amiable Marshal, I imagine it would be."

The attack in Pravda, which appeared last Friday, was signed by David Zaslavsky.

This is a clipping from page 3 of the New York Times for Feb. 22, 1941
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Zaslavsky, Soviet Editor, Details Hearst Aid to Hitler

by N.P.S.

(By Wireless to Inter-Continent News)

MOSCOW, Feb. 27. — William Randolph Hearst, the American newspaper magnate, gets a blistering going-over here by the well-known Soviet journalist, David Zaslavsky.

Writing in **Pravda**, Zaslavsky calls Hearst "Adoph Hitler's American Friend, and takes issue with several recent articles in the New York **Journal-American**, and the New York **Daily Mirror** as representing Hearst's effort to answer the SOS from Adolph Hitler.

Criticizing also articles by the notorious pro-Nazi Hearst correspondent, Karl von Wiegand, the Soviet writer declares that "while the finest sons of Britain, the United States and the USSR are shedding their blood" to defeat Hitler, Hearst's henchmen are "spilling their poisoned ink to undermine the anti-fascist cause and preserve Hitler's gangster den in Europe."

VOICE OF BERLIN

"In a certain newspaper this February, we found an article by a certain Karl von Wiegand warning that the Soviet Union intends to swallow up the Balkan countries, Poland, France, Spain, Germany and northern Italy," Zaslavsky begins.

"Another sheet in January calls Russia the 'inciter of the present world war' and appeals to the United States and Britain to break off relations with the Soviet Union and prepare a new world war against the Soviet people.

"There would be nothing astonishing about this if the first paper were published in Berlin and were called the 'Volkischer Beobachter' and the second were called 'Das Schwarze Korps.'

"But, the former is called the **Journal-American** and the second the **Daily Mirror**, both published in New York, while Karl von Weigand is one of the prostitute journalists in the service of William Randolph Hearst.

"Hearst has long become not merely the name but the synonym for disgrace. Time and again, United States Senate commissions investigated the activities of Hearst which have bordered on crime and treason.

"During the first World War there was a charge against Hearst of receiving huge sums from Germany for enemy, anti-American propaganda.

"In 1916, the Hearst newspaper correspondents in Britain and France were deprived of the use of the telegraph because they were suspected of contact with the Germans.

"It stands to reason that Hearst is the bulwark of the blackest reaction in the United States, and when the fascist gangsters came to power in Germany, Hearst was irresistibly drawn to Germany.

HITLER'S HONOR GUEST

He was Hitler's guest of honor at the Nuremberg Congress in 1934. There, he made personal and very close acquaintance with all the ring leaders of the Hitlerite gang.

"He was readily taken into their confidence as regards their bandit plans and preparations for a world war. In his writings, he was full of admiration for Hitler's Alfred Rosenberg.

"Returning from Germany, Hearst came out as an open friend of Hitler and a preacher of the Hitlerite policy and fascist methods. He started a violent campaign against American democracy and culture, against the American working class and intelligentsia. This was the unadulterated fascist campaign.

"The open demonstration of the connection of American fascism with the Germans evoked an outburst of public indignation against Hearst in 1935-36.

"In a joint statement, the representatives of 15 American universities wrote that the Hearst campaign represents a deliberate and shameless attempt to introduce into

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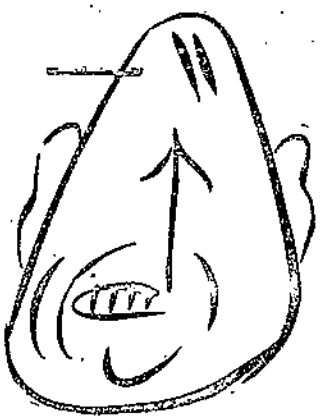

WILLIAM RANDOLPH HEARST

the educational system methods of terror, characteristic of fascist Germany.

"Time and again, Hearst was exposed and pillorized.

ON HITLER'S SIDE

"But he was saved as the war was started in Europe. Apparently, some people found him and his press useful. When Hitler Germany embarked upon its predatory imperialist war against the democratic states of Europe, Hearst immediately took Hitler's side.

"The day of Hitler Germany's predatory attack on the Soviet Union was a day of joy for all of Hearst's pack. The New York Journal and American wrote that **'the war between the Soviet Union and Germany is merely a natural conflict in the whole of the European situation.' . . . Let us hope, the paper wrote, 'that peace in the West will be established and Europe will unite against the expansion of Asiatic Communism.'**

"Worshipping Hitler and carrying out his orders, Hearst screamed that the Red Army would be destroyed in the very near future. He viciously opposed American aid to the Soviet Union and every manifestation of solidarity in the struggle against Hitlerism.

"The Germans advertised their connections with Hearst. On August 16, 1941, the German Information Bureau widely circulated an Hearst article which concluded: **'Americans know that the Soviet Union will cease to exist possibly even before the end of this year. Consequently, what idiot, will lean on a branch that it is liable to break down at any moment and fall to the ground."**

"That 'branch' however, did not break down nor fall. On the contrary, it was the predatory Hitler horde that broke against the Soviet 'branch' and all who pinned their hopes and plans on the invincibility on the Hitlerite army fell with it.

"To his merited name of a press gangster, Hearst added the equally merited nickname of idiot, to use his own words.

"The United States entry into the war obliged Hearst to slightly repaint his fascist facade. In a chase after profits and circulation, he began to utter false, patriotic screams. But this did not prevent him, contrary to the policy of the United States government and the sentiments of the overwhelming majority of the American people, from conducting propaganda to undermine the anti-Hitlerite coalition.

"In the autumn of 1941, the Hearst press conducted a violent campaign against the agreement with the Soviet Union, against any support to the Red Army and against decisive action by Britain and the United States.

"Hearst called upon Britain to conclude peace with the fascist brigands. Lately, there has been a marked intensification of Hearst's anti-Soviet pro-Hitlerite campaign.

"From Berlin, Adolph sends SOS messages to his trans-Atlantic friend. And Randolph opens up all the flood gates of his corrupt outfit.

"In November, 1943, the Hearst press was circulating the wildest, indecent fables about the Moscow Conference, which were exact replicas of Berlin inventions.

"In December, the Hearst press burst forth in a frenzy of barking and screaming against the Soviet-Czechoslovak agreement. In January, 1944, the Hearst press, on orders from Berlin to smear the Soviet Union; ascribed to the Soviet Union the intention of swallowing up Poland.

HITLERITE GANGSTER

"In February, the Hearst press, in a thoroughly hooligan manner and in full accord with the tune of the Hitlerite press commented on the changes in the Soviet Constitution. He demanded the cancellation of the second front.

"That is how the Hearst press is fulfilling its friendly obligations to Hitler Germany. **At a time when all the freedom-loving peoples are straining their strength to strike a decisive blow at Hitlerism, a section of the American press, directed by Hitler's old bosom-friend and accomplice is trying to save the doomed gangster regime of terror and oppression of peoples.**

"The finest sons of Britain, the United States and the USSR are shedding their blood on the fields of battle for the freedom and the independence of their peoples, for the salvation of mankind, democracy and justice.

"At the same time, Hearst's henchmen are spilling their poisoned ink with the object of undermining the great cause of the anti-Hitlerite coalition and of preserving the Hitlerite gangster den in Europe."

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The New Russian Enigma

THE SOVIET UNION has a penchant for surprising the world. It did so most effectively with its February 1 constitutional amendment permitting each of the sixteen Soviet republics to have independent international relations and sign treaties with foreign powers. Coupled with this was a decision to convert the Red Army into sixteen federated republican armies, each with a commissar of defense. Taken in connection with the constitutional right of secession, these steps looked to many Americans as if Stalin was gambling for high international stakes, even risking the dissolution of the Union for the ends in view.

The move has been interpreted all the way from a crudely clever scheme to get sixteen votes in a world organization, to a device for annexing the smaller states of Europe (that was the Nazi radio explanation), or, in the other direction, to a conversion of the Soviet Union into something resembling the British Commonwealth of Nations. The first step in trying to fathom the international significance of the move is to see how far it can be explained in terms of internal policy. Since it is axiomatic that the Soviet leaders have no intention of weakening or dissolving the USSR, it is necessary to ask why they think it is safe to take these steps. In my opinion there are three reasons.

First. The new autonomy does not extend to economic affairs or to the Communist Party, which directs government and industry throughout the Soviet Union. The sixteen republics will continue to have a centralized socialistic economy directed from Moscow. The directing force will continue to be a political party headed either by a dictator or by a small governing body made self-perpetuating by its control of the pyramided soviets below it. As long as centralized socialism exists, those who direct it will control all of the regional governments. Any international move contrary to the will of the Supreme Soviet, any refusal of military coöperation, any attempt to exercise the right of secession, will be branded as counter-revolutionary. The government that attempts it will be removed at once, either by party action or military power.

Great Russia—the RSFSR—contains 110,000,000 people against 31,000,000 in the pre-1940 Ukrainian SSR and 6,000,000 in the third largest, Uzbek. Successful counter-revolution, or anything that may be labeled counter-revolution, in these lesser republics is impossible except as an incident to foreign wars. Counter-revolution in Great Russia does not depend on regional rights, and its secession would not be secession, but expulsion of the others.

Second. The Soviet Union has pursued so broad and tolerant a policy in regard to national minorities that only the fire of war was needed to cement them into

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an apparently indissoluble union. This unity existed, or at least I had the feeling that it did, before the war, for on returning to the United States in September, 1939, after visiting Russia in July, I wrote the following to a high executive of our government:

> The thing that most impressed me in Russia was that the country was stronger defensively than it was credited with being. . . . Two other [than the army and heavy industry] sources of strength are the improved food situation and the absence of nationalist separatist movements—the Soviet policy of toleration toward non-Russian national minorities is paying dividends. It is only in the light of these facts that present Russian policy can be appraised. Russia has shifted from a policy based on weakness to one based on strength . . . and feels strong enough to stand alone against Hitler after Germany has been weakened by the campaign in the west.

To that I would add an extract from an article, "The Source of the Red Army's Strength," by I. Verkhovtsev, published on June 22, 1943, the second anniversary of Hitler's invasion of Russia: "In these two years of war the friendship of the peoples of the Soviet Union has undergone a severe test and is now stronger than ever. The active support of the millions of peoples of all nationalities inhabiting the Soviet Union is the inexhaustible force which makes the Red Army strong."

Third. When a socialist system is fully established, as it is in the Soviet Union, the political forces engendered by it are centripetal. They tend to draw the parts together by making them mutually independent, by dissolving sectional and racial economic rivalries and by turning individual rivalries into a competition for place and power inside the organized state economy. This contrasts strongly, and in a manner totally foreign to American experience, with the centrifugal force engendered by our competitive capitalism, out of which come intense sectional jealousies and the constant need to strike down state laws in the federal courts.

Taking account of these three factors, it appears that Stalin and company see no internal hazard whatever in the grants of sovereignty they are making to the individual republics. With no centrifugal force operating in the economic field, Russia feels able to take steps safely which, if taken in the United States, would revive on a larger scale the lament of George Washington in 1780: "I see one head gradually changing into thirteen. I see one army branching into thirteen. . . . I see the powers of Congress declining . . . and am fearful of the consequences of it."

How great will these grants seem to the sixteen Russian republics? Probably very slight additions to an autonomy which they regard as national but is only

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cultural. Read, for instance, a 1943 description by Pavlo Tychina, deputy to the Supreme Soviet of the Ukraine, of the past and present political status of the Ukrainian SSR:

> After the Great October Revolution the Ukraine became free and in the full sense of that word, independent, for she is an equal member of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. This equality, this independence, enabled the Soviet Ukraine to develop thoroughly her industry, science and literature; enabled her to live a full-blooded political life and to become an object of admiration to all the peoples of the world.

That should be read not for its accuracy—since it lumps together, as independence, a genuine cultural autonomy and Moscow's direction over industry—but for the feeling in it. From such a background, the right of the Ukraine to deal with foreign nations and to have a commissar of defense for Ukrainian armies must appear as a moderate but pleasing extension of national privileges. The first effect is to fortify that "friendship of the Soviet peoples" about which Russians are always orating, but which has back of it, in addition to sentiment, a firm federal structure on multi-national lines, with an all-powerful economic and political dictatorship at the center. For the fourteen lesser republics, the new international system may be more significant as a matter of national privilege, but even less so as a factor of power. In all of them, the one unmistakable purpose and assured effect is to strengthen the spirit of voluntary union, without noticeably lessening the compulsory ties. The change for the Red Army is slight. It is already organized, for convenience and morale, along racial and language lines, and these substantially coincide with the various republics, except in the Siberian maze. It avoids a multi-lingual requirement in officers and men.

What conclusions can be drawn from this analysis of the relationship of Soviet reorganization to the multi-national state and centralized economic control?

It is evident first of all that state socialism, managed by a strong central government, is looked upon as permanent in Russia. Its abandonment would bring into play the centrifugal force of competitive capitalism and would leave only the military power of the main Russian republic, and the sense of common danger and devotion to "mother Russia," to hold the Soviet Union together. Such a reliance might prove sufficient, but if there were any thought of moving toward it, the present changes would not be made. They would be too dangerous.

Next, the move confirms the belief I expressed in "Road to Peace and Freedom," that Soviet Russia would not seek to bring a communized Germany into the USSR. My statement that "the entrance of Germany into the Soviet Union would be like a man swallowing a cannon ball" would apply with multiplied

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validity to a system in which Germany, thus incorporated, would have a separate army and independent foreign relations.

The final definite conclusion is that Soviet Russia has no intention of entering upon a policy of expansion by military force outside the boundaries of the old Russian empire. A system of autonomy as complete as this one does not fit subjugated countries, nor countries in process of transition to socialism, for in the latter the vertical cleavages of the class struggle accentuate the centrifugal force of "free enterprise." If Russia were planning the absorption of Europe by force, every diplomatic move that could cause uneasiness would be avoided until the war was over and the Allied armies had gone home.

As a tentative conclusion, it may be doubted that the step is being taken to give the Soviet Union sixteen votes at the peace table or in a world organization. That would put it on the level of a crude trick, which a nation as powerful as Russia has no need to employ, and which would cost more in lowered prestige and confidence than it would gain in voting power. At the same time, it might be exceedingly useful to Stalin when he comes to discuss the single or multiple status of the British Commonwealth of Nations in a world body. Its most probable use in that respect is as an argument for some agreed ratio of multiple votes for Russia, the British nations, the United States and China in the postwar organization—but only as a by-product of the plan, not as the motive for its adoption.

Finally, we come to the most important conclusion of all, but it can only be stated as a question. Is the move intended to facilitate the voluntary entrance of European states into the Soviet Union?

Time alone will answer that question conclusively. At present it is only possible to point to the "yes" and "no" factors. On the affirmative side is the fact that such states as Bulgaria and Rumania seem almost inevitable additions to the Soviet system, by virtue of race, geography and social and economic conditions, and that a movement by one Balkan or central European country into the Russian orbit can easily start a defensive rush for affiliation by all the others.

Against the likelihood that this represents a planned Soviet drive for voluntary affiliation is, first, the fact that these rights of autonomy would have no appeal to a non-communist state which had real freedom of action. In such a state, the issue of affiliation would turn on the same revolutionary conflict between landlord and peasant, state socialism and private business, that was fought out in Russia a generation ago.

Second, there is enough warrant for the new autonomy in the internal affairs of the Soviet Union, and in the known issues of the coming peace conference, to minimize, even though it does not wholly remove, the likelihood that the purpose is to aid a general policy of territorial expansion beyond present claims.

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It will be far easier for Soviet Russia to obtain American recognition of Soviet sovereignty in Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania—tsarist provinces which were lost in 1921, regained in 1939, lost in 1941—if those countries, as autonomous members of the Soviet Union, merely send new ministers to supplant the diplomatic representatives who have held over from prewar days. However, the reasoning works in both direction, because it would also be true if a country like Bulgaria voluntarily entered the Soviet Union. We may reject the idea that any such scheme, affecting the whole Soviet Union, was adopted merely to lure the Baltic provinces.

The real use of this new autonomy—the only legitimate use that can be found for it, outside of the satisfaction it gives to all minor Soviet nationalities—is in diplomatic exchange and local treaties with countries bordering on the various Soviet republics, and in consular relations with emigrant groups. There it is useful only in dealing with foreign governments reasonably friendly toward Moscow. The Finnish-tongued Karelian SSR could deal more easily with Finland than the Soviet Union could, provided the larger Russo-Finnish relationship was satisfactory. At this moment, the blood relationship would only sharpen the conflict by bringing in the irredentist factor. The same would be true of a minor diplomat sent by the Moldavian SSR into Rumania, or White Russian and Ukrainian embassies to Poland—the major conflicts must be cleared up before the local uses can be realized. A Ukrainian consulate in Chicago would have immediate value to the Soviets.

On balance, the autonomous system appears to have more value as a long-range aid to peaceful relations of the Soviets with their neighbors, and to the self-satisfaction of the many nationalities which make up the Soviet Union, than as an instrument of Soviet expansion. In the latter field its utility is minimized by the fact that no such aid is necessary to bring a foreign Communist state into the Soviet Union, nor is it strong enough to bring a non-Communist state in. That would require the play of forces—such as the national rivalries in the Balkans—powerful enough to break down economic and social inhibitions.

We must recognize, however, that peaceful relations between Soviet Russia and small neighbors can easily develop into affiliation, when accompanied by contact between a gigantic, expanding national economy stretching across two continents, and a subcontinent in political and economic chaos. Perhaps the main reason for thinking that the Soviet move is related chiefly to the multi-national state and border problems is that the results feared outside of Russia are more likely to come to pass regardless of this move than because of it. It is least useful in the field where we are inclined to fear its use.

One thing we may be sure of. The importance of such a move is almost certain to be exaggerated in the United States because we see in it the tremendous disruptive force, and hence the hazard, which it would have if employed in a federal union like ours, with the diffusive drive of a capitalist economy.

IRVING BRANT

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HEARST ATTACKED BY PRAVDA WRITER

Russian Communist Sees Plan 'to Wreck Cause of the Anti-Hitlerite Coalition'

6

By W. H. LAWRENCE

By Cable to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

MOSCOW, Feb. 25 — Pravda, the Communist party newspaper, charged today that the newspaper assistants of William Randolph Hearst "are spilling poisoned ink to wreck the great cause of the anti-Hitler coalition and to preserve the bandit Hitlerite nest in Europe."

The author of the slashing attack is David Zaslavsky, who was particularly incensed by a Karl von Wiegand article in The New York Journal-American which Pravda said "screams that the Soviet Union intends to annex the Balkan countries, Poland, France, Spain, Germany and Northern Italy, and declared it would not be surprising if it had been edited in the violent ward of a lunatic asylum or published in Berlin.

Mr. Zaslavsky also took issue with an editorial in The New York Daily Mirror that called Russia "the instigator of the present World War" and urged, according to Mr. Zaslavsky, that the United States and Britain "rupture relations with the Soviet Union and prepare for a new World War—against the Soviet people."

Sees Fight on Democracy

Mr. Zaslavsky attacked Mr. Hearst as "the bulwark of the blackest reaction in the United States and a mortal enemy of American democracy" and said he had long been a leader of "a fierce assault against American democracy and culture and against the American working class and intelligentsia." He asserted that Mr. Hearst's warnings in 1941 that the United States should not aid the Soviet Union because it would soon collapse ha searned him the description of "idiot" as well as that of "newspaper gangster."

The article reviews the anti-Hearst campaigns conducted by various groups in America and recalls the withdrawal of telegraphic privileges from Hearst correspondents in England and France in 1916 because they were "suspected of relations with the Germans."

Since America entered the present war, Mr. Zaslavsky said, Mr. Hearst had been forced "to repaint somewhat his Fascist façade" and "in the search for profit he began to utter false patriotic cries" but did not desist from carrying on, "contrary to the policy of the Government of the United States and the feelings of the overwhelming majority of the American people, a propaganda campaign directed toward the collapse of the anti-Hitlerite coalition."

Charges "SOS" From Hitler

Mr. Zaslavsky said that Mr. Hearst recently inaugurated a new anti-Soviet, pro-Hitlerite campaign in response to "SOS" cries from Adolf in Berlin to his friend across the ocean. In this connection Mr. Zaslavsky cited Hearst editorials concerning the Moscow conference, the Czechoslovak-Soviet Union treaty, the Polish question and the recent changes in the Soviet constitution, which he said included statements that the Soviet Union had organized "a cynical plot to defeat its allies around the peace table at a time when all freedom-loving peoples were straining their forces to strike a decisive blow to Hitlerism, the worst eweny of humanity."

Mr. Zaslavsky concluded:

"The best sons of England, the United States and the U.S.S.R. are shedding their blood on battlefields in the name of freedom and independence of peoples, in the name of the salvation of humanity, in the name of democracy and justice. At the same time the assistants of Hearst are spilling poisoned ink to wreck the great cause of anti-Hitlerite coalition and to preserve the bandit ~~Hitlerite~~ nest ~~in Europe~~."

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A People of Heroes and Warriors

By Dimitri Manuilsky

(By Wireless to Inter-Continent News)

MOSCOW, Feb. 25. — Russia was never pampered by fate. Russia never was a fairyland flowing with milk and honey. The multi-national people inhabiting Russia earned their daily bread by the sweat of their brow. Russia in the past had landlords, but they did not represent the countenance of our country. There were bazaars, fairs and merchants in Russia, but the Russian people were never a people of merchants. They were always a warrior people, a Spartan people, in the most noble sense of this word.

And precisely because they were a truly warrior people, they despised and hated with their whole being the pompous, inflated, insolent and robber Prussian militarism.

Russia never was defended by a foreigner. She defended her own country, her multi-national people not sparing her blood nor the lives of her sons. However, when defending themselves, our people defended also others. They protected the European countries against the invasion of the Mongolians, protected the peoples of Asia against the enslavement by "our knights" who were pushing to the east.

NAPOLEON'S DEFEAT

The great state, stretching over an area of nearly 22 million square kilometers, washed by dozens of seas and two oceans, and today known as the powerful Soviet Union, was built up on the blood of our fathers and forefathers. This is not an historical accident. Only a warrior people, a people of heroes, could create such a state and create it in conditions when the feudal princes were fighting among themselves, at a time when conquerors were moving over the Russian soil, when the ruling classes of old Russia, in the course of centuries, had stifled the springs of creative strength. Under Kutuzov, the Russian peasant army inflicted crushing defeat on Napoleon. When Wilhelm the Second launched his predatory campaign against Russia, he had his "fifth column" in the Czar's court.

The rotten regime of Czarism, with its whole being, objectively helped the German imperialists in their predatory plans. But our multi-national people did not reconcile themselves as the German fascist hirelings are reconciling themselves to their arch-reactionary regime for our people was a people of heroes and not a people of slaves.

They overthrow the Czarist throne and social order which prevented them from straightening their sturdy back and defended their country. The October Revolution was an unexampled act of intrepidity of the entire people. Our people, when they started the October Revolution, did not move along a blazed trail. All the old models of revolution which the Menshevik penguins tried to palm off on our people were for very good reasons thrust aside by them. The working class of our country did not possess the economic foundation built up in the old society as had the bourgeoisie during the bourgeois revolution of last century. They had to erect a mighty edifice of the new socialist society starting from the foundation.

MILITARY VALOR

Our people boldly moved along their path without looking back. They moved with such confidence because they were led by the Bolshevik Party, itself a noble offspring of boldness of thought, civic courage, bravery in action and military valor. All of the best produced by our people in age-old struggle, crystallized like gold, washed of slag, into the Bolshevik Party.

The brilliant leaders of the Party and people, Lenin and Stalin, realized better than anybody else the great difficulties standing in the way, but they, the greatest heroes of a people of heroes, had faith in their people and were confident that they would stand the test, that mountains could be moved with them.

They armed the Bolshevik Party with this invincible confidence and at its head tirelessly educated and steeled the people, developing and perfecting in them the qualities of a warrior people, a people of heroes. However, heroism alone, was not enough.

In order to make the Soviet people what they have become, it was necessary to clothe their heroism in steel and concrete. Stalin said that economically our country was fifty to a hundred years behind. The Stalin Five Year Plan periods and the selfless efforts of our people, enabled the country successfully to overcome this backwardness.

The Stalin Five Year Plan periods were at the same time a school in nationwide heroism and labor competition among individuals and whole groups. The men of Stalingrad, the defenders of Moscow and the city of Lenin, whose courage today has evoked the admiration of the whole world, are the same people who constructed blast furnaces, plants, canals, drained swamps, and built collective farms.

GIANT'S STATURE

It was they who made labor a "thing of honor, valor and heroism" in our country. And when the foul enemy overran our country in 1941, the Soviet people rose to their giant's stature. The universal historical exploit, determining the entire future development of the Soviet country and the dastiny of mankind, is that the Soviet people in single combat "stood to the death" against imperialist Germany and her vassals.

And they not only withstood the onslaught. Their Red Army hurled itself against the enemy, striking it death dealing blows. Never in centuries to come, will the Germans forget their campaign against Russia.

Yesterday Salingrad, today Korsun - Shevchenkovsky, tomorrow every kilometre of Russian soil will become a Stalingrad for the German fascist fiends. This shall be so despite all the difficulties and battles that still lie ahead.

On the eve of the 26th anniversary of the Red Army, numerous friends of the Soviet country abroad pay tribute to the Soviet people, to their courageous warriors, to their wise generals.

The merit of Stalin, greatest general in the history of peoples, the greatest transformer of our country, is that he is turning possibilities into realities. In great battles he is reshaping with an iron hand this reality in such a manner as to secure for us, our contemporaries and posterity the grandeur of our country, the grandeur of the Soviet people, the grandeur of the Soviet state.

Daily Worker Feb. 26, 1944 p. 6

Mr. Mc:
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EMBASSY OF THE UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS

Information Bulletin

(Issued Three Times Weekly)

Vol. IV, No. 24 Washington, D. C., February 26, 1944 75

STALIN'S ORDER OF THE DAY

No. 16: Moscow

Order of the Day of the Supreme Commander-in-Chief:

Comrades Red Army men and Red Navy men, sergeants, officers and generals, men and women guerrillas!

The peoples of our country meet the 26th Anniversary of the Red Army in the midst of the historical victories of Soviet troops over the German-fascist troops. For over a year the Red Army has been conducting a victorious offensive, battering the armies of the Hitlerite invaders and sweeping them off Soviet soil. During this period the Red Army successfully carried out the winter campaign of 1942–43, won the summer battles of 1943 and developed the victorious winter offensive of 1943–44.

In these campaigns without parallel in the history of wars, the Red Army made a fighting advance to the west of up to 1,700 kilometers at places and cleared the enemy from nearly three-fourths of the Soviet territory he had captured.

In the course of the present winter campaign the Red Army liquidated the powerful defense of the Germans all along the Dnieper, from Zhlobin to Kherson, and thereby upset the Germans' calculations on the successful conduct of protracted defensive war on the Soviet-German front.

Within the three months of the winter campaign our gallant troops have won most important victories on the territories of the Ukraine west of the Dnieper; completed the liberation of the Kiev, Dniepropetrovsk and Zaporozhye Regions; liberated the entire Zhitomir Region and almost the whole of the Rovno and Kirovograd Regions, as well as a number of districts of the Vinnitsa, Nikolayev, Kamenetz-Podolsk and Volynia Regions. By resolute actions the Red Army liquidated the attempts of a German counter-offensive in the Zhitomir, Krivoi Rog and Uman areas. Soviet troops arranged a new Stalingrad for the Germans west of the Dnieper by surrounding and wiping out 10 German divisions and one brigade in the Korsun-Shevchenkovsky area.

A great victory has been won by Soviet troops at Leningrad. Our troops broke the powerful system of permanent, deeply-echeloned fortifications of the enemy, routed a strong grouping of German troops and completely freed Leningrad from enemy blockade and barbarous shellings. Soviet soldiers are completing the clearing of the Leningrad and Kalinin Regions of the fascist fiends and have set foot on the soil of Soviet Estonia. The mass expulsion of the occupationists from Soviet Byelorussia is under way: the Gomel and Polessye Regions have been nearly wholly liberated, as well as a number of districts of the Mogilev and Vitebsk Regions.

Under the unfavorable conditions of the present winter, having overcome the powerful defensive zones of the enemy, our troops within the three months of the winter campaign cleared of the invaders about 200,000 square kilometers of Soviet soil. The Red Army recaptured from the enemy over 13,000 inhabited localities, including 82 towns and 320 railway stations. New millions of Soviet citizens have been delivered from fascist captivity. Important agricultural and industrial areas with the richest resources of iron ore and manganese have been restored to our motherland. The Germans have lost these economically important areas to which they clung so desperately.

Now it is probably already obvious to everyone that Hitlerite Germany is irresistibly heading for catastrophe. True, the conditions for the prosecution of war in the present war are more favorable for Germany than during the last World War, when from the very beginning to the end of the war she waged a struggle on two fronts. However, a great drawback for Germany is the fact that in this war the Soviet Union proved to be much stronger than old Tsarist Russia was in the last war.

In the First World War six great powers—France, Russia, Great Britain, the United States of America, Japan and Italy—fought on two fronts against the German bloc. In the present war Italy and Japan went

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over to Germany's side, Finland joined the fascist bloc, Rumania, who in the last war fought against Germany, passed over, and up to the present Germany's main forces are still engaged on one front against the Soviet Union.

It is known from history that Germany always won a war when she fought on one front and, on the contrary, lost a war when she was forced to fight on two fronts. In the present war Germany, though fighting with her main forces on one front against the USSR, nevertheless not only proved unable to score a victory but has been placed on the verge of disaster by the powerful blows of the armed forces of the Soviet Union. If the Soviet Union fighting single-handed not only withstood the onslaught of the German war machine, but also inflicted decisive defeats upon the German-fascist troops, all the more hopeless will be the situation of Hitlerite Germany when the main forces of our Allies join in action and the powerful and growing offensive of the armies of all the Allied States develops against Hitlerite Germany.

The German-fascist brigands are now tossing about in search of ways to save themselves from disaster. Again they jumped at "total" mobilization in the rear, although Germany's manpower resources are depleted. The fascist ringleaders make desperate attempts to provoke discord in the camp of the anti-Hitler coalition and thereby to drag out the war. Hitlerite diplomats rush from one neutral country to another, strive to establish contacts with pro-Hitler elements, hinting at the possibility of a separate peace now with our State, now with our Allies.

All these subterfuges of the Hitlerites are doomed to failure, as the anti-Hitler coalition is founded on the vital interests of the Allies, who have set themselves the task of smashing Hitlerite Germany and her associates in Europe. It is this very community of basic interests that results in the consolidation of the fighting alliance of the USSR, Great Britain and the United States in the progress of the war. The hour is nearing of final reckoning for all the crimes committed by the Hitlerites on Soviet soil and in the occupied countries of Europe.

The victorious offensive of the Red Army became possible thanks to the new labor exploits of the Soviet people in all branches of our national economy. The working people of the Soviet Union buttressed the summer victories of the Red Army on the fronts with new production victories in the rear. Workers of our industry fulfil before the scheduled time and exceed programs fixed by the State; put into commission new factories, blast-furnaces and power stations; restore in the liberated districts at unparalleled speed the industry demolished by the occupationists.

The heroic efforts of the working class further strengthen the military material base of the Red Army and thus hasten the hour of our final victory. Soviet peasantry supplies the State with food for the Army and cities, with raw materials for industry and renders self-denying support to the Red Army. Soviet intelligentsia renders direct leading aid to the workers and peasants in developing production and meeting the requirements of the Red Army. The working people of the liberated districts daily extend their assistance to the Red Army—their liberator—and add the production of factories and agriculture undergoing restoration to the general stream of front-bound supplies. There is no doubt but that in the future, too, by its heroic labor and by the exertion of all its efforts, the Soviet people will insure the continuous growth of the productive forces of the country for the earliest and final defeat of the German-fascist invaders.

The creation of new army formations in the Union Republics, which has been prepared by the fighting companionship of the peoples of the USSR in the Patriotic War and by the entire history of our State, will further strengthen the Red Army and will add new fighting forces to its ranks.

Comrades Red Army men, Red Navy men, sergeants, officers and generals, comrades men and women guerrillas!

In the great war of liberation for the freedom and independence of our motherland you have displayed miracles of heroism. The Red Army has achieved a resolute turn in the course of the war in our favor and now marches confidently toward final victory over the enemy. The enemy suffers one defeat after another.

However, he has not yet been smashed. Seeing approaching doom and the inevitability of retribution for all the monstrous crimes they committed on our soil, the Hitlerite bandits resist with the fury of doomed men. They hurl into battle their last forces and reserves, cling to every meter of Soviet ground, to every advantageous line. For this very reason, no matter how great our successes, we must, just as before, soberly appraise the enemy's strength, be vigilant not to permit self-conceit, complacency and heedlessness in our ranks. There has been no instance as yet in the history of wars of the enemy jumping into the abyss of himself. To win a war one must lead the enemy to the abyss and push him into it. Only shattering blows steadily growing in their power can crush the resistance of the enemy and bring us to final victory.

With this end in view it is necessary to continue to perfect the combat training of the men and the military art of the commanders of our Army. It is the duty of the Red Army to daily raise its military art to a higher level, incessantly and thoroughly to study the enemy's tactics, skilfully and in time to unriddle his insidious tricks, and oppose our own more perfect tactics to the enemy tactics. It is necessary that the combat experience and achievements

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of the foremost units and formations of the Red Army become the possession of all our troops, that the entire Red Army, all its men and officers, learn to batter the enemy in accordance with all the rules of modern military science.

Comrades Red Army men and Red Navy men, sergeants, officers and generals, men and women guerrillas! Greeting and congratulating you upon the 26th Anniversary of the Red Army, I order:

1. All rank and file and sergeants' personnel—infantrymen, mortar gunners, artillerymen, fliers, tankmen, sappers, signalmen, cavalrymen—to continue indefatigably to perfect their combat skill, to make full use of our splendid fighting equipment, to batter the enemy in the way he is battered by our glorious Guardsmen, to carry out precisely the orders of commanders, to strengthen discipline and order, to enhance organization.

2. Officers and generals of all arms—to perfect the art of direction of troops, the tactics of maneuvering, the interaction of all arms in the course of battle, to apply more boldly and widely the experience of the advanced units and formations of Guards in combat practice, to raise to a higher level the quality of the staff work and the work of the army rear establishments, to improve and develop our reconnaissance by every means.

3. The entire Red Army—by a skilful combination of fire and maneuver to break up the enemy's defense in its entire depth, to give the enemy no respite, to suppress in time enemy attempts to stem our offensive by counter-attacks, skilfully to organize the pursuit of the enemy, not to allow him to carry away his equipment, by bold maneuver to envelop the flanks of the enemy's troops, to break through to the enemy rear, to surround the enemy's troops, to split and wipe them out if they refuse to down arms.

4. Men and women guerrillas—to increase assistance to the Red Army, to raid the enemy's headquarters and garrisons, to batter his rear establishments, to disrupt his communications and signal service, to deprive him of the possibility of bringing up his reserves.

5. To mark the great victories won by the armed forces of the Soviet State in the course of the past year, today, February 23, on the day of the 26th Anniversary of the Red Army, at 6 P.M., the valiant troops of the Red Army shall be saluted in Moscow, Leningrad, Kiev, Dniepropetrovsk, Gomel and Rostov with 20 gun salvos.

Glory to our victorious Red Army!

Glory to Soviet arms!

Glory to our gallant men and women guerrillas!

Long live our great Soviet motherland!

Long live our Communist Party of the Soviet Union—inspirer and organizer of the great victories of the Red Army!

Death to the German invaders!

(Signed) SUPREME COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF,
MARSHAL OF THE SOVIET UNION STALIN

Moscow, February 23, 1944

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Stalin Says Reich Seeks Neutral Aid to Win Peace

Premier Stalin said last night, in an order of the day issued on the eve of the twenty-sixth anniversary of the Red Army, that German diplomats were "rushing from one neutral country to another" in an effort to start negotiations leading to a separate peace with Russia or the western Allies, but that these "tricks" were doomed to failure.

The order, broadcast by the Moscow radio, was reported to the Office of War Information.

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EMBASSY OF THE UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS

Information Bulletin

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1918 1944

26 YEARS
of the RED ARMY and NAVY

Feb. 23, 1944 p. 1-8.

Lenin and Stalin—Organizers of the Red Army

By Major General M. Galaktionov

As far back as the time of the first Russian Revolution (1905), Lenin's powerful mind envisaged the principles of the creation of an armed force of the people, liberated from the shackles of slavery. The people who had defeated the autocracy would create its own State, its people's army which "must in practice supply the military knowledge and military weapons to decide the entire further destiny of the Russian people." Unshakable moral strength drawn from the thick of the popular masses, military organization, and lastly, military technique and knowledge—these were the principles which Lenin laid down for the creation of a future people's army.

The building up of the armed forces of the Soviet State took place amid war, famine and economic ruin. Of that period Stalin said: "It was amid the fire of war that we organized the Red Army and made our country a military camp. The spirit of the great Lenin inspired us then to war against the interventionist invaders. And what was the result? We routed the invaders, recovered all the lost territory and achieved victory."

The strength of the young Red Army lay primarily in the heroism and enthusiasm of its men, in whom was expressed the great upsurge of spirit of the popular masses, who had risen to struggle for the freedom and independence of their Soviet homeland. This moral force of the Red Army as a true people's army enabled its newly-formed, unconsolidated and poorly-armed detachments to beat back the onslaught of the German troops pushing toward Petrograd, and to rout them at Pskov and Narva.

"But enthusiasm alone is not sufficient for waging war against an enemy such as German imperialism," Lenin wrote on March 1, 1918. "To wage war in real, earnest fashion we must have a strong, organized army. The best army of men most devoted to the cause of the Revolution will be immediately wiped out by the enemy unless they are sufficiently well-armed, supplied with provisions and trained. That is so obvious as to need no further explanation . . . In the face of the enemy's attack, our army is beginning more realistically rebuild . . . The Red Army unquestionably represents splendid fighting material; as it is raw material and unwrought. It is not to become cannon fodder for German guns, it must be trained and disciplined."

In the course of the Civil War there grew up an organized and disciplined Red Army consisting of millions, who fought on numerous fronts, united by firm, strategic leadership. The mind and will of two titans—Lenin and Stalin—accomplished the vast work of organizing the armed forces of the Soviet Republic. It was their creative cooperation which made possible the accomplishment of the extremely hard task of building up the Soviet armed forces under the most difficult conditions in history.

Lenin's fiery words aroused the enthusiasm of the men, inspired their firm confidence in the victory of the people, and forged a new discipline in the Army, of which Lenin said in the spring of 1919: "The Red Army has produced a discipline of unparalleled firmness, not enforced by a stick but based on the intelligence, devotion and self-denial of the workers and peasants themselves."

At the same time, the great founder of the Soviet State took a constant interest in the daily work of building the armed forces. Each day instructions came from the Kremlin dealing with the setting up of military machinery, direction of operations at the fronts, organization of new formations of the Red Army, and on the questions of its cadres, food supplies, equipment and arms. To the most responsible fronts where the issue of the war was in the balance, Lenin sent Stalin.

"The successes of our Army are explained primarily by its consciousness and discipline . . . Of no less importance is the emergence of cadres of Red officers recruited from former soldiers who received their baptism of fire in many battles. These Red officers are our Army's main cement in consolidating it into a single disciplined body." (Stalin, 1918.)

After Lenin's death his favorite child, the Red Army, continued to develop and grow stronger under the constant guidance of Stalin. As a result of Stalin's Five-Year Plans, Lenin's behest on the industrialization of the country was carried out, and the idea expressed by Lenin of the necessity of equipping the Red Army with modern weapons was realized.

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Unshakable is the foundation of the Red Army's strength laid by the Soviet people under the leadership of Lenin and Stalin. "The Soviet Government set up 26 years ago has transformed our country in a historically short period of time into an impregnable fortress. The Red Army's rear is more stable and reliable than that of any other army in the world." (Stalin.)

In the present war the heroic Red Army is fighting against the German army, which is supplied with the most up-to-date military and technical resources, and which in 1940 routed the French Army—one of the best on the European Continent. The Germans hoped to quickly finish off the Red Army. But Lenin's and Stalin's foresight insured the proper road of development for the Soviet armed forces. Thanks to Stalin's direct guidance the Red Army was armed and organized according to the requirements of modern warfare.

During the war, experience has served as a basis for the further rapid development of the military technique and armament of the Red Army. Important changes have been introduced in the organizational structure of its formations; new manuals have been drawn up. Under the leadership of the Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces, Marshal of the Soviet Union Stalin, the Red Army has achieved first-class tactical skill and strategic mastery. In brilliant operations conducted under the most trying conditions its troops have gained mastery over the German army and inflicted severe defeats upon it.

Lenin's words spoken nearly 40 years ago regarding the practical application of military knowledge and weapons by a people's army have come true. On fields of gigantic battles the Red Army, equipped with the most perfect weapons and with Stalin's science of warfare, is successfully accomplishing the historic task of the Soviet people in the war against the German imperialists. Lenin's brilliant successor, Joseph Stalin, is leading the Soviet regiments to final victory over the enemy.

National Military Formations in the Red Army

By M. Volkov

In accordance with the law adopted by the Supreme Soviet of the USSR at its 10th Session, the Union Republics will organize their own military formations. This will serve to further strengthen the Red Army as the defender of the country and reliable bulwark of the Soviet Union.

The creation of such formations is a particularly vivid expression of the nature of the Red Army as an army of brotherhood of the peoples of the Soviet land, as an army called upon to defend the freedom and independence of the peoples of the great Soviet Union.

Prior to the establishment of Soviet power some nationalities and peoples inhabiting the expanses which are now the Soviet Union were not conscripted for military service. Tsardom, which oppressed those peoples, did not trust them with arms. In Soviet times the situation has radically changed. The October Revolution put an end to all restrictions upon the rights of the peoples living in Russia, including all restrictions in regard to admitting citizens to the ranks of the armed forces. From the first day of its existence the Red Army grew and developed as a multi-national army, an army of the great fraternal commonwealth of peoples.

At the time of the Civil War the Red Army already had in its ranks some national units which more than once covered themselves with glory in battle. The first of the national formations of the Red Army came into being at the dawn of its existence, but at that time those formations could not fully develop. The nationalities and peoples whom Tsardom would not trust with arms did not, because of this, have a sufficient number of trained military cadres. It was all the more difficult to develop such cadres since some of the people still bore the heavy burden of backwardness, that inevitable concomitant of colonial or semi-colonial subjection.

Some time had to elapse before actual enrollments into the Red Army could be carried out throughout the Soviet Union. And only now, when this time has passed and the great and glorious road of political, economic and cultural progress has been traversed by all the peoples of the Soviet Union, can the organization of national military formations of the Union Republics be placed on a firm foundation.

The present war has driven this home quite forcefully. For nearly three years we have been waging a great Patriotic War against German fascism and its allies, who have recourse to the material and manpower resources of all Europe. This has been a new and very severe test for the multi-national Soviet State. But the Soviet Union has stood this test, too, with honor. In the ranks of the Red Army all the peoples of the Soviet Union fight with equal courage and heroism to attain victory and to rout the hated enemy. Their hearts are gripped with the same feelings and they are moved by the same will.

Last year when the wholesale expulsion of the enemy from the Ukraine had begun, Kazakh Red Army men who set foot on the first bit of liberated Ukrainian soil fell to their knees and fervently kissed that soil which had endured so much and which is equally dear to all Soviet soldiers, irrespective of nationality.

In the list of Heroes of the Soviet Union who earned this high title by immortal exploits in the battles of Stalingrad, on the Dnieper and in Byelorussia shine the names of Russians, Ukrainians, Byelorussians, Uzbeks, Georgians, Tajiks, Azerbaijanians, Armenians—the names of gallant sons of all the peoples of the USSR. In the common struggle against the fascist invaders the friendship among the peoples of the Soviet Union, sealed by blood, has become still stronger. The glorious deeds of the national military formations now operating in the Red Army represent one of the most remarkable and vivid expressions of the friendship of the peoples.

We need but recall the Eighth Panfilov Guards Division, decorated with the Order of the Red Banner and the Order of Lenin, which is composed of the sons of free Kazakhstan. The name of this division is associated with many heroic deeds and immortal exploits.

The Lettish Division which valiantly performed its duty in the Battle for Moscow, near Staraya Russa, and in the Demyansk salient has become a Guards Division. Over 3,000 of its men and officers have been decorated with orders and medals of the Soviet Union. Lithuanian warriors have twice earned the gratitude of the Supreme Commander-in-Chief, Marshal of the Soviet Union Stalin. Over 3,300 men and officers of this division have been decorated. The 416th Red Banner Division, made up of Azerbaijanians, has on two occasions been cited by the Supreme Commander-in-Chief.

The heroic traditions of the individual peoples, imbibed by the soldiers of the national divisions with their mothers' milk, fusing with the traditions of the entire Red Army, produce an alloy stronger than steel. The soldiers of the national military formations are fighting with selfless bravery and high skill for the liberation of every inch of Soviet earth, whether in the Ukraine, in Byelorussia

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Novgorod—for every inch of the Soviet country which is dear to all of them.

The Red Army has always been near and dear to the peoples of the Soviet Union. During the Patriotic War the love of the peoples of the USSR for their Army has become stronger, and still greater and more universal has become the pride of the Soviet people in the Red Army's heroism. This finds expression in the fact that today every people of every Union Republic of the USSR is doing its utmost to help the Red Army, to make the greatest possible contribution to the further increase of its might and the enhancement of its glory.

In a message to a soldier of Uzbekistan, the Uzbek people sternly enjoined him "to be the best among the sons of thy family, and the best and most outstanding soldier in the ranks of the Soviet peoples." In these penetrating words are expressed the feelings of all the peoples of the Soviet land who see their honor and their glory in the military exploits of their sons, soldiers in the ranks of the Red Army. It is hardly necessary to dwell on the fact that now when all the peoples of the USSR have attained to places of honor in the ranks of the Red Army, the organization of military formations in the Republics has before it particularly great and bright prospects.

Unlike the situation in previous years, every Union Republic now has not only cadres of rank and file soldiers, but certain cadres of commanding personnel capable of directing the corresponding military units. The Red Army has more than 10 Lettish generals developed and steeled in battle, and large numbers of Lettish officers trained in the Stalin school of fighting. Among the tested commanders of the Red Army are 108 Byelorussian generals. There are experienced masters of victory such as the sons of the Georgian people, Generals Chanchibadze and others; and more than 10 Armenian generals, among whom is General Bagramyan, Commander of the First Baltic Front.

There is a firm basis for the development of the armed forces of the Union Republics in the general system of the armed forces of the Soviet Union. There are sufficient possibilities for military formations in the Union Republics. This new embodiment of the increased friendship among the peoples of the Soviet land is bound to enhance the defensive might of the Soviet Union.

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THE RED ARMY

By Colonel S. Gavrilov

The Red Army is 26 years old. It was born on February 23, 1918. This was the date of the battles of Pskov and Narva, when the German hordes marching on Petrograd were stopped by a detachment of the new Soviet Army.

Even in those days, at the time of its birth, the Red Army displayed features which marked it as an

Army General Leonid Govorov, one of the commanders of the forces which liberated Leningrad

army of a new type. It was an army created from a nation-wide movement to resist the German invader, an army of the people, an army of national defense.

"The country is in danger!" Lenin's call resounded throughout the whole country. And it was in response to this call that the new army began to form. The battles of Pskov and Narva were only the beginning of the patriotic war of the Soviet people against the German invader. They were followed by an uninterrupted series of battles—both in the Ukraine and in Byelorussia. The Red Army fought and defeated the Germans at Kiev and in the Donbas, on the Don and in the North Caucasus.

In these battles the Red Army built up its military tradition—the tradition of fighting and defeating the German invader.

In the history of the young Red Army there were critical moments when the enemy dealt it drastic blows and seemed to be on the verge of victory. Defeats which in another country would have caused demoralization and complete disintegration of the army, only strengthened the Red Army's will to win and the Soviet people's readiness to incur any sacrifice to help their army recover its strength and convert defeat into victory. The Red Army and the working population displayed marvelous valor in resisting the German invaders. Women, old men and children, together with the soldiers, defended their cities against an enemy armed to the teeth.

The defense of Tsaritsyn (now Stalingrad) in the summer and autumn of 1918 put an end to the plans of the whiteguards, supported by the Germans, for the conquest of Soviet Russia. The defense of Vladikavkaz and Grozny in 1918, of Petrograd in 1919 and of Tula were all prototypes of that inimitable mastery of the defense of cities which the Red Army is displaying today in the war against the Nazi armies.

The workers proudly called themselves "Red Army men of the rear." Starving and exhausted though they were, they performed miracles. The enemy was nearing Tula, but this celebrated Russian arsenal did not suspend work for a single moment. The hand of an agent of Germany was outstretched to sieze Petrograd; death was reaping a rich harvest in the starving city; but the Petrograd workers stuck to their jobs. Women built fortifications around the city and the children helped the soldiers. Thus we find that from the very beginning the Red Army displayed that fundamental trait which has characterized it all along—namely, its extraordinary virility and tenacity. An army which has the support of its people is invincible. And it is in this identification with the people that the strength of the Red Army lies.

At that time the Red Army vanquished all its adversaries. It did this because it was a people's army, because its men understood the aim and purpose of the war and knew they were in the right, and this knowledge strengthened their spirit of dis-

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heir military efficiency. Time after time the Red Army men displayed a spirit of mass heroism and elf-sacrifice.

The Red Army was the heir of Russian military rt. In 1918 the most efficient regiments of the old Russian army were merged with it. They brought vith them the fighting traditions of the Russian rmy, the traditions of the first regular regiments of 'eter I, of Suvorov and of Kutuzov.

An army is a facsimile of its country, of the latter's ocial system and its economic and political order. 'he Red Army is an army of the Soviet country. The dvantages of the socialist system are also the ad-antages of the Red Army. But these advantages ad to be embodied in material force, in modern veapons, in military skill and the art of strategy.

Under Stalin's leadership the Soviet people in an xtraordinarily short time created a powerful industry nd a first-class modern army equipped with the most erfected weapons and machines of war and possess-ng trained and skilled cadres of officers and com-anders. But the experience gained in the Civil War vas not enough to insure the successful conduct of nodern warfare. Hitler's plans were in fact based on he premise that the Red Army was a young army vith newly-formed and inexperienced commanding adres, and according to his strategists it would be eaten before it had a chance to adapt itself to the equirements of modern warfare.

But these expectations were built on sand. The enerals and officers of the Red Army had made a horough study of the art of war in peacetime, had rawn the lessons from the war in the West, and uided by Marshal Stalin very rapidly mastered the nethods of modern warfare. The Red Army drew ll the lessons that were to be drawn from the present ar as it progressed, and adapted itself accordingly. 'ollowing Stalin's teachings it was able to trans-orm itself with extraordinary rapidity into an abso-itely up-to-date army equipped with the most mod-rn armaments and possessing skilled and efficient ommanders.

For 32 months the Red Army has been locked in life and death struggle with fascist Germany and er vassals. In the course of these 32 months it has ispelled the myth of the invincibility of the German rmy. It has also disposed of another myth—namely, ne alleged superiority of the Germans in the art of ar. It is now clear to all that Soviet generals are perior to the Germans in the art and science of arfare.

The greatest battles in world history, won by the ed Army, will be studied for ages to come as classi-l models of military skill. Stalin's strategy will ad its place in military science as a supreme ex-mple of the art of generalship. These 32 months ave been equivalent to a whole epoch.

The summer and autumn of 1941 were a hard and trying time for the Red Army and the Soviet people. The German invaders, enjoying the advantages of surprise and superiority of forces (especially in tanks and aircraft), with their army fully mobilized and armed to the teeth, already possessing rich experience in the conduct of modern war and confident of an easy victory, invaded the Soviet land, seized the border regions and swept in a seemingly irresistible tide toward Moscow.

The young and still inexperienced Red Army beat a fighting retreat eastward, constantly dealing the enemy telling and devastating blows. Not only the

Army General Konstantin K. Rokossovsky, Cavalier of the Order of Suvorov, First Degree

foes but also the friends of the Soviet Union were certain that the Red Army could not withstand such an assault for long, that within a few weeks or a few months at most the war would end in a victory for Germany.

But that is not what the Soviet people thought, or what the men and commanders of the Red Army felt. The thoughts and feelings of Soviet patriots were expressed by a Soviet officer of the heroic Panfilov Division, who together with 27 others stood be-

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against 50 German tanks at the station of Dubosekovo near Moscow: *Russia is vast, but there is no place to retreat: behind us is Moscow.* The 28 heroes perished, but the tanks did not pass. That is the way the Soviet people thought and acted in those grim days.

The Germans were stopped at Moscow and then hurled back with heavy losses from the Capital of the Soviet Union, having been dislodged a little before that from Rostov-on-Don and from Tikhvin.

But the enemy was still strong. He was still in a position, by concentrating superior forces on one or another sector, to strike a formidable blow. And it was for just such a blow that the Red Army now prepared.

A blow of this character was struck by the German army in the summer of 1942 on the Southwestern Front. The Germans' plan was to reach the Middle Volga, then to flank Moscow from the east and cut it off from its Volga and Urals rear, to seize possession of it by striking from the east, and thus to end the war in 1942. The Germans aimed a subsidiary blow at the Caucasus, with the aim of diverting the Red Army reserves from Moscow to the south and at the same time seizing possession of the Caucasian oilfields.

This second stratagem, too, was hard on the Red Army. The Germans forced their way through to Stalingrad and invaded its streets. They made frantic efforts to reach the Volga and to cut off the central regions of the Soviet Union from the grain and oil of the Caucasus. Grave peril menaced the Soviet Union. But the Red Army withstood this blow also. Stalingrad's defenders displayed superior bravery and unparalleled courage and heroism. The battle for this heroic city marked the turning point in the course of the Soviet-German war.

The time had now come when the Red Army was not only able to put up a defense and now and again to strike back at the enemy, but to pass to a vigorous offensive along the whole front.

November 19, 1942, is a historic date in the life of the Red Army. On that day Soviet troops launched the offensive at Stalingrad. They surrounded and annihilated the German army, 330,000 strong, and then advanced swiftly westward. The wholesale ejection of the enemy from the Soviet land began. The battle of Stalingrad presaged the decline of the German army.

In the summer of 1943 the Germans started a big offensive in the Kursk area, in an attempt to recover the ground lost. But as we know, this offensive ended in a fiasco. The Red Army not only repulsed it, but itself passed to the offensive, and ever since has been steadily driving the enemy westward, evicting him from one Soviet region after another. The battle of Kursk brought the German-fascist army to the brink of disaster.

They now adopted a policy of protracting the war as long as possible. They began to erect defense zones and "walls," and claimed they were invulnerable. But the Red Army upset their hopes, broke through their defense zones and "walls," and continued the advance without allowing the Germans any respite. Neither rivers nor powerful fortifications have been able to save the Germans. The Red Army forced such water barriers as the Northern Donets, the Desna, Sozh and Dnieper Rivers; it demolished such defensive zones as the Germans had erected on the Mius and Molochnaya Rivers and at Melitopol, and the permanent type of fortifications at Leningrad, and is now inflicting defeat on the Germans far from the walls of Leningrad and far beyond the Dnieper.

All these tremendous victories of the Red Army, which are a source of legitimate pride to the Soviet people, did not come easily. The Red Army has suffered incredible hardships and privations; during these 32 months it knew the bitterness of retreat, it lost many thousands of its finest men, but it stood firm and emerged victorious from all these difficulties, for it is inspired by the spirit of Lenin and is led by Stalin. From all tests and trials it has emerged more powerful, more disciplined and organized than ever.

The Red Army and the Soviet people generally have a sober estimate of the enemy's strength; they know that the road to final victory will be sown with thorns; that immense sacrifice and privation and a colossal exertion of effort will be demanded. But the lofty and noble aims of this Patriotic War of liberation inspires the Red Army and the Soviet people to ever fresh deeds of valor and fortitude.

The peoples of the Soviet Union have always cherished a feeling of kinship and love for the Red Army. This feeling has grown even stronger in the course of the war, and the achievements and heroism of their army fill them with universal pride.

The Red Army is a multi-national army. In its ranks, fighting shoulder to shoulder, are all the nationalities of the Soviet Union—Russians, Ukrainians, Byelorussians, Latvians, Lithuanians, Estonians, Georgians, Armenians, Tatars, Kalmyks, Kazakhs, Uzbeks, Tajiks, Turkmenians and Kirghizians. And each of them, wherever he may be fighting, is defending his homeland, his Soviet motherland.

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AMG Aided Sicilian Reactionary Clique

(By Wireless to Inter-Continent News)

BERNE, Feb. 21.—The transfer of Sicily to the civil control of the Royal Italian government removes AMG supervision which acted as a rallying point for a reactionary separatist movement in Sicily, according to a broadcast of the Italian underground radio station "Milano Liberta."

The free radio station revealed that included in the AMG administration of Sicily were a number of people "under the influence of certain American reactionary circles who were concerned with one thing: lest the true anti-fascists and democrats, Socialists and Communists come to the leadership of the popular masses."

The text of the radio broadcast as picked up here continues:

"It would seem that some of the leading officials of AMG came to Sicily, not to help the Sicilians root out fascism, but only to fight the democrats and anti-fascists. These officials went so far as to order patriotic leaflets removed from walls, only because among the signatories were representatives of the Communist Party.

"These leaders of the AMG lost no time in becoming the center for the rallying of all sorts of reactionary barons, high officials, profiteers and political usurers. Precisely this reactionary crowd became the center of so-called Sicilian separatism.

"The enemies of the people started playing the vile comedy of Sicilianism and separatism to win the favor of their new masters.

"On the pretext of the struggle against Communism they frustrated every attempt to wage a struggle against fascism in earnest. The Sicilians soon realized that under the guise of separatism, these people wanted to revive fascism under the AMG's wing.

"Finally the realization of this dawned on the Allied authorities as well. Let us hope that the restoration of the freedom of the press will put an end to the reactionary intrigues. The revival of Sicily will be accomplished by the Sicilian people itself and the first condition for this today is the joint struggle of all the Italians for the ousting of the Germans from their native land and the destruction of the last remnants of the fascist regime.

"The problems of Sicily will be solved in the new spirit of the Italian National Constituent Assembly which will be democratic and anti-fascist and will satisfy all the aspirations of the Sicilian people for justice and freedom."

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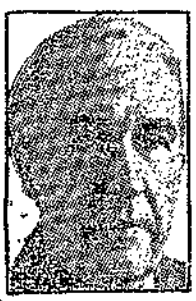
Big 3 Must Pull Together

By WILLIAM PHILIP SIMMS



EARL BROWDER, head of the Communist Party in this country, said something the other day that deserves far more attention than it received.

"Churchill, Stalin and Roosevelt in Teheran," he said, "expressed the determination to 'work together in the war and in the peace that will follow.'

"Dealing with the war and the peace thus in a single sentence was surely not accidental. It reflected the insuperable difficulties in waging a joint war without having a joint perspective for the peace to follow, and the impossibility of any perspective for a long peace unless the war is jointly fought and jointly won.

"Both phases of this declaration must be taken with equal seriousness. We cannot accept one and reject the other. They stand together in their very nature—like Siamese twins who, if severed, are in the gravest danger of immediate death."

The statement is so overwhelmingly true that, so far as I have been able to observe, everyone in Washington is in complete agreement with it, from the President down. It is already pretty clear that the Soviet Union will emerge so powerful that no post-war peace plan will be worth a dime without her sincere collaboration. The same is true of the British Commonwealth and the United States. Most emphatically, there can be no lasting peace unless the Big Three pull together.

* * *

THEN Mr. Browder, in a report to his Party Committee, went on to say:

"When Churchill, Stalin and Roosevelt can say they 'have surveyed the problems of the future," and they 'are sure that our concord will make an enduring peace,' . . . they were not playing with diplomatic phrases; they were projecting a practical policy."

Here, unfortunately, he was on somewhat less solid ground. Most certainly he was expressing a well nigh universal hope—so far, at least, as this country is concerned. But since Teheran, tragically enough, Moscow has shown more and more a tendency to act unilaterally in the problems of "the war and the peace," instead of jointly with her Anglo-American partners.

* * *

TODAY the question is being asked: "Will Stalin dictate an eastern Munich?" It is being asked quietly in United Nations circles, but an authority on Russia, William Henry Chamberlain, brings it out into the open in the March number of The American Mercury. This is important because it is something that should not be hushed up. Quite as Mr. Browder said, it is vital that Russia, Britain and America should work in harmony if there is to be enduring peace, and it is as certain as anything can be certain that America will not spend its lives and treasure enforcing one-way decisions.

Mr. Chamberlain's thesis is that complacency while Russia shifts frontiers to suit herself in eastern Europe is as reprehensible today as was a similar complacency while Germany was annexing Austria and Czechoslovakia. True, there is little we can do. Certainly we are not going to war about it. But we and the British still have a little moral influence left which we might use.

In any event, as Mr. Chamberlain observes, if there is a second Munich regardless, "there is surely no reason why Americans should pretend to be happy about it."

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MEET THE RUSSIANS

A great new fact of the world today is Soviet Russia. We shall have to live next door to Russia and reckon with her for a long while to come. The more we know about her the better for us and for all concerned..

One timely answer to our need for knowledge is the "American-Russian Frontiers" number of The Survey Graphic. Here we meet the people of the Soviet Union as they are known to a score of thoughtful Americans who have seen them close up. We are reminded again that the Russians resemble us in many respects. Like us, they are a mixture of races. Like us, they are hardy, hopeful, enthusiastic, self-reliant and hospitable. They are adaptable, self-sacrificing, home-loving. And they are a pioneering people, as we are.

We had our wild West. They have their wild North. In their present national peril their Middle East has saved them, as our Middle West once saved our Union. They possess almost limitless natural resources, as we do. In developing these they are now at about the stage at which we were in 1860.

They have emerged from the age of wood into the age of steel fairly overnight. In industrialization and in spread of popular education they have almost caught up with us in two decades. To accompish that and at the same time to defend their nation from the savage assault of Germany they have sacrificed every conceivable comfort of life. "To make iron," they say, "we went on iron rations." Millions of them burned their villages before the invader, trekked east in one of the strangest migrations in history, built at least three great Pittsburgh-like districts beyond the Urals, and began life over. The world has barely begun to hear of the hardships they are enduring for the sake of freedom.

Most phases of Russia today are discussed in the account which the Survey Associates present to Americans who want knowledge about this great "new" neighbor of ours. She is a nearer neighbor than we may think. The airplane distance across the Pole is short. And in Bering Strait are two islands, one ours, one hers, less than four miles apart.

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Russia's Sphere of Influence

ASIDE FROM THE OBJECTION of nationalist and other special interests to the attitude of the Soviet Union in eastern Europe, the major criticism has been that its insistence on unilateral decision, however justified its demands may be, cuts across the international cooperation which, it had been thought, had been established as a basis of future peace. According to this criticism, Soviet foreign policy is returning to the old practice of mapping out and protecting "spheres of influence." This was essentially an imperialist policy, and is diametrically opposed to the international equality and the universal consent which will be necessary if the United Nations or any successor is to be more than a name.

It is pointed out that Soviet delegates have been invited on terms of equality to join agencies dealing with Italy and with Europe as a whole; neither Britain nor the United States has sought to reserve these areas as special concerns of their own. Yet when it comes to Czecho-Slovakia, Poland, the Baltic states and presumably Finland or Rumania, the Soviet government seems to be following lines determined solely by itself, without bothering first to consult anyone else. If this is to be the practice, it is argued, then Britain may be expected to create her own sphere of influence in western Europe, the United States to establish one in the Western Hemisphere and China one in Asia. The world will be in effect carved up among competitive empires, the war danger will be heightened, and no room will be left for democratic international organization.

This argument, logical as it sounds, seems to us a fabric of flimsy semantics. A name that has accumulated bad associations in the past is arbitrarily applied to what Russia is doing in the neighborhood of her western boundary, and is by implication extended to the expression by any nation anywhere of any kind of special interest. It is also assumed that any action regarding the future international set-up which may be taken by one nation without consulting the rest is entirely incompatible with international government. This sort of thinking seems to us artificial in the extreme.

What is really meant by a "sphere of influence" and why is it incompatible with a democratic internationalism? In the old diplomatic terminology, it referred as a rule to a territory which was being developed and exploited by capital from a great power which claimed exclusive right to the sphere. Financial or commercial interests from competing powers were kept out. Political and military dominance, open or subtly concealed, usually followed the economic penetration. The territory might be near the great power concerned, or on the other side of the world. No thought of the

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wishes or welfare of the native population was usually involved, except as a defense against criticism. The sphere of influence was a sort of unlegalized colonial possession. It was the forerunner of the kind of treatment which the Nazi regime has attempted to apply to Europe itself, which Japan has tried to set up in Asia and the Pacific, and which both suggested, for purposes of propaganda, that the United States was seeking to establish in the Western Hemisphere.

If this were what the Soviet Union was attempting to do in eastern Europe, the criticism would be justified. Whenever Russia takes any action, if she does so, which merits this description, The New Republic will be among the first to object. But as we understand the situation, the term is hardly applicable, in its old meaning.

Two considerations have mainly governed Soviet policy in this area. First, it is asserted that certain fairly well defined and bordering strips of territory either have joined or must become a part of the Soviet Union, not as colonial posssesions but as integral parts of the Union. These are, reading from south to north, Bessarabia, which Rumania took by force of arms, those parts of the Ukraine and White Russia which were seized by Poland in 1920, the three Baltic States which were separated from Russia after the last war, and Finnish Karelia. The reasons are partly historical, partly strategic and partly dependent on the nature and interests of the populations. They are in general similar to the claim of France to Alsace-Lorraine in 1919, or that of the United States to Texas and California in the middle of the nineteenth century.

Second, the Soviet government insists that those neighbors to the west which are independent must have democratic governments willing to remain on terms of friendship with the USSR. This aim has been expressed positively by the treaty with Czecho-Slovakia, and negatively by the refusal to negotiate with the Polish government in London or the Yugoslav Government-in-Exile associated with Mihailovich. From the case of Czecho-Slovakia it is obvious that this does not imply any demand on the part of the Soviet Union that the governments in question be communist-dominated, or even socialist in character, or that the countries in question surrender their independence or grant Russia any special economic favors. It is merely an insistence that they do not offer breeding grounds for intrigue against the Soviet Union, and that in any future war they will be on the same side.

If this can justly be called a sphere of influence, then the words are being used in a sense that do not suggest their association with nineteenth-century imperialism. They mean rather something much more like the "good-neighbor" policy of the United States in Latin America. We support a friendly government in Mexico, and have been at some pains to see that other American nations join us in opposing German and Japanese aggression. We now refuse to recognize what we believe to be a pro-Axis government in Bolivia. Canada is in something like the same relationship to us that Czecho-Slovakia bears to Russia. We have not thought it necessary to consult our allies in formulating these policies and in making the treaties or taking the other diplomatic decisions which express them. It never occurs to us that they need prevent us from sincerely taking a full part in democratic international organization in the future.

The Monroe Doctrine, as understood in past years by our Latin American neighbors, was much more like the old sphere of influence of the objectionable type. Literally, it was merely a unilateral warning that European nations must not add to their territory on this side of the Atlantic. In this sense it still stands. Those whom it was supposed to protect disliked it, however, not because they had any wish to be conquered by European imperialists, but because, first, they did not participate in it, and second, they understood that it offered no protection against United States Marines or economic imperialism. Since then it has been mutualized, and this country has been scrupulous in not demanding exclusive privileges. If we had recently suffered invasion by Japan or Germany through Mexico, and now demanded no more in the way of cooperative neighboring governments than Russia is demanding, we should be at a loss to understand why any of our allies should complain. Especially so if the invasion had cost us millions of lives, untold suffering and the temporary loss of the richest part of our country.

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The special interest of the United States in the affairs of the Western continents does not mean that it regards other nations in them as satellites, or that nations of other continents cannot buy from, sell to or invest in these nations on the same terms. It does not mean that the American nations cannot be fully participating members in an international organization of worldwide scope. Neither, we believe, does the kind of sphere of influence which Russia is seeking in the Balkans, Czecho-Slovakia, Poland or Finland mean any of those things. The United States would not, however, be content to rely solely upon any world league which is as yet in an embryo stage to protect itself and its neighbors against possible enemies. It is scarcely unreasonable for the Soviet Union to adopt a similar attitude.

It is of course possible that these judgments as to the motives and aims of the Soviet Union are mistaken. Perhaps its rulers are following some hidden and Machiavellian course which we do not understand. But no development so far indicates that this is so. That issue would have to be faced if Russia tried to annex all of Finland or Rumania, or denied an independent existence to Poland, or made imperialistic demands on the Scandinavian nations or Turkey. Meanwhile it must be remembered that the judgment here registered does not rest on any such fatuous supposition as that the Soviet government is moved by altruistic idealism in international affairs, or indeed by anything but intelligent self-interest. Is it not a fact, however, that its interest does not demand large acquisitions of territory and exploitation of foreign populations? Is it not a fact that interest is overwhelmingly concerned with one aim alone—immunity from attack and a chance for internal reconstruction and development? This has been the case now for many years, and it is reasonable to suppose that it will continue to be the case for many years more.

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Wars and Revolutions

by James S. Allen

FOR a long time Marxists have believed that wars and revolutions are inevitable under capitalism. In the early 1890's, when monopoly capitalism began to emerge in the leading countries of the West, Frederick Engels predicted a world war of an imperialist character. That war came in 1914. On the eve of the war, Lenin predicted socialist revolution as an outcome, and he seriously set to work to prepare for it. That revolution was completed successfully in Lenin's country.

After Versailles, the Communists foresaw that the settlement of the first World War established the grounds for a second world war. Their activities were centered upon preventing the outbreak of that war. It came, but under conditions radically different than in 1914.

After two world wars and one successful socialist revolution, it is conceivable that changes have been produced in the world. It is highly probable that new elements have been introduced into the situation which might cause Marxists to arrive at somewhat different conclusions than those which prevailed a decade ago.

* * *

I WOULD say that the most important new elements operating today are:

1. The approaching defeat of fascism in Europe. Fascism originated as counter-revolution, as the effort of the most reactionary sectors of monopoly capitalism to suppress by force the progressive development of history. In Germany, Hitler's coming to power was the culmination of the counter-revolution which was started in 1918 by an alliance of the Social-Democrats with the Junkers, the Army High Command and powerful monopolists. The defeat of the socialist revolution in Germany led to the victory of fascism. The victory of the socialist revolution in Russia is now leading to the defeat of fascism on the continent.

2. The emergence of the Soviet Union as a powerful socialist state, one of the three most powerful countries in the world. This is a vital new element in the world situation. Up to the outbreak of the present war in Europe, socialism had become consolidated in the Soviet Union under conditions of hostile encirclement. Now the Soviet Union has gone through the supreme test of a gigantic war, and is defeating the most powerful armed force which has ever been set loose against a single country.

3. A basic change in policy towards the Soviet Union has occurred. As far as the dominant circles in Britain and America are concerned, not to speak of the peoples fighting for their liberation in Europe, the prevailing policy of the last quarter century has been reversed. It has been reversed largely because the present war has proved entirely bankrupt the policy of inciting war against the Soviet Union, or seeking to isolate her and bring about a downfall of the Soviet power. That old policy has acted like a boomerang against its prime movers. It is inconceivable, on the basis of the experiences of this war, that such a policy will again be seriously attempted in the foreseeable future.

Of course, the old antagonisms have not been removed. But they are on their way out and tend more and more to become subordinated to the policy of collaboration with the Soviet Union as established at Tehran.

* * *

IN AN outline of this kind, many other important developments are necessarily omitted. The higher level of the colonial liberation movements, the new unity in struggle of the European peoples, the higher political consciousness of labor and the anti-fascists in Britain and America are among such important factors. But the three enumerated above I would consider the prime elements affecting the perspective particularly in the West for some time to come.

How do they affect the question of war and revolution?

1. The defeat of Hitler Germany and of its satellites in Europe will destroy the main center of resistance by force to historically necessary and possible social changes on the continent. Obviously, much force will still have to be exerted by the Coalition armies and by the anti-fascist liberation movements of the peoples before the Axis armies are completely defeated and the fascist structure in Europe destroyed. But once the military victory is achieved, the great possibility does exist of the more or less peaceful evolution of the European peoples towards a freer and more democratic way of life, in accordance with their own free choice and in the atmosphere of national independence.

I do not say that this will take place without struggle, or without stress and strain among the nations and peoples now allied in the war against Hitler Germany. But the coalition is based firmly enough upon realities to make possible such changes without major conflict among the powers or without long, drawn-out civil wars.

2. The Soviet Union is the most powerful state on the European continent. Its proven might guarantees it against aggression, and removes the temptation to war against it, which has been the biggest single factor making for instability and political crises in Europe. At the same time, the policies of the Soviet Union are a guarantee that this power is not an aggressive one, that it is subordinated to the aims of historical progress of all peoples. It is the most tremendous power known to history which is devoted to the maintenance of peace and the free development of peoples.

3. The defeat of the old anti-Soviet policies and the victory of the policy of collaboration with the Soviet Union make possible a long period of world peace. The chief cause, although not the only one, of world conflict since the first World War was the antagonism against the Soviet Union. If we make Tehran stick, we will have removed the basis upon which Hitler mobilized the German nation and the appeasers and Munichmen in other countries for the world conflict.

True, there are other possible causes for war, such as inter-imperialist conflicts and the antagonism between colonies and mother countries. But such antagonisms are now operating and will operate under new world conditions, in which the Soviet Union—a powerful non-imperialist nation—can be a factor in preventing them from breaking out into major wars.

The important thing is to see the new possibilities for progress, based upon the new realities being produced by the war. The future will not be a gift. It will have to be won in the only way it can be won—by fighting for the realization of what has become possible.

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EMBASSY OF THE UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS

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Red Army Wages a War of Liberation

By Colonel G. Barandov

The Red Army is waging a titanic struggle against the military machine of Hitlerite Germany. The Soviet people did not want war. They have never claimed the territory or property of other nations. They have always respected the rights of other peoples and have never in any way interfered in the internal affairs of other states.

National and racial hatred and enmity toward the peoples of other countries are looked upon by the Soviet people as sentiments that disgrace and lower civic and human dignity. And expressing the will of the people, the Soviet Government did all it could to preserve peace, to curb the aggressors and to prevent the Soviet land from being drawn into the shambles of war.

Soviet foreign policy has invariably been a consistent struggle for peace, for friendly and neighborly relations with other states, for the strict ob-

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servance and honest fulfillment of international agreements. The Red Army has stood as the sentinel of the peaceful policy of its people and its Government.

Without the slightest grounds, the bloodthirsty German-fascist imperialists basely and perfidiously violated the non-aggression pact, and on June 22, 1941, threw against the Soviet Union the whole might of their military machine. With base and dastardly aims they started the war against the Soviet Union. They sent their brigand armies to the east to seize Soviet territory, to destroy the national culture and national statehood of the Soviet peoples, to Germanize the Soviet people and turn them into slaves of the German princes and barons.

Possessing in the first period of the war great advantages over the Red Army, the German-fascist troops captured a considerable part of Soviet territory. Millions of Soviet people in the districts occupied by the Germans found themselves in bondage and were confronted with horrors before which the darkest and most terrible pictures of the days of slavery and serfdom pale.

At the call of the Government the Red Army, together with the whole Soviet people, rose in mortal combat against the Germans, Rumanians, Hungarians and Finns who invaded the USSR.

Lofty and noble are the aims of the Red Army: It is waging war for the national and state independence of the Soviet land, for the liberation of Soviet territory seized by the enemy, to save the lives of millions of Soviet citizens in the occupied districts and to deliver them from the inhuman sufferings and disgrace of German-fascist slavery.

This is a great and truly just war of liberation on the part of the freedom-loving and peace-loving Soviet people, who ardently and boundlessly love their country. The Red Army has no aims of territorial expansion in this war; it never had such aims. It is free of feelings of national and racial hatred unworthy of human dignity.

If now every Red Army man hates with all his soul the German and other invaders of his country, he hates them not because they are Germans, Finns, Rumanians or Hungarians, but because they are invaders, robbers and bandits, who commit unspeakably savage outrages on the Soviet people falling into their blood-stained hands. Death to the German invaders! Such is the fighting watchword of the Red Army, which is defending the honor, freedom and independence of its country.

Hitlerite Germany is the fierce enemy of all democratic countries and all freedom-loving peoples the world over. Victory over the Red Army was planned by the Hitlerite clique as the first stage on the road to Germany's world domination. This emphasizes still more clearly that the Soviet Union is waging a war of liberation. In crushing and exterminating Hitler's regiments and divisions, the Red Army helps, not in words but in deeds, the enslaved peoples of Europe to throw off the shameful chains of the fascist "new order," so that they may afterward freely organize their states on their lands liberated from invaders.

The Red Army is waging a war for the liberation of all mankind from the menace of fascist medievalism and inquisition which hangs over their heads. The nobility of the aims and tasks of the Red Army, which brings to it the love and support of the peoples, is the source of its lofty moral spirit and its boundless fighting heroism. This is the foundation of the international prestige of the Red Army, the basis of the trust and confidence in it on the part of all who are true enemies of fascist reaction, on the part of all genuine friends of the liberty and independence of the peoples, of all champions of economic, political and cultural progress.

On February 23 the Red Army will celebrate its 26th anniversary. To this memorable day in its history it comes with the glory of its splendid victories, with the lustre of the success of its arms, with the fame of its unsurpassed mastery. Behind it are the brilliant routes of the German armies before Moscow in 1941 and at Stalingrad in 1942; it has to its credit the unfading glories of the 1943 victories at Kursk, in the Donbas, Tavria and on the Dnieper.

Its fighting record of the month and a half of the current year is embellished by marvelous successes in the Ukraine, on the right bank of the Dnieper, and near Leningrad. The Red Army is striking the enemy without giving him any respite. More and more districts of the Ukraine, Byelorussia and the RSFSR are being liberated from the brutal invaders. The Red Army is actively preparing for the liberation of Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, Moldavia and the Karelo-Finnish Republic.

Having borne the gigantic burden of the war for the past two and one-half years, having grown and been tempered in the process of war, with the experience gained in the battles fought, and surrounded by the love and unbounded support of its people, the Red Army meets its 26th anniversary filled with strength and confidence in the speedy and complete victory of the United Nations over the fierce enemy of humanity—bloodthirsty Hitlerism.

The Red Army is ready to inscribe new and brilliant pages in its fighting history. It will write them to the glory of its country and for the happiness of all freedom-loving humanity.

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Stalin is a Bolshevik

By Liston M. Oak

THE foreign policy of any nation is rooted in that nation's past—its history, traditions, institutions, basic concepts, and especially in its political economy. A capitalist country, however liberal, can hardly be expected to promote social revolutions abroad; a democratic country, though it may appease, will not for long actively support totalitarian Fascism or totalitarian Communism. And vice versa, a totalitarian communist regime will not permanently promote democracy or capitalism, except for temporary ends.

Three recent books emphasize the continuity of Russian history: *A Short History of Russia*, by B. H. Sumner (Reynal and Hitchcock, $3.75); *The Russian Enigma*, by William Henry Chamberlin (Scribners, $2.75); and *Russia and Post-War Europe*, by David Dallin (Yale University Press, $2.75). The latter has particular value as a guide to the probable course of Soviet foreign policy, and an understanding of what Churchill termed "a riddle wrapped in a mystery inside an enigma." It is only unfamiliarity with Bolshevik theory and practice, and the history of Russia before and since 1917, that makes Stalin seem enigmatic.

Following an exposition of the principles of Bolshevism and their application to Soviet foreign policy, Dallin analyzes Communist nationalism. He elucidates the trends of Soviet policy, and devotes his final chapters to conclusions as to Russia's role in post-war Europe. Dallin writes with clarity and vast erudition; his conclusion that behind all the labyrinthine twists and tortuous turns of Soviet policy, domestic and international, there is a consistent line, is inescapable. Stalin remains a Bolshevik—whether or not he advocates an October revolution *today* in China, in Germany, or in Spain.

Those who expect this war to usher in "an era of universal peace, harmony, and happiness" may be disillusioned. "But it is better to foresee the difficulties lying ahead than to entertain wishful illusions which in the days to come may once again be shattered." If, as Dallin hopes, the United States, Britain, Russia, and China achieve the international cooperation promised in the Moscow and Teheran agreements, it can only be on the basis of clear realistic understanding, and only if Russia abandons isolationism and adopts a foreign policy radically different from that followed from 1918 to 1944.

* * *

THERE are greater differences between the imperial nationalism of the Tsar and of Stalin, than between the expansionism of Stalin and Lenin. However much Stalin's Russia has restored the old Tsarist traditions, and despite the tremendous growth of nationalism in the past decade, Bolshevik imperialism differs profoundly from the imperialism of the Tsars, and from that of Britain and the United States.

When the Polish army stopped the Red Army at the gates of Warsaw in 1920, it stopped the Bolshevization of Germany and all of Central and Eastern Europe. When Chiang Kai-shek defeated the Chinese Communists, led by Russians, in 1927, he prevented the Bolshevization of China. If in 1945 or 1946 the Red Army is strong enough, and if the Russian economy is not too greatly devastated, and if the Communist parties of Central and Eastern Europe are able to organize sufficient forces, that area will be, to some degree, Bolshevized. The degree depends on complex and imponderable factors.

The Bolshevik pattern has been exemplified in the Far Eastern Republic, and in the Baltic States. First, an area adjacent to the USSR signs a non-aggression, mutual assistance pact, in which the sovereignty and independence of the country is guaranteed. There follows a period of democracy during which the Communist Party is built up, and economic and political ties are strengthened between the country and Moscow. But, finally, that country is subjected to a process of drastic social reorganization, and through a "plebiscite" is absorbed into the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics with its "autonomy" guaranteed, of course.

No Tsarist or other regime ever planned such complete attack on the traditional social relations existing in an acquired area. And no other government has possessed a weapon such as the Comintern. Furthermore, the imperialism of the Tsarist era had limited aims—its expansionist ambitions were directed only toward adjacent territories—not toward China, India, Germany, or France. The limits of Bolshevik ambition are defined only by circumstances, opportunities, political realities. In addition, Soviet Russia has never sought permanent allegiances with capitalist powers—only pacts of limited content to meet immediate needs. Russian collaboration today with the United Nations, like former collaboration with Germany, and pre-war pacts with France, Japan, the United States, and Britain, are all maneuvers of temporary value.

Bolshevism is an application of Communism to Russian conditions—to geography, traditions, history, customs, national interests. Stalinism differs from Leninism only as historical necessities have dictated, plus some modifications due to the dictator's personality. Russia under Trotsky would have witnessed the same main trends; Trotsky might not have so cruelly purged all opponents; he might not have starved some five or six million peasants to accomplish the rapid and forcible collectivization of all farms; he might have pursued the world revolution somewhat more openly and vigorously, along lines set by Lenin. But if Trotsky had not been defeated by Stalin he would have been defeated by inexorable historical developments—by capitalist encirclement and stabilization, by the failure of revolutions, by the growth of Russian nationalism, by the predominance of Russian national interests over the orthodox ideology of Communist internationalism as originally conceived by Lenin.

Trotsky *might* have risked the safety of Russia in supporting revolutions abroad; Stalin will never do so—the security of the USSR and his bureaucracy come first. But in building "Socialism in one country" Stalin has not abandoned the hope of Socialism in other countries, preferably nearby lands. As late as February 12, 1938, Stalin upheld Ivan Filippovich Ivanov in the latter's argument that "full insurance against intervention can be provided only by the final victory of Socialism in other countries." Ivanov was accused of Trotskyism, but Stalin wrote, "You are right, Comrade Ivanov, and your opponents are wrong."

> **"We would be in a position to say that the victory of Socialism in the Soviet Union is complete, if our country were situated on an island and if it had not many capitalist countries around it. . . . This problem can be solved only by uniting the serious efforts of the international proletariat with the still more serious efforts of the entire Soviet people," Stalin wrote.**

Stalin thus formulated again the basic idea of Soviet foreign policy—followed since 1918. Only when there are pro-Soviet governments in encircling countries will

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the USSR feel secure—and not completely until all the world is Communist. But since the wave of revolutions subsided after World War I, the Soviet government has not been in a favorable position to take the offensive, and, through the Comintern, to organize revolutions. Hence the changes of "line" in the Comintern, corresponding to Soviet needs in relation to the big powers.

Trotsky insisted until his assassination by the GPU that the Soviet Union is "a workers' state with bureaucratic distortions." "To defend the USSR as the main fortress of the world proletariat against all assaults of world imperialism . . . is the duty of every class conscious worker," wrote Trotsky. Certainly Stalin is a Bolshevik—with more distortions.

* * *

FROM the New Economic Policy of 1921, through the 1935 adoption of the "people's front" line, to the "dissolution" of the Comintern and the American Communist support of free enterprise, commentators have hailed each change as an evolutionary development toward nationalism and the abandonment of Bolshevism. Russian National Bolshevism has certainly evolved like everything else—but in its own direction.

That Stalin is a follower of Lenin is shown by his statements about Germany during this war. Ilya Ehrenburg is encouraged to write bloodthirsty stories calling for revenge, damning *every* German as a beast. But Stalin has consistently declared that "it is not our aim to destroy Germany. The German people must not be identified with the Hitler clique." Stalin insists that there must be "a strong and independent Germany," for a weak Germany would be a pawn in the hands of Anglo-American diplomacy. But this strong Germany must be pro-Soviet, and Moscow has its Free German Committee and Union of German Officers ready to help establish a friendly government.

Germany is the key to the whole post-war European situation. What Moscow wants is a period of democracy during which the German Communist Party can be reestablished. That is the whole value of democracy in the eyes of Stalinists, and explains their lip-service to civil liberties. There is little probability of an immediate revolutionary transformation of Nazi Germany into a Soviet Germany. There is need for time to build a revolutionary party, reconstruct the devastated areas of the Ukraine, strengthen the Red Army which has suffered terrific losses.

"A Communist Party is not a mechanism for conducting elections," writes Dallin, "but a ruling body for the future—the future state itself." It may be possible for the Red Army to convey a ready-made Polish Communist Party into Warsaw; that will not be possible in a nation such as Germany. A pro-Soviet government in which German Communists and their fellow-travelers, and German officers as stooges, plus whatever other elements can be found to cooperate closely, including some Social Democrats, industrialists, and pre-Nazi diplomats and officials, will likely be organized for the transition period.

If Russia joins with Britain and the United States to suppress social revolutions in Germany and elsewhere, it will be to purge critics of Stalin, Social Democrats and others who believe in democratic Socialism, and to avoid a conflict with the western powers during the reconstruction and transition period. But Russia will insist upon a pro-Soviet Germany, with which there will be close collaboration to be turned into a military alliance when conditions are favorable. If traditional Soviet policy is followed, Russia will return to her pro-German orientation; but this time with neither a Weimar Republic, nor a Nazi regime, but a thoroughly pro-Soviet government which, eventually, may become a Soviet Republic.

The alternative—collective security within a European federation, as part of a world federation—involves a repudiation of Bolshevism and its consistent foreign policy. It also means the *actual* dissolution of the Comintern. This might open the road toward democratic Socialism in Russia. Such a miracle is greatly to be desired, but hardly to be expected.

The primary objective of Soviet foreign policy, control of a wide security sphere in Central and Eastern Europe, as interpreted by Dallin, is confirmed in large part by events since he wrote *Russia and Post-War Europe*. Russia is insisting on unilateral action in settling the Polish border dispute, on establishing a made-in-Moscow government in Warsaw, on absorption of Latvia, Lithuania, and Estonia into the USSR, as well as eastern Poland, parts of Finland, Bessarabia, and Bukovina, and the organization of the Communist-led Tito-Ribar government in Yugoslavia.

Stalin has also made it clear recently that he does not trust the pacific promises of the United Nations any more than in the past. He is skeptical about our profered friendship, as we are about his.

Despite all this, the outlook may not be as dark as Dallin portrays it. It is probable that Soviet Russia will join an international superstate organization, and it might surprise the cynics and work. It is far from impossible that there can be a compromise of national interests, a reconciliation of conflicts, an avoidance of World War III.

UNION OF EUROPE AFTER WAR URGED

It Should Be Based Upon the Four Freedoms, Author Says —Watson Gets Award

The only assurance of lasting peace after the defeat of the Axis is through a European federation with a common defense and a bill of rights, Count Richard N. Coudenhove-Kalergi, Austrian author of "Crusade for Pan-Europe," said last night at a dinner of The New York Academy of Public Education in the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel. Thomas J. Watson, president of the International Business Machines Corporation, received the academy's annual award for distinguished service in the field of education at the dinner.

Count Coudenhove-Kalergi said that America would profit tremendously from European union.

"European union offers lasting peace by the establishment of a common defense system," he added. "It offers prosperity by breaking down the tariff boundaries and establishing a vast area of free trade. It offers liberty and justice by assuring for all Europeans a common bill of rights, based on the principles of President Roosevelt's four freedoms.

"Beyond this continental solidarity in matters of defense, of economy and of a bill of rights, the nations of Europe will be able to continue their colorful diversity in matters of civilization, constitution, religion, education and tradition."

Mr. Watson said that taxpayers as well as State and local officials should not think in terms of expense of carrying of schools and colleges but rather as an investment. He advised cooperation in increasing financial backing for education so that satisfactory salaries could be paid to the proper number of instructors and administrative officials and said increased educational facilities should be provided.

"We have experimented in this country with the exchange of professors and students between our own and other countries," he went on. "I have followed this very carefully, particularly the exchange students, and I am convinced that this experiment has been a success. We have to find ways and means of increasing this type of education."

Mr. Watson declared that with proper attention to the development of better understanding between groups and nations through education, "we shall have the more constructive relations and greater cooperation which are so essential in the building of a better world." He pointed out that work has already been started on post-war plans for fair adjustment of trade barriers so there can be a proper flow of goods and services both ways across borders of countries, which he said is one of the most important elements in the development of political policies that will maintain peace in the world.

N.Y. TIMES FEB. 19, 1944 p. 7

LANGUAGE PROBLEM SOLVED BY SOVIETS

Russian Being Taught in All Nation's Schools as a Secondary Requirement

Puzzling to many persons reading about Russia is how the sixty peoples and national groups in the Soviet Union, all speaking their own language, manage to communicate with one another. Some of these tongues, such as Russian, Ukrainian, Byelorussian, Georgian and Armenian date back to antiquity.

The explanation is given by the Russian Information Bureau. Since the Revolution all nationalities have been able to study in their native tongues at all schools, and to use their own languages in court; but Russian is taught as a secondary language in every school in the country. Those peoples who had no written language were helped to acquire one.

In the pre-Soviet period some important languages had no script of their own, among them the Tajik, Bashkir, Turkmenian, Kabardin, Adygei, Chechen, Kara-Kalpak, Karelian, Lesgin, Dargin, Nogai, Ingush, Tahassaran and other tongues. Some which in theory had scripts were in practice scarcely known in their written form. Several of the peoples of the eastern districts of the USSR were acquainted with the Arabic script through the Moslem schools and sometimes used this alphabet for correspondence and for such books as were occasionally published.

Only Ordinary Words Used

The number of literates among the many peoples of the North Caucasus and Central Asia, to say nothing of such regions as the Altai and the Far North, did not exceed 1 to 2 per cent, including those who wrote Russian or Arabic. The vocabularies of many non-Russian languages contained none but words of everyday usage. Words expressing scientific and technical ideas, even of school textbook standard, did not exist. There were no words with which to express social and political ideas.

The first problem the Soviet Government had to face was the provision of alphabets. Most of the peoples of the East employed the Arabic script, and literature was accordingly published in this script for them. Books and newspapers appeared in the Kazakh, Kirghiz, Tajik, Turkmenian, Azerbaijanian, Bashkir and Tatar languages and some of the languages of Daghestan and the North Caucasus. Some of the languages of the Volga basin (Mordva, Mari, Chuvash, Udmurt) and the Altai (Oirot, Khakass and Orets) were printed in Russian script.

New Alphabets Devised

The unsuitability of the Arabic script soon made itself apparent. Gradually a Latinized alphabet was adopted and new alphabets were devised for those languages which had formerly been unwritten. With the introduction of Russian as a secondary language, however, alphabets based on the Russian script were gradually substituted.

One of the most important problems in developing the languages of the USSR is the regulation of new words and the working out of new terminology. The reconstruction of economy and of the whole way of life, the development of new methods of production in districts where there were formerly none at all, have made necessary the extension of the vocabulary to express a colossal number of new concepts.

The vocabularies of the literary languages made use of the rich colloquial languages of the peoples, and have added international terms and those Russian words that have become international.

N. Y. Times FEB. 19, 1944 p. 2

WAR HAS CHANGED RUSSIAN IDEAS

Russia has put aside world revolution to step forth as a nation proud of its destiny. Here's an on-the-spot picture of an amazing transformation wrought by war

BY MAURICE HINDUS

Moscow (by cable).

I RECENTLY spent several days in a Ukrainian village which had been under German occupation for more than two years. I stayed with a peasant family made up of two women, one a grandmother of sixty-five and the other a mother turning fifty. The four men of the household were away at war.

Evenings we stayed up and talked by the light of a smoky tin lamp. Eagerly the women spoke of their experiences during the German occupation. The Germans took from them without pay their cow, their pig, most of their hens, their grain and their potatoes, and compelled them to work long hours in the fields. Gun in holster, rubber whip in hand, the German overseer strutted around shouting orders and cracking his whip across the face, head, or back of any one who paused for rest or who showed no zeal for growing wheat, rye, and other crops for the German Army or German export. The only compensation the villagers received for days of arduous labor was a half pound of bread baked not from wheat or rye but from yellow millet mixed with an inferior brand of barley.

The Germans hanged seven persons in the village, all men. One of the victims, Chairman Kolhoz, was so heavy that the rope snapped, and he was still alive when he fell to the ground. The Germans lifted him and hanged him on a stouter rope until he, too, was dead.

On retreating, they burned all the public buildings and all the grain they couldn't ship out. They started burning houses, but the Red Army pushed on so swiftly they didn't have time to set the entire village ablaze. "That is how our house was saved," the women said.

Yet what excited them most, as they talked, especially the gray-haired, blue-eyed grandmother, was the behavior of the village priest. "Not once," said the older woman, "did he pray for Hitler. Not once!" She and her daughter-in-law talked with such ardor about the priest that I went to see him. He and his wife were just as eager to talk of themselves and their experiences. Their two sons were at war. One had been wounded and the other they hadn't heard from since the start of the war. This, they said, was a bad omen--very bad. Their daughter Antonina, twenty-three years old and a graduate of Teachers College, had been forcibly deported to Germany. They had had no word from her.

"Do you think I'll ever see her again?" the priest's wife kept asking me. "I hope so," was all I could say, and my words obviously brought no solace to her heavy heart.

Yet she too livened up when she spoke. "Our father," she said, leaning on her husband, "never uttered one word of prayer for Hitler, not one. Nor did he ever traffic with any German. He remained loyal to his country, his people, and his own sturdy Russian heart." Her tone bespoke her pride.

As I listened to the priest and his wife I was impressed by the meaning of the story they were telling me. This priest, sixty years old, probably had suffered through the revolution and the subsequent events when the Bolsheviks had exerted all their power against their enemies, including the Czarist-minded clergy. For more than two decades religion had been actively discouraged. Yet now he was a heroic figure in the village--and not only among folk like those two women, who were devoted members of his parish

The true Bolshevik theory recognizes neither God nor Church. But at this moment in the battle for personal and national salvation in this mightiest of all the wars Russia has ever fought, what counts most, what drives the highly mechanized German Army from the gateway of Moscow, from the very

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sidewalks of Stalingrad, isn't theory or ideology but, to use the very words of the priest's wife, the "sturdy Russian heart." This priest remained loyal to his country and to himself, his Russian self. And, of course, he hasn't been alone in meeting the test of life and death with such undeviating determination. A priest in the region of Leningrad was awarded a high decoration for guerrilla fighting. In the village of Donbas, a priest seventy-two years old hid forty wounded Russian soldiers in the steppe. With the help of his wife he tended their wounds, then led or carried them one by one across the fighting line to Russian-held territory.

Such deeds on the part of the priests have done much to win for the Russian Church a new position in Soviet society. Last fall the Church was legally restored and the election of the Metropolitan Sergei as Patriarch officially recognized. It was a landmark in Russian history. Today the patriarchate finds it possible to publish exquisitely bound books on excellent paper, despite the acute shortage. It also publishes a magazine. Soon there will be theological schools and seminaries in every diocese in the land.

Recently Emelyan Yaroslavsky, one of the oldest Bolsheviks, died. He was a prime leader at one time of the atheist movement—head of the Society of the Militant Godless—but after the outbreak of the war he wrote not one word of censure or hostility against the Russian Church or any other church. The atheist campaign in Russia is over.

THE new position of the Church is only one of the many symbols and results of the evolution of Sovietism, an evolution begun before the war, but hastened and intensified by it. On an increasing scale this evolution is making Russia aware of its own historic destiny and of the social and spiritual pillars on which this destiny has always rested and will rest in the future. The family is one of the mightiest of these pillars. Hence the glorification—one might almost say sanctification—of the family. Never did the old Russia know such sentimental writing about the family as is appearing now and then in the Russian press, particularly the Red Star, official organ of the Russian Army. Fighting in marsh, steppe, and forest, in all manner of weather, the Russian soldiers glow to the very word home, the very word family, and the very word love as they never did in the days of peace, when they were preoccupied with building factories, towns, roads, and irrigation canals—with dreams of making Russia an even more advanced industrial nation than America.

I made a journey to Kiev, the capital of the Ukraine, shortly after it had been reconquered. Once the third largest city in Russia, and crowded with youth, Kiev is now empty of youth, empty of children, empty of almost any people. Nikola Bazhan, vice-president of the Soviet-Ukraine cabinet, told me that at least six million civilians perished during the German occupation of the Ukraine. In other parts of German-held Russia millions more perished.

But Russia is an immense land. The Five-Year Plans launched in 1928 started a stupendous nation-wide internal development. When peace comes, the plans will be resumed. Russia will need millions and millions of people to inhabit its far-flung abundant earth and to push on the pioneering tasks and plans it had initiated. And it is the Soviet view that the family must shoulder the special responsibility of rearing, disciplining, and preparing for these duties the generation of youths now alive and the generations yet to be born.

This view is not new. It was first crystallized in the marriage laws of 1935. The present war has only reinforced its validity. Sentiment, national need, and the spiritual outlook on the family will further solidify it.

It is this writer's conviction that divorce will be even more difficult at the end of the war than the law of 1935 has made it. The days of easy marriage

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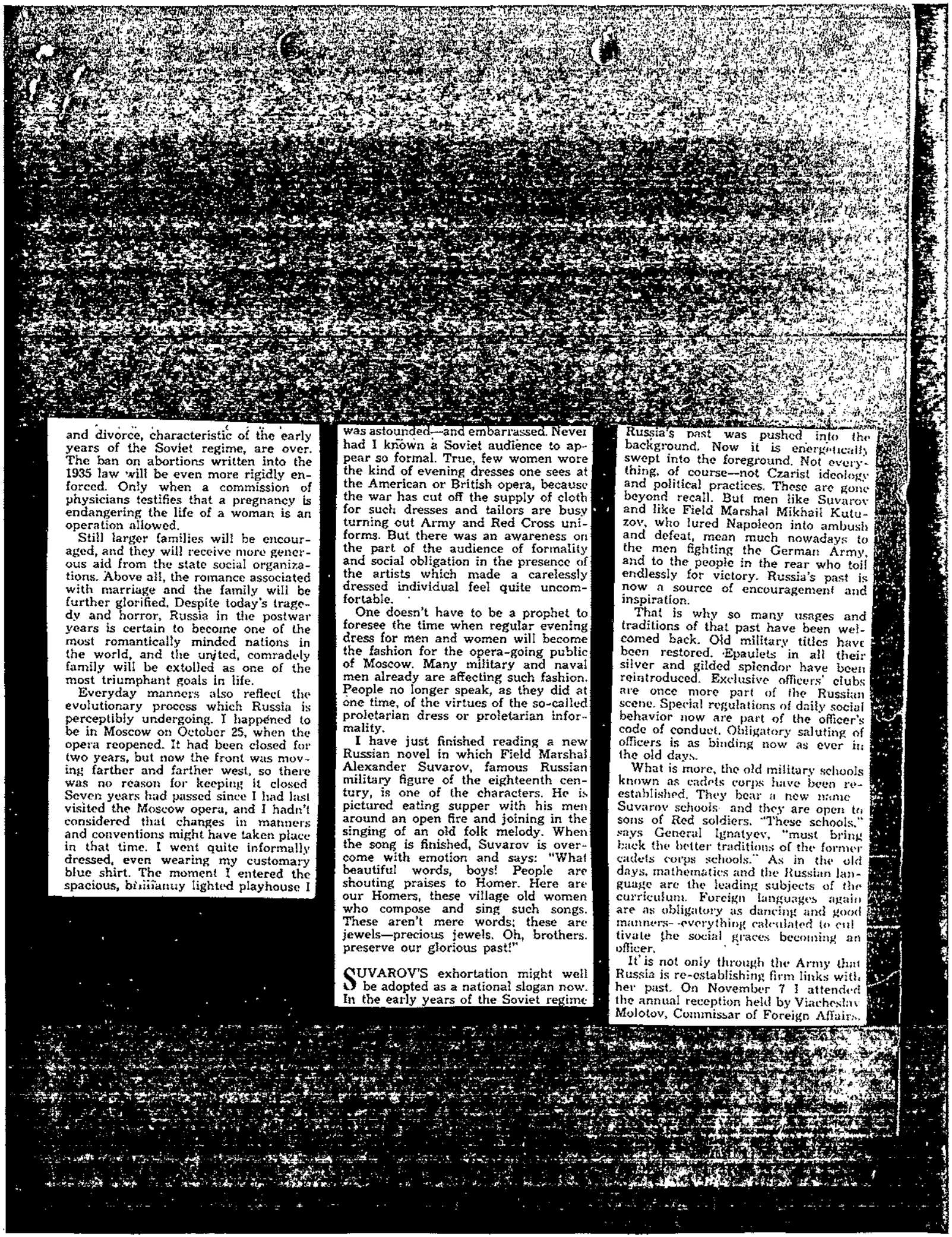

and divorce, characteristic of the early years of the Soviet regime, are over. The ban on abortions written into the 1935 law will be even more rigidly enforced. Only when a commission of physicians testifies that a pregnancy is endangering the life of a woman is an operation allowed.

Still larger families will be encouraged, and they will receive more generous aid from the state social organizations. Above all, the romance associated with marriage and the family will be further glorified. Despite today's tragedy and horror, Russia in the postwar years is certain to become one of the most romantically minded nations in the world, and the united, comradely family will be extolled as one of the most triumphant goals in life.

Everyday manners also reflect the evolutionary process which Russia is perceptibly undergoing. I happened to be in Moscow on October 25, when the opera reopened. It had been closed for two years, but now the front was moving farther and farther west, so there was no reason for keeping it closed. Seven years had passed since I had last visited the Moscow opera, and I hadn't considered that changes in manners and conventions might have taken place in that time. I went quite informally dressed, even wearing my customary blue shirt. The moment I entered the spacious, brilliantly lighted playhouse I was astounded—and embarrassed. Never had I known a Soviet audience to appear so formal. True, few women wore the kind of evening dresses one sees at the American or British opera, because the war has cut off the supply of cloth for such dresses and tailors are busy turning out Army and Red Cross uniforms. But there was an awareness on the part of the audience of formality and social obligation in the presence of the artists which made a carelessly dressed individual feel quite uncomfortable.

One doesn't have to be a prophet to foresee the time when regular evening dress for men and women will become the fashion for the opera-going public of Moscow. Many military and naval men already are affecting such fashion. People no longer speak, as they did at one time, of the virtues of the so-called proletarian dress or proletarian informality.

I have just finished reading a new Russian novel in which Field Marshal Alexander Suvarov, famous Russian military figure of the eighteenth century, is one of the characters. He is pictured eating supper with his men around an open fire and joining in the singing of an old folk melody. When the song is finished, Suvarov is overcome with emotion and says: "What beautiful words, boys! People are shouting praises to Homer. Here are our Homers, these village old women who compose and sing such songs. These aren't mere words; these are jewels—precious jewels. Oh, brothers, preserve our glorious past!"

SUVAROV'S exhortation might well be adopted as a national slogan now. In the early years of the Soviet regime Russia's past was pushed into the background. Now it is energetically swept into the foreground. Not everything, of course—not Czarist ideology and political practices. These are gone beyond recall. But men like Suvarov and like Field Marshal Mikhail Kutuzov, who lured Napoleon into ambush and defeat, mean much nowadays to the men fighting the German Army, and to the people in the rear who toil endlessly for victory. Russia's past is now a source of encouragement and inspiration.

That is why so many usages and traditions of that past have been welcomed back. Old military titles have been restored. Epaulets in all their silver and gilded splendor have been reintroduced. Exclusive officers' clubs are once more part of the Russian scene. Special regulations of daily social behavior now are part of the officer's code of conduct. Obligatory saluting of officers is as binding now as ever in the old days.

What is more, the old military schools known as cadets corps have been re-established. They bear a new name Suvarov schools and they are open to sons of Red soldiers. "These schools," says General Ignatyev, "must bring back the better traditions of the former cadets corps schools." As in the old days, mathematics and the Russian language are the leading subjects of the curriculum. Foreign languages again are as obligatory as dancing and good manners—everything calculated to cultivate the social graces becoming an officer.

It is not only through the Army that Russia is re-establishing firm links with her past. On November 7 I attended the annual reception held by Viacheslav Molotov, Commissar of Foreign Affairs.

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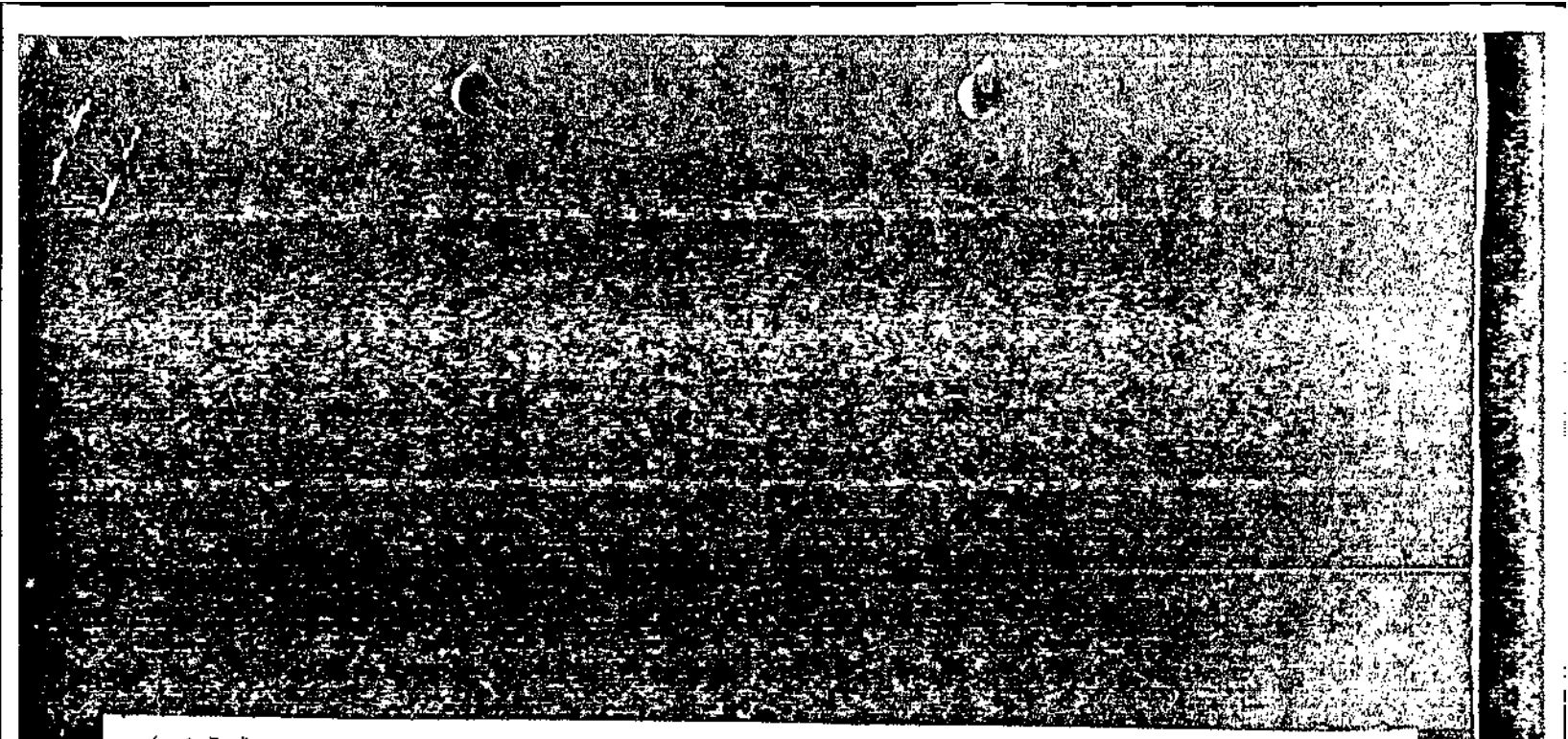

For the first time since the rise of the Soviet regime, the Commissar wore a uniform. So did all his associates, including Maxim Litvinov. Nor were these ordinary uniforms. Of black cloth with gleaming epaulets, gold braid and embroidery, they were more decorative than any military uniform I have yet seen in Soviet Russia.

In fact, the uniform with the inevitable epaulets is returning to all civil services. Railwaymen, all the way from Kaganovich, Commissar of Railroads, to signalmen, are already wearing them. So are judges and prosecuting attorneys.

This year, for the first time since the Soviets came into power, there is no coeducation in the lower middle schools. As in Czarist days, boys and girls study in separate buildings. Russian educators declare coeducation in Russia is not justified. One, named Protopopova, writes that girls' schools must be permeated by the feminine spirit. "Everywhere there must be the stamp of the feminine manner, feminine modesty, feminine beauty, feminine glamour. A woman," she continues, "may be an engineer, a flyer, or a sharpshooter, but she must always remain a woman, whether wearing a ballroom gown or, when necessity demands, a soldier's coarse uniform." Henceforth girls will devote much attention to purely feminine subjects—feminine hygiene, dress, attractiveness, motherhood, and homemaking—precisely as they do in some of the most fashionable girls' schools in America and England.

In one important respect Russia today is not seeking to establish the least identity with the Russia of yesterday. It remains collectivist. The state is the supreme director, the sole owner of the "means of production." Only a small amount of petty enterprise is in private hands. Nowhere in the pronouncements of leaders, the official press, or private conversation is there the least hint of concessions to private industry, banking, agriculture, international trade, or internal large-scale commerce, either wholesale or retail. Thus the basic and original aim of the Soviet revolution, the elimination of all private enterprise, remains untouched and unshaken. In most other respects—in the Army, education, religion, family, morals, and everyday manners—there is a constant evolution toward something permanent and distinctively Russian, something new yet linked with the historic past, sometimes in more than mere form. As one Russian lecturer expressed it: "The best of old Russia is known and believed."

SIDE by side with Russia's revaluation of herself has come a revaluation of her international relations. The war has brought her into closer contact with the outside world, especially her allies, than she had ever been since the overthrow of the Czar. The Moscow and Teheran conferences have drawn her still closer to her English-speaking allies. Stalin's toast at Churchill's birthday party at Teheran was a memorable and significant event. Said the Premier Marshal, the one man in history who has carried out a program of collectivist enterprise gigantic enough to bend back the might of a highly industrialized Germany and its highly mechanized Reichswehr: "Without American production the United Nations could never have won the war."

Stalin wasn't merely flattering America. He isn't a man to soft-soap anybody. Implacable realist that he is, he is supremely aware of the momentous achievements of American industry, which is privately owned. He knows what American jeeps, American trucks, and American planes have meant to the Russian Army, especially now that it is on the offensive. Recently I spent a few days at a Russian airdrome near the fighting front. Russian flyers were full of praise for American Airacobras. A Siberian flyer told me that there is hardly a day, when weather permits, that he doesn't start out in his Airacobra- "and it always comes back." He spoke of it as though it were his dearest possession.

Further testimony of Russia's growing friendliness toward America is her willingness to carry American Red Cross supplies for American war prisoners in Japan in her own ships every month. Not too many Russian boats sail from our own West Coast for Vladivostok, and Russia's own needs for supplies are overwhelming; yet she has undertaken such delivery for the Red Cross because no one else is in like geographical position to grant the favor.

The Moscow and Teheran conferences have laid a broad, deep foundation for future understanding and co-operation among Russia, the United States, and England. The Teheran conference, especially, stirred the Russian imagination, Russian emotions, and Russian hope for an orderly, peaceful world after this war is ended. If in the postwar years the spirit manifested at those conferences prevails, the world may look forward to an era of peace for the balance of the present century. This sentiment, anyway, is widespread among the Russian people.

THE END

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Armistice Terms Drafted by Soviet

Commission Now Has Terms of All Big Three

By Frederick Kuh
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LONDON, Feb. 17. — Russia's draft of armistice terms for Germany has now arrived in London. Fedor Gusiev, the Russian Ambassador, intends to present them at the next meeting of the European Advisory Commission tomorrow.

This makes the third set of terms on hand. Britain and the U. S. A. already have handed the Commission their list of conditions which Germany can see when she surrenders. The Soviet Government and Red Army leaders had the benefit of one and two weeks respectively for studying U. S. and British terms before communicating the draft.

The contents of the three documents are a secret only to be divulged when Hitler or his successor says "when" by ordering the German armed forces to lay down their arms.

Will Clip the Eagle

The public declaration makes this much clear: Russia, like the U. S. A. and Britain, is aware that Germany will survive and the German people must be given means for a decent life and a chance to rejoin the family of nations.

President Benes of Czechoslovakia and other statesmen who visited Moscow in recent weeks and months, however, came back firmly convinced that the USSR does not intend to trifle with any German inclined to toy with the idea of a war of revenge. After her experience, the Soviet Union is going to clip the German eagle's claws and the U. S. A. and Britain fully share that determination.

The European Commission must now settle down to comparison of the three drafts and harmonize them into a single document ready to be handed German plenipotentiaries when the German high command capitulates.

It ought to be emphasized again and again that neither the Commission nor the three governments it advises are compelled in preparing the surrender terms by any expectation of Germany's early collapse.

All believe the toughest chapter of the struggle must still be written.

Other Problems

Will the Commission be obliged to interrupt its work on the terms for Germany by a previous request for peace from one or more Axis puppets? Maybe Finland will induce the Commission momentarily to turn away from Germany to help the Finns who are groping for an exit from the war.

The Commission might also be willing, briefly, to neglect Germany if Bulgaria, Rumania, Hungary and Slovakia decide that enough is plenty.

It seems obvious that any commission with the scope of the tripower body in London must consider in drafting armistice plans, the prospect of Allied occupation of enemy territory.

This in turn raises the problem of zones of occupation. A fair approach regarding defeated Germany probably would be the stationing of numerically equal U. S., Soviet and British forces in the Reich.

Will the Poles, Czechs, French, Dutch and other United Nations forces participate in the occupation? Elementary geography would suggest that U. S. and British armies are destined for limited period after the armistice to occupy the western and the Red Army the eastern regions of Germany.

Will all three jointly occupy any sectors? Who will occupy Berlin—one or all three main Allied armies?

The question is certain to arise about how much freedom the Allies intend to allow Germany. For what period will our enemies be put on probation? As the occupation must ultimately end, by what stages shall it be lifted?

Question of AMG

The Allied Military Government (AMG), one supposes, will operate, but alongside it will be a German administration managing the postal and railroad services, ordinary trade, gas, electricity, water supply, street cleaning—in short, the country's everyday life.

Where would the AMG's activities end and the German administration begin?

The problems just sketched are just a few the Commission can be expected to encompass. Even this brief survey, however, may explain why the Commission's members are hard at it, producing formidable plans.

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for FEB. 17, 1944
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NEW STEP TOWARD DEVELOPMENT OF FOREIGN RELATIONS OF USSR

The following editorial appeared in Number 3 of the Soviet publication WAR AND THE WORKING CLASS:

On February 1, 1944 the Supreme Soviet of the USSR adopted decisions to create army formations in the constituent Republics and to invest the constituent Republics with powers in the field of foreign relations. In this connection the People's Commissariat of Defense and the People's Commissariat of Foreign Affairs are converted from All-Union into Union-Republican Commissariats. By a decision of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR—the highest organ of State authority—corresponding amendments have been introduced into the Constitution of the USSR.

As V. M. Molotov said in his speech at the Tenth Session of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, these decisions represent a new and important step toward the practical solution of the national question in the multi-national Soviet State. The new and responsible functions which have been entrusted to the constituent Republics, and now the broad rights and powers with which they have been invested in the domain of defense and foreign relations, signify another triumph for the Lenin and Stalin national policy pursued by the Soviet State.

The fact that these far-reaching constitutional reforms have been undertaken at the height of the stern and trying struggle which has fallen to the lot of our country is particularly striking testimony to the increased strength and maturity of the constituent Republics, as well as the unshakable might of our Union as a whole.

The decision to invest the constituent Republics with powers to enter into direct relations with foreign states and to conclude agreements with them will undoubtedly help to extend the international ties of our country. It will create the premises which will make it possible for the foreign relations of the Soviet Union as they develop to embrace as fully as possible not only the needs of the Union in general, but also the diversified and growing requirements of the constituent Republics in foreign affairs.

The Soviet commonwealth of nations comprises 16 constituent Republics. In population and territory, in the level of industry and production, in cultural development, richness of historical past and in national traditions, the Soviet Republics will easily stand comparison with many countries of Europe, and not only of Europe. It need only be mentioned that the Russian Federation, which covers an immense area stretching from the Baltic to the Pacific, has a larger population than any country in Europe. We also know that in point of population the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic numbers only a little less than France and that the Byelorussian SSR surpasses Belgium, Holland, Portugal and Sweden. The Azerbaijanian SSR is one of the world's largest oil centers, while the Central Asian Republics are major producers of cotton and other valuable raw materials. Everyone is familiar with the unfading cultural treasures which have been created by the Transcaucasian Republics. The Baltic countries are destined to play a prominent part in the maritime trade of our great country.

It is only natural, therefore, that it has become of vital importance to the Republics to gain access to the foreign arena in accordance with their specific economic and cultural requirements.

The decisions of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR create a broader basis for cooperation between the Soviet Union and other states. In the spring of 1939, prior to the outbreak of the Second World War instigated by Hitlerite imperialism, when it was still possible by a real union of the forces of the peace-loving nations to avert bloodthirsty aggression on the part of Hitler's Germany, Stalin said: "We stand for peace and the strengthening of business relations with all countries. That is our position and we will adhere to this position as long as these countries maintain like relations with the Soviet Union and as long as they make no attempt to trespass on the interests of our country."

As we know, in the past there were countries which reckoned little with the interests and even with the very existence of the Soviet Union. But nowadays it is clear to all that the Soviet Union is a cardinal factor in international policy, one which no country can ignore except to the detriment of its own interest.

During this war the role and prestige of the Soviet Union has risen immeasurably in the eyes of the freedom-loving nations, and its relations with the democratic states have been strengthened. We need only mention the establishment—for the first time in the history of the Soviet Government—of not only friendly but even allied relations with Great Britain, as well as good relations with the United States.

The creation and consolidation of the anti-Hitler coalition headed by the Soviet Union, Great Britain and the United States has made it abundantly clear

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that friendly cooperation between the Soviet Union and other democratic powers was both possible and essential. Despite the fears of many "skeptics," the differences in ideology and social systems do not create a barrier to the development of this close cooperation, which is vital to the interests of all freedom-loving nations both in the war and in the peace.

The course of the war has shown that without the Soviet Union the defeat of Hitler Germany is inconceivable. It is equally clear that without the active participation of the Soviet Union, a stable and enduring peace among the nations is equally inconceivable. In the world family of democratic countries which may grow stronger after the common enemy is vanquished, the Soviet Union must occupy a place commensurate with its contribution to the freeing of the world from the fascist scourge and to the part it is playing in the creative political, economic and cultural activities of progressive mankind.

As we know, there are still idle gossips abroad who for want of better employment are puzzling their heads over the question of whether after the war "a return to isolation" is not to be expected on the part of the Soviet Union. Of course, these soothsayers are not so naive as they would have us believe. Everybody knows that in the decades preceding the war a policy of isolating the Soviet Union was pursued by reactionary leaders. Now the kept politicians in their effort to whitewash their client and to lay the blame on innocent shoulders are talking vaguely and mysteriously of a Soviet "policy of isolation," which does not and never did exist. The absurdity of these assertions is particularly clear in the light of the decisions of the highest organ of State authority in the USSR.

Who will deny that this decision of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR is a demonstration of the desire of the Soviet State to develop and strengthen cooperation with other states and to widen its scope?

It was only natural, at the first news of the reorganization of the People's Commissariat of Foreign Affairs, that the Hitlerite adventurers whose piratical diplomacy is as obviously bankrupt as the vaunted German strategy, should raise their usual cry that this was a "Bolshevist trick," a "Soviet maneuver," and the like. It is not surprising that now that Hitler's plans for world domination have collapsed, the fascist swindlers should take advantage of every conceivable pretext to calumniate the Soviet Union by asserting that it is out to annex dozens of states, to bring the whole of Europe under its influence and to establish nothing more nor less than world dominion. Nothing else is to be expected from the Hitlerite bankrupts.

But it is to be expected that all persons of any intelligence who are not interested in Hitler's attempts to poison the international political atmosphere will reject with contempt and disgust all the various "international relations" and "conjectures" which bear the obvious mark of Berlin origin. This mark is borne, for instance, by conjectures to the effect that the present constitutional reforms in the USSR are designed to "pave the way for the incorporation of other countries into the Soviet Union," or to create an instrument for an "expansionist policy" of the Soviet State, or to serve as a means of "using force within the United Nations," etc.

The Soviet public unanimously welcomes the historic decisions of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, which are a logical step in the development of cooperation between our country and the foreign world.

It is to be presumed that these decisions will meet with full understanding on the part of all the friends of peace and liberty of nations, and will be comprehended by them as a new demonstration of the unswerving determination of the Soviet Union to strengthen business ties with all countries which are capable of showing due respect for the interests of our country.

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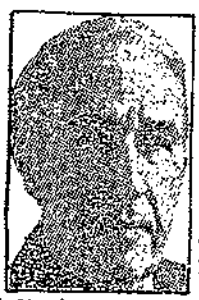
Russian Lightning

By William Phillip Simms



ALTHO official Washington's attitude remains one of avowed faith in the Atlantic Charter and the pacts of Moscow and Teheran, elsewhere in United Nations circles one does not have to look far to find an atmosphere of expectancy if not apprehension.

At present, all signs point toward early developments in Moscow and along the borders of the Soviet Union. The lightning seems about to strike in Finland, Poland and elsewhere along the Baltic, with subsequent thunderbolts reserved for others areas as the Nazi end of the Axis crumbles.

Marshal Stalin's doctrines, therefore, are being searched for a key to Russia's long-term aims. Special reference is being paid to his attitude toward (a) the Soviet Union's small neighbors and (b) the 16 Soviet republics which may soon be wanting to send their ministers or ambassadors to Washington and other world capitals.

The search tends to clear up a number of points. For instance, Stalin wrote in Pravda, the Communist party organ, as far back as 1920 that: "Soviet autonomy is the real and concrete way of uniting the border regions to Central Russia." However, he explained, there would be several different degrees of autonomy, depending on the degree of advancement of the inhabitants of the various regions.

* * *

HE MADE it plain that, in practice, these republics could not secede. In this most important essential, therefore, they would not be completely independent because they could not decide their own fate.

"Of course," he declared, "these regions, just as all other nations, possess the inalienable right to secede from Russia. . . . But the question here is not the indubitable rights of nations but of the interests of the masses of the people both in the Center and in the border regions." Therefore, he went on to say, "the demand for secession . . . must be rejected not only because it is contrary to the very definition of an alliance between the Center and the border regions, but primarily because it is fundamentally opposed to the interests of the masses" as a whole.

By the "Center" Stalin meant Russia proper, which extends from the Baltic to the Pacific Ocean and contains some 70 per cent of the total population of the Soviet Union.

* * *

A HINT as to what might be in store for Finland, Poland and other border states may be found in the same article.

"When a life-and-death struggle is being waged," Stalin wrote, "and is spreading between proletarian Russia and the imperialist Entente (the western powers), only two alternatives confront the border regions. Either they join forces with Russia . . . and be emancipated, or . . . join the Entente and (wear) the yoke of imperialism."

"There is," Stalin concluded, "no third solution. The so-called independence of a so-called independent Poland, Finland, etc., is only an illusion."

Later (1925), as if to emphasize the permanence of the Soviet program, Stalin spoke of the apparent "lull" or "temporary stabilization" of both the revolution and capitalism, and called it "only a phase." It might last decades, however, he declared, and the revolution "might develop in zigzags, in advances and retreats, in the ebb and flow of tides." But it would go marching on just the same.

WASH. DAILY NEWS FEB. 15, 1944 p. 23

THE NEW SOVIET CHANGES

Molotov's speech reveals the solidarity and independence of Union republics. Full flowering of Stalin's nationalities program. Press response favorable, excluding Lerner and Hearst.

For the fullest appreciation of the significance of Molotov's speech to the Supreme Soviet last week I can think of nothing better as background reading than a careful study of Stalin's address, made in 1936, on the Draft Constitution. It will immediately puncture the contention that whatever Molotov said was intended to fall as a bombshell in diplomatic circles or that the voting of an enlarged autonomy to the sixteen Union Republics in matters of foreign policy and defense was a step in the direction of "Soviet power politics." Not only is this point of view compounded of ignorance and prejudice but it reveals an utter failure to understand the logic of developments of a quarter century of Soviet life.

Stalin in tracing the limitations of the previous constitution observed that "the draft of the new Constitution is a summary of the path that has been traversed, a summary of the gains already achieved. In other words, it is the registration and legislative embodiment of what has already been achieved and won in actual fact." Here, then, is a key to understanding the constitutional revisions which the Supreme Soviet approved during its recent session. In the eight blazing and stormy years since the adoption of the 1936 basic laws, life has not remained static. In five years of uncertain peace and almost three of war the setting has been created for fresh changes in the relations of the federated republics.

These relations have passed through several stages. Molotov refers to the fact that before the founding of the Soviet Union, there existed in addition to the foreign commissariat of the RSFSR (the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic) independent foreign departments in the Ukraine, Byelo-Russia, Georgia, Armenia and Azerbaidjan which in some instances conducted relations with foreign states. This was one stage—a stage dictated by the inner needs of these republics to keep themselves alive against the devastation wrought by the Central Powers and the interventionists. But joint diplomatic representation became essential in 1922 when it was urgent to send a mission to the All-European Economic Congress and a protocol was executed transferring representation to the RSFSR.

The union of the republics took place in the same year and the different foreign offices were combined. The reason for this amalgamation in the conduct of foreign affairs could be found in the more fundamental reason for the amalgamation of the republics. The old, loose relations of the preceding years were no longer satisfactory. The republics were compelled to move closer to each other by their serious internal economic crisis, obliging them to embark on a program of mutual assistance in developing their productive resources.

The second set of factors as Stalin analyzed it in 1922, in a report to the Tenth All-Russian Congress of Soviets, was related to the Soviet government's internal position. This involved the country's military status, its relations with foreign capital through the Commissariat of Foreign Trade, and its diplomatic relations with states abroad. "It should be remembered," Stalin said, "that in spite of the fact that our republics have happily emerged from the condition of civil war, the danger of attack from without is far from eliminated. This danger demands that our military front should be absolutely united, that our army should be an absolutely united army. . . . Furthermore, apart from the military danger, there is a danger of the economic isolation of our federation. . . . There is a danger that our republics may become economically isolated. This new form of intervention, which is no less dangerous than military intervention, can be eliminated only by the creation of a united economic front of our Soviet republics in face of the capitalist encirclement. Finally, there is our diplomatic situation. You have all been witnesses of how recently, on the eve of the Lausanne Conference [held in November 1922, to conclude peace between Greece and Turkey], the Entente states made every effort to isolate our federation. Diplomatically, they did not succeed. The organized diplomatic boycott of our federation was broken. The Entente was forced to reckon with our federation and to a certain extent to beat a retreat.

"There are no grounds for assuming that such and similar cases of diplomatic isolation of our federation will not be repeated. Hence the necessity for a united front along diplomatic lines also."

This quotation is worth pondering and I cite it at length because it becomes immediately clear that decentralization of the Soviet diplomatic apparatus was inevitable once the causes for a joint foreign commissariat were eliminated or on their way towards elimination. The world scene is now such that after Teheran, Soviet leadership is convinced that it can live peacefully side by side with the capitalist democracies. Churchill, Stalin, and Roosevelt have agreed to "work together in the war and in the peace that will follow." Their concord is such that the Soviet gov-

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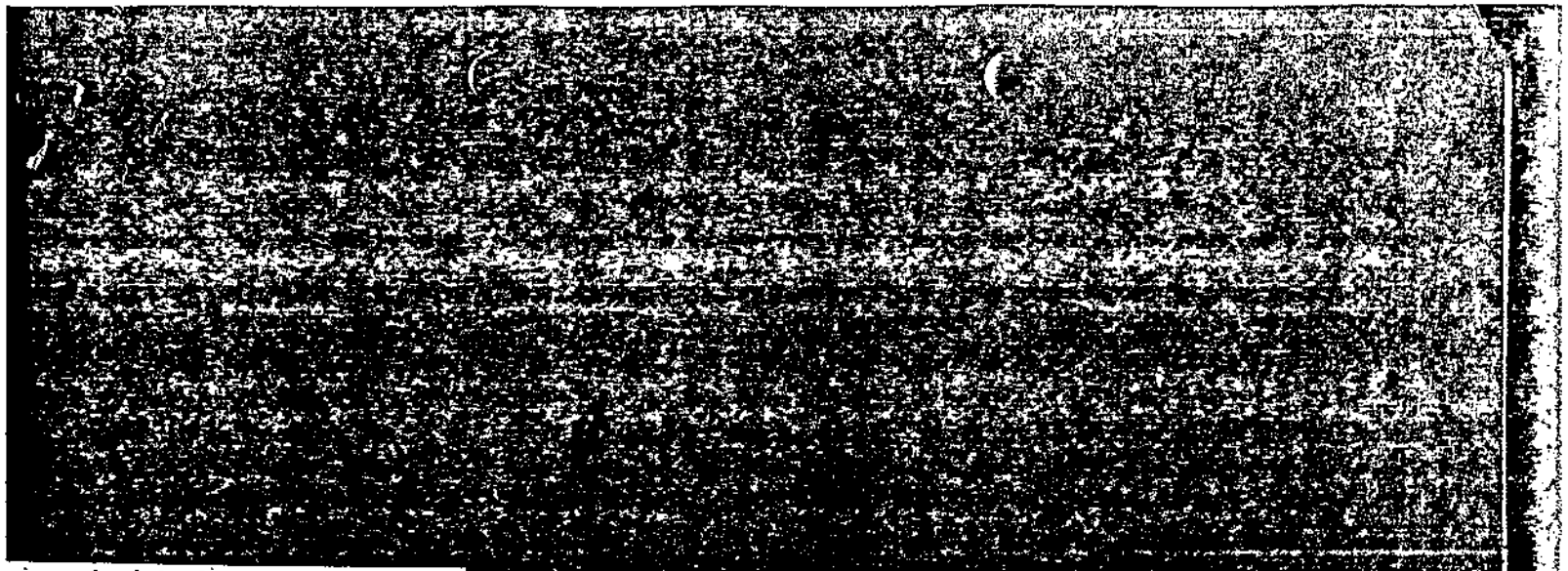

rnment is of the firm belief that capitalist ountries and the major capitalist circles i them have given up their hostility of ie past and replaced it with a policy hereby outstanding differences can be ettled amicably without resort to war— ar against the mightiest military power n earth. In other words the two sys- ems' leaders are eager for collaboration to eir mutual benefit. And such friendship ecessarily shows itself not only in altered titudes, one towards the other, but re- ults, it seems to me, in practical changes Soviet state forms which in the past id been geared for the eventualities and rprises of a Munich and pre-Teheran orld. The new revisions in the Soviet onstitution summarize, as Stalin said on nother occasion, "the path that has been aversed . . . the gains already achieved"; ey register what has been won in actual ct not only on the field of battle but in ternational relations.

These revisions also exemplify the dy- amics of Soviet life. But above all they e a tribute to Stalin's handling of the oblems facing a multi-national state. In ne of war timid men might be fearful at enlarging autonomy would result greater stresses and strains, perhaps in aos. As Molotov put it, it is not every ate that in wartime "would venture to ndertake such important transforma- ns." But the Soviet Republics thrive on tonomy, while the war strengthens and pands the basic unity of all Soviet peo- es.

THE capitalist world is perhaps not familiar with all the details of Stalin's fruitful work on the problems of nationalities or what his program achieved in reversing the czarist policy of the supremacy of the Great Russians. Under the czars it was only the western borderlands that were developed, while other areas remained beyond civilization. Under the Soviet regime and with Stalin's guidance capital flowed into the hinterland. New cities arose in the Siberian wilds. In the Asiatic republics modern industry mushroomed and brought formerly nomadic peoples to unprecedented standards of living. There can be little doubt that were it not for the Lenin-Stalinist nationalities policy, the USSR might have faced defeat in this war. Hitler made great efforts to find a crack among the Soviet nations. Instead he found the greatest solidarity. The first bullet that struck a Red Army man was felt in every corner of the vast land from the Arctic to Turkestan.

Then again, change and forward movement, in planned and controlled fashion, are the key characteristics of the Soviet community as a whole. I make this point since it is now more than apparent that many other Soviet changes are in the offing. What they will be only time will tell, but change is undoubtedly the perspective now that it is certain that the invader will be beaten to a pulp and hurled out of the country.

The realization that victory impends raises problems for the Union Republics as well as for the Soviet government as a whole. The republics, for example, are undoubtedly beginning to think about reconstruction, about new designs for living within the socialist economy, about the correction of shortcomings revealed by the war. Some of these republics, especially those on the western borderland, will need more assistance in rehabilitating themselves than republics which have not felt the fullest impact of the Nazi tornado. This difference in needs creates special problems which can be dealt with best by the separate Unions, who, under the new revisions of the constitution now have greater opportunities to participate independently in matters concerned with international relief through their separate foreign departments.

Then, too, there are republics which because of their geographical position can undertake fruitful relations with foreign states in which other Union Republics have no direct or special interest. For example, the Republic of Uzbekistan, far to the south, can negotiate a special treaty with Afghanistan—a treaty which would be of no direct concern to the Estonian or Karelo-Finnish Republics to the north. If I may use a rather loose analogy, oversimplified, it is as though a Los Angeles local of a national trade union entered negotiations with a Los Angeles company in which a New York local has no interest

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xcept as it strengthens the union as a vhole. As I say, this is much too simple n illustration, but it does indicate the rich ossibilities of autonomy in foreign affairs or the Union Republics.

Molotov also remarks in his speech that ecause the Soviet Constitution did not al- ow for the exchange of diplomatic rep- esentatives by the Union Republics with ther states, this has been "interpreted to he direct detriment of the interests of the oviet Republics and the Soviet Union as whole." The amended constitution now rovides for exchanges of diplomatic mis- ions, and eliminates the criticism, from /hatever quarters, that diplomatic practices re imposed on the Unions from Moscow egardless of the Unions' special interests. The new procedure in the case of Lat- ia, Lithuania, and Esthonia could mean, or example, that these states can send am- assadors to the United States, England, 'anada or elsewhere for the negotiation of 'eaties and the transaction of business olely of interest to them. If it has been ie contention of our government that the altics had been completely engorged and ave no independent rights of their own, ien the new Soviet diplomatic practice an- vers these arguments completely. For e only concern of our government is not the internal life of these states or with hom these states have chosen to federate, it whether these states can act independ- ently in their relations with other powers. Autonomy in foreign relations is all that need worry us.

I venture these suggestions on some of the practical consequences of the Soviet constitutional revisions because I cannot fathom the minds of those rarified commentators who saw in the revisions everything from power politics, to "needling" of the United Nations, to "cryptic" pressure, to a battle between the British empire and the USSR, to a use of sixteen extra votes with which the USSR would bludgeon the participants at the peace conference, etcetera and double etcetera.

What can be said in general about these "arguments" is that some of them echo Berlin broadcasts, which condemns them immediately, and that the others are the by-products of ignorance working with prejudice. These patently ridiculous points have called forth answers from conservative commentators on the radio and in the press, notably from Walter Lippmann, Dorothy Thompson, the New York *Herald Tribune*, and David Lawrence, a columnist with considerable influence in business circles.

It was Max Lerner, however, writing in New York's *PM*, who in a frantic and absurd editorial, made even more absurd by another, two days later, embodied all the categories of nonsense that greeted Molotov's speech. To answer Lerner is to answer them all. By making one of his descents from his lofty perch into the political sewer, Lerner again demonstrates how the fear of being labelled Red, how the drive to maintain a so-called independent position, leads him into one trap after another, and finally to certain ideas which when expressed by him are somewhat better fashioned but no less harmful than when they appear in the Hearst press.

No one should be surprised that this trained political scientist displays colossal ignorance of facts, for it is this ignorance that emboldens his prejudices. Early in his comment, Lerner asserts that the Union Republics (he calls them "Russian Soviet Republics," when the fact is that in the USSR there is only one such republic) have had only cultural autonomy in the past. As one who has frequently showed great delight in dealing with constitutional matters, a quick glance at the Soviet Constitution would have told him that in addition to cultural autonomy the republics have sovereign rights in all matters not limited by Article 14; and these limitations are only those which the state as a whole can deal with more effectively, such as a uniform system of national economic statistics, direction of the monetary and credit system, transport, communication, etc. The republics have sovereign rights, in addition now to defense and foreign affairs, and their own People's Commissariats for various republic industries as well as for agriculture, state grain and livestock farms,

(*Continued on page 26*)

New Soviet Changes

(*Continued from page 4*)

finance, trade, justice, public health and state control. But above all these, the Union Republics have the right to secede—a right which represents the highest measure of autonomy and a right which Stalin defended against those who opposed it.

There are more Lerner violations of fact but one in particular stands out—an assertion that the USSR is engaging in power politics by adding sixteen votes to its bargaining position. What, he asks, would happen if we adopted the same practice and our own forty-eight states appointed their own ambassadors and signed separate treaties? The comparison between the sixteen Union Republics and the forty-eight states has absolutely no foundation in fact, history, ethnography, or anything else. The sixteen republics represent *sixteen different nations*, each with its own language, customs, traditions, literature, culture, and psychological makeup, all of them historically evolved—not a phenomenon that took place over night. Some of these nations are as different from each other as India is from Canada. Mr. Lerner would have us believe the British Commonwealth is a "historical fact" and, therefore, entitled to six votes for its dominions, the Soviet multi-national state, on the other hand, is "an overnight paper construction" and, therefore, not entitled to separate representations abroad. The fact is that many of the Soviet nations are as old as any on earth and older than some of the members of the Commonwealth. Their existence was not recognized by the czarist regimes but that makes them no less an "historical fact."

Integral to Lerner's power politics mania is that the Rusians are interested in getting sixteen extra votes at some future world legislative assembly or peace conference. Out of such thinking, Lerner establishes a new bogey: instead of there being one Bolshevik "menace" there will now be sixteen. Such is the political sewer from which the noxious gases rise. Interestingly enough Hearst's New York *Mirror* (February 3) gets the same idea across in a cartoon on that newspaper's editorial page.

Walter Lippmann has replied to what he calls Lerner's "amateurish objection." This is a reply that comes not from the Reds but from a conservative publicist, and he says that it is impossible that decisions at a peace conference "will be taken by counting votes. Obviously, the only way the decisions can be taken is under the leadership of the great powers and by their consent, and in consultation and, so far as possible, in agreement with the other powers which are concerned with the decision. Voting cannot and will not be the method of deciding the great issues. . . ." The idea that a show of hands will determine the future may prevail in the world of college classrooms, but in the real world issues are decided by conciliation and conference.

Happily, Lerner's hue and cry was not the dominant note in press reaction—at least not here in the East. Americans, heart and soul behind Teheran, can see quite beyond the tips of their noses. For it is clear, as Molotov put it, that the new Soviet decisions contribute to the moral and political defeat of fascism—fascism which exterminates nations and gives them the diplomatic autonomy of a self-perpetuating treaty with the graveyard.

JOHN STUART.

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The Soviet Commonwealth

THE CONSTITUTIONAL CHANGE by which the constituent republics of the Soviet Union are granted greater autonomy is not subject to any glib explanation. Commentators in other countries, in spite of the demonstration furnished by the war that the Russian commonwealth comprises a great people with many individual variations, still tend to think as if whatever is done in that country were the result of some sleight-of-hand on the part of one man, or at least a small group, in the Kremlin. Centralized power there certainly is, but there could be no greater error than to suppose that all the energy comes from the top down rather than welling up in large measure from the vast populations over enormous stretches of the map. A brittle dictatorship ruling a mass of inert slaves could never have withstood the shocks of these past years. We shall have to await events before being certain even of the intentions of those who inaugurated the change, and its true historical significance may not appear for years.

Explanations in the press have run largely in terms of its meaning for foreign relations. This is natural in view of the power granted the several republics to make treaties and exchange diplomatic representatives. Yet the new development may have internal importance as well. Before considering its international aspect, let us examine for a moment some of the domestic situations to which it is pertinent.

The Russian empire, like the Soviet Union which has succeeded it, embraced a large variety of peoples, languages and national traditions. Only a minority of the territory and population are historically Russian, by any test of nationality. The Tsarist regime had been one of conquest and bureaucratic regimentation; it had attempted to stamp out nationalities and Russify the entire realm. That was one of its greatest weaknesses. The Bolshevik revolution retained centralization in prescribing the forms of economy and government, but it made a right-about-face in cultural matters. Racial discrimination was abolished; national traditions, languages and literatures were revived. Stalin himself is a Georgian, and there is no prouder and more stiff-necked people than the Georgians, with their ancient civilization.

Even these concessions did not abolish all difficulties or eliminate the impulse toward separatism. The Ukrainians, for instance, have been an intermittent source of unrest for many years. The Ukraine contains a population larger than that of many independent European nations—approximately forty millions—and is the site of agricultural, mineral and industrial wealth greater than most. There has been a Ukrainian nationalist movement from the beginning of the revolution, embracing partisans on both sides of the Polish border

New Republic Feb. 14, 1944 p. 198-199

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which was set up after the last war. Hitler attempted to exploit it, but it is even more anti-German than anti-Russian. Since the present war has revived nationalism in other parts of Europe, it is entirely reasonable to suppose that the suffering and armed Ukrainians have also been dreaming their dreams.

In economic matters, too, there has for years been a growing tendency in the Soviet Union to moderate the extreme centralization which existed at the beginning. When every decision had to pass through Moscow, and moves were made at long distances from the scene of action, the machinery was too clumsy to work well. It is probable that the immense war production which has been achieved, and the resilience of the resistance to invasion, were the results of a good deal of relaxation in practical administration, though of course the communist policy has permeated everywhere.

Other changes in the attitude of the Soviet rulers have been much commented upon during the war. The revival of Russian historical traditions and a more friendly attitude toward the Orthodox Church were not mere devices of propaganda, but undoubtedly reflected the mood of the people. More power for the constituent republics may easily be just one more of the latent tendencies which the pressure of so great a war has brought forth.

In foreign affairs, the amendments may have a number of uses. We do not grant much credence to the common observation that this was a smart trick to give the Soviet Union more votes in a future international organization. The part which will be played by the Big Four in the making and operation of the peace will not depend on anything so mechanical as the number of votes in any assembly. Does anyone suppose, for instance, that the United States must play second fiddle to Britain merely because the British dominions have independent votes? Or that we should be more powerful if each of the forty-eight states should send a delegate? Or that Russia would have been any less able to command a hearing without the devolution which has occurred? The danger, one might suppose, would be exactly the opposite.

It may, however, be far easier to win the loyalty of the Ukrainians and White Russians who have been under Polish rule if they can join a Ukraine and a White Russia than if they were merely annexed to a Soviet Union. It may even be easier to incorporate states like Estonia, Lithuania and Latvia through an arrangement of this kind. And the result may be more than a mere change of wording. Just as a Canada and a South Africa with independent armies are more dependable allies of British power in times of crisis than they would be if they had remained crown colonies all these years, so outlying regions of the Soviet Union may play their strategic role better if they have a fairly full measure of autonomy.

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INTERNATIONAL

Devious Diplomacy

The men who schedule the Kremlin's diplomacy decided last week that the time had come to drive a wedge among Catholics. They chose *Izvestia*, official organ of the Soviet Government, as the instrument, and a recent Foreign Policy Association report on Vatican policy as a handy starting point. Wrote *Izvestia*:

"The inglorious part played by the Vatican in Hitler's and Mussolini's adventures in Spain is widely known. The Vatican kept silent when Italy launched the 'stab in the back' attack on France in June, 1940. Now the Vatican preaches 'impartial love for all nations' but the fact remains that in this great historic battle of freedom-loving people against the enemy of mankind, the Vatican occupied the position of an outright accomplice of Fascism. . . . Franco is a Vatican pet and Franco's Spain is the image of the clerical states of postwar Europe which the Vatican would like to see emerge. . . . Like the Italians, the Catholics of England, America, Spain, Poland and other countries are becoming convinced of the pro-Fascist character of the Vatican's policy. The Foreign Policy Association is right when it states that it foresees 'an approaching period of unprecedented anticlericalism.'"

Actually, the core of the Foreign Policy Association report was this definition of the Pope's role in modern world affairs: "The view that the Pope is at heart a fascist and wishes to see the triumph of modern dictatorships . . . proves to be without foundation in fact. At the same time, he is not a supporter of democracy but is just what he claims to be—indifferent to political forms, accepting any Government which will meet the minimum demands of the Church."

The Nub. Knowing readers spotted a clue to the attack in *Izvestia's* inclusion of Poland among the countries supposedly dissatisfied with Vatican policy. The Russians' clear meaning was: while we are arranging a "suitable" postwar Government for Poland, will Catholics who share our distrust of clericalism please urge the Vatican not to use its enormous influence with Polish Catholics against us.

Izvestia's bid brought swift, hot retorts from many a U.S. Catholic, cold disapproval from many a non-Catholic. Sharpest comeback was from Monsignor Fulton J. Sheen: "As Soviet Russia has already served notice that America and Great Britain may not interfere in the question of Poland, so now it serves notice on religion that it may not interfere in the question of Europe. From now on we may expect . . . a separate peace."

Less hotheaded Catholics hoped that Monsignor Sheen had not helped the Kremlin drive a wedge.

RUSSIA

Sharpened Sickle

The great hall of the Kremlin palace was packed and hot. Klieg lights stared at the tense and various faces of 1,360 delegates to the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R., ready for the final session of the 10th Congress. Russia's great filed in, and the applause began. It was still beating hard against the marble statue of Lenin above the platform when Marshal Stalin stepped on stage to stand almost shyly through a three-minute ovation, then slip into a back-row chair.

The Change. Everybody knew that Foreign Minister Viacheslav Molotov was no orator. Everybody knew that Molotov's speech would be momentous. Every delegate knew how he would vote when asked to approve whatever was proposed. In a 43-minute monotone, Molotov proposed:

▶ Changing the People's Commissariat of Defense from an All-Union to a Union-Republic Commissariat and adding separate commissariats for each Republic.

▶ Changing the People's Commissariat of Foreign Affairs the same way.

That meant allowing each of the 16 member Republics of the Soviet Union to build and maintain separate units of the Red Army—militia style. It did not mean abolishing the Red Army or its central wartime command. Nor did it mean decentralization of the Communist Party. So long as the highly centralized Party remains the only legal political association in the Republics, there is not the slightest danger of any "autonomous" unit going maverick. Furthermore, there are many other Union commissariats, still centered in Moscow. In matters which concern the whole U.S.S.R. and affect its world relations, the Kremlin retains final control.

Most important for the outer world, the change meant allowing each of the 16 Republics to open and maintain separate

GREAT RUSSIAN — UKRAINIAN — AZERBAIJANI — KIRGHIZ

THE REPUBLICS OF RUSSIA

The 16 Soviet Republics of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics are just the beginning. There are 189 races and peoples in the Soviet Union and they speak 150 languages, practice 40 religions, inhabit 74 assorted regions, territories, autonomous republics and Soviet Republics. Depending on locality, they wear reindeer fur, Moslem veils, ordinary coats and pants. They cover one-sixth of the world's land surface and they number 193 million men, women and children.

Roughly three-quarters of them are Slavs: Great Russians, Ukrainians (or Little Russians), White Russians. These peoples constituted three of the original four republics which joined to form the Soviet Union in 1922. The fourth was the Transcaucasian Republic, which later split into the Georgian, Armenian and Azerbaijan.

From the lofty, windy plateau of Central Asia in the shadow of the high Pamirs came

MOLDAVIAN — GEORGIAN — TURKMAN — KAZAKH

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diplomatic relations with foreign countries—sovereign-nation style. It did not mean that such multiple relations would necessarily be established with all countries. Despite the editorial alarms abroad, it did not mean that Stalin expects to fool the world into giving him 16 votes at all future international gatherings. Well does he know that the number of votes at an international conference table makes little difference; it is the power behind the votes that counts.

The Light. Molotov's most significant words came at the end. This change, he said, will be a new moral and political blow to Fascism and its suppression of free, national development. Military defeat of Fascism is not enough, he added, political defeat must likewise be complete. To the regimented Europe of Hitler's New Order, the Russians were offering autonomy, equality, and the right to maintain armed force. In the chaos of collapse, such a formula might be a persuasive invitation to much of Europe—for countries on or near Russia's western borders, and perhaps even to countries remote from Russia's present borders. And it might, in the later future, be an invitation to Asia as well.

First up are the Baltic Republics. Moscow had need of an enticement for the large number of apprehensive citizens now awaiting the Red Army in Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania.

The Kremlin also had one eye on the battered Poles. No sooner had Molotov obtained the customary, unanimous approval for the proposed change than Ukrainian Delegate Prechukha rose with a ready-made prediction: "A new, democratic Poland will arise after liberation from the Fascist yoke and all conditions for friendly cooperation of the Ukrainian and Polish peoples will be created . . . the *émigré* Polish Government [in London] not infrequently displays its imperialist, pro-Fascist tendencies in its policies. It is obvious that such tendencies preclude even the possibility of agreement."

If this was the voice of the Soviet Union speaking, the Russians had said their final word on: 1) the Polish Government in Exile; 2) Britain's recently reiterated support of that Government.

The Sickle. Beyond the effects upon Poland, the Baltics and, less immediately, the Balkans, lay a possibility which may be remote—or may be intensely real. A defeated Germany, or at least a part of a broken-up Germany, might choose autonomous union in the East in preference to ostracism in the West. No one could say for certain that the canny men of Moscow had this possibility in mind, or even that they would welcome it. But their recent diplomacy has displayed the boldness, the cockiness of a winner's game. All men could see that Molotov had given Russia's sickle a new cutting edge.

Stalin on Autonomy

Whatever the whole meaning and effect of the change in Russia's Government may be, the scheme is consistent with Joseph Stalin's own theories. As early as 1913, when he was an obscure, anti-Czarist underground worker, he wrote: "The only real solution is regional autonomy."

In 1920, as a rising young Commissar of Nationalities, Stalin declared: "Soviet autonomy is not a rigid thing fixed once and for all time; it permits of the most varied forms . . . from narrow administrative autonomy . . . to the supreme form of autonomy—contractual relations. . . . This elasticity makes it possible to embrace all the various types of border regions in Russia."

Revolutionary Russia originally consisted of four wholly autonomous republics which kept their own armies, made their own arrangements with foreign powers. This decentralized system ended in 1922, when the Soviet Union was formed. Last week Molotov remained the Supreme Soviet that Stalin said then: "I do not preclude the possibility that subsequently we may have to separate certain commissariats which are now merging in the Union of Republics."

Molotov spoke; Stalin studied his feet.

Silver Cord

Stocky, witty Alexander Yevdokimovich Korneichuk, successful Ukrainian dramatist, member of the Supreme Soviet and, for the past year, a Vice Commissar of Foreign Affairs under Molotov, resigned his post the day after his chief announced the new autonomy (*see above*). Two days later Kiev announced appointment of a Commissar of Foreign Affairs for the Ukraine: Alexander Yevdokimovich Korneichuk, husband of Polish-born Wanda Wasilewska (the leader of the Union of Polish Patriots), firm believer in close harmony among Ukrainians, Czechs and Poles to block revival of Prussian militarism, well trained disciple of the Molotov method.

TAJIK WHITE RUSSIAN UZBEK ARMENIAN

Türkmen, Tajiks and Uzbeks to establish three more border republics in 1925. Slope-eyed Kazakhs and Kirghiz were found ready to form republics, Soviet style, in 1936.

The five youngest republics grew out of the war. When Hitler attacked Poland, the Red Army moved westward, converting the three independent Baltic states of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania into Soviet Republics. There was a solemn plebiscite. Next, Russia took Bessarabia back from Rumania (she had lost it in World War I) and renamed it the Moldavian Republic. Finally the Russian part of the Karelian Isthmus, plus a slice of Finland conquered in 1940, was set up as the Karelo-Finnish Republic, and the pattern of border buffer republics was complete. The land of the Great Russians, the Russian Soviet Federal Socialist Republic, touches foreign territory only in the Far East, where the Amur River divides the R.S.F.S.R. from Japanese-held Manchuria. Between Russia proper and China lies the Mongolian People's Republic, a some-man's land, neither completely in nor quite out of the Soviet Union, but a buffer state just the same.

ESTONIAN LITHUANIAN LATVIAN KARELO-FINN

Soviofo, Margaret Bourke-White, Black Star

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LONDON SEEKS TO RESTORE RUSSIAN AGREEMENT

Counter-Claims of Moscow Supporters Demand a Strong Stand on Germany

By JAMES B. RESTON
By Wireless to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

LONDON, Feb. 12—The latest story around the London embassies is that the Russians, in "gratitude" for Anglo-American offers to mediate in the Russo-Polish dispute, have offered to mediate in the disputes between Irish and British on the one hand and Americans and Mexicans on the other.

The story, of course, is not true; the parallel is inexact and a little too cynical, but it is being circulated by the Russian sympathizers and it will serve as the theme for this dispatch, which is frankly an attempt to report on the three points the Russians and their supporters are putting out as their explanation of Soviet Russia's recent actions in eastern Europe.

(1) Soviet Russia is insisting, they say, on two principles: the right to settle her relations with her neighbors without the intervention of British and Americans or anybody else; and the right to demand "friendly" governments on her flanks, particularly on her German flank, which has been bleeding for twenty-five years.

These principles, they say, are neither new nor unusual, having been applied by Great Britain all over the world for several hundreds of years and by the United States in Latin America for a considerable period of time.

How Others Might Feel

Would not the British, they ask, insist upon a "friendly" government in Egypt, which is as vital for the security of the British Empire as Poland is vital for the security of the Russian empire? Does not the United States, they inquire, use its power—economic and political and sometimes military—to support "friendly" governments in Latin America? And how, they conclude, would Washington feel if, in trying to settle its old oil disputes with the United States, Mexico first appealed to Russia to intervene?

(2) Soviet Russia is also insisting—and this the Russian supporters say is the root of the problem—on a much clearer commitment from the United States and Britain on how we intend to deal with Germany after the war. Moscow is said to be dissatisfied with the replies they have received from Britain and the United States on this question and their dissatisfaction is increased by the opposition not only in the United States and British press against the breaking up of Germany after the war but by the speeches in Parliament here urging a "more humane" bombing policy against the Germans right now.

Judging by the glint in a Russian's eye when he hears talk about being humane wi[th]
now and after t[he]
seem that this
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about the future of Poland or the Baltic States, he tends to shift the conversation around to the future of Germany. Poland by herself, he says, obviously would be no danger to a powerful nation like the U.S.S.R., but Poland plus a Germany whose industry was not carefully controlled and whose territory was not carefully patrolled might be a great danger. The essence of the whole question of collaboration with Washington and London, he therefore concludes, is where we stand on the future of Germany and what we are prepared to do to see that she is never again a menace to world peace. And at least a part of the answer to our questions about the recent actions of Soviet Russia depends, he suggests, on our own answers to this post-war German question.

Own Strength Comes First

(3) It is a great mistake, the Russians contend to conclude from their unilateral action against Poland and their insistence on having "friendly" governments next door that they are any less willing to collaborate with the United States and Britain now than they were after the Moscow and Teheran

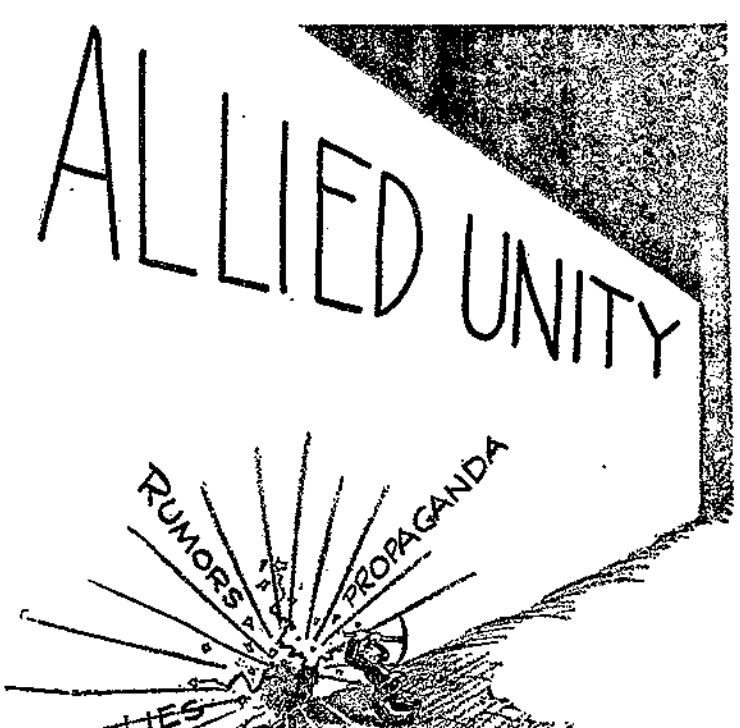
torial or other," and the second of which declares that "they desire no territorial changes that do not accord with the freely expressed wishes of the peoples concerned."

The Four-Power pact of Moscow also pledges them to "united action" for the "prosecution of the war" and "for the maintenance of peace and security," and Article V of the Moscow pact bound them to "consult with" the United States, Britain and China and with the other United Nations "with a view to joint action on behalf of the Community of Nations."

On the basis of the Russian Government's own statements at the Moscow conference and at Teheran, where Mr. Stalin agreed to "seek the cooperation and active participation of all nations, large and small," it is simple, therefore, to refute the arguments being put forward on behalf of the Russians in defense of their recent unilateral action in eastern Europe; but merely to prove that the Russians are both wrong and illogical is not enough.

For the Russian argument is much more than an exercise in logic; it happens to be the Russian policy at the moment, and proof

AGAINST A STONE WALL



Steve in The Syracuse Post-Standard

cow to mediate in such an inter-American dispute?

The Russian argument that there is little difference between Pan-Slavism and Pan-Americanism and that they are merely working out a Monroe Doctrine for eastern Europe gets far less support in London than the Russian charge that Washington and London are vague about their post-war policy toward Germany.

The German question has been a source of study in both the State Department and the Foreign Office for years, and probably more energy and paper have been expended on this question since the start of the war than on any other, but very little has been said about it except that we are determined that Germany shall never be able to start another world war.

Certainly it is next to impossible to find out in London what the British Government's post-war German policy is. Is it intended that Germany shall be broken up as before 1870? Is she to be totally occupied or only partly occupied by the Allied armies? Are we going to make the same mistake of trying to limit the number of her soldiers, as we did the last time, or are we going to concentrate on controlling her industry, which is much more important in determining whether she shall be able to make war? How is she to be administered after the war? Do we approve the Russian suggestion that her manpower and machinery should be used mainly to rebuild the wreckage left by the German Army and the Luftwaffe in Russia and elsewhere on the Continent?

For Clearer Policy

Admittedly, these questions must be answered cautiously. Public admission that the Allies intend to dismember the Reich could result in stiffening German resistance and prolonging the war, but there are many officials here who, while recognizing this difficulty, feel that both the United States and the British Governments could do more than they have done to place before Russia a specific policy that will make it quite clear that Washington and London have no desire to build up Germany economically after the war.

It can be taken for granted that Prime Minister Churchill is now doing everything he can to reassure Mr. Stalin on this central point of British policy toward Germany. The British are worried about the recent trend of Russian policy, but they are determined to concentrate more on trying to remove differences than in allocating blame for creating them. On that basis they feel that, even if they cannot persuade Mr. Stalin to drop his spheres-of-influence policy, it may at least be possible to restore some of the confidence that existed after the Moscow conference, which has been squandered by Moscow in the last six weeks.

the Japanese supply lines to south—to Java and Sumatra, to Malaya and to the Indian Ocean.

Many observers do not believe that any attack in force ever will be made on these areas. Rather, strategy dictates that they be isolated, with certain knowledge that they could be cleaned up at leisure once Japan was cut off from them.

One thing often overlooked as battle developments attract attention first to one and then to another locality in the Pacific is the fact that no sectional battle will be decisive. When President Roosevelt remarked that "there are many roads that lead to Tokyo," he might well have added that all are interconnecting highways. As he promised then, none of them is being neglected.

No competent military or naval personage here expects the fight to be easy or cheap in lives and material, but there is sound reason for believing that much of the preliminary work toward victory has been well done by the skeletal forces that already have fought a long, hard war.

Enemy Shipping Weakened

There is no trustworthy information about the forces Japan has in her possession, but on the basis of close mathematical reckoning the Japanese Empire is weaker in ships and more inferior in airplane quality than at the start of the war.

A third of the Japanese merchant shipping in existence when the war started has been destroyed, and it is not believed that the Japanese have been able to make good anything like this loss.

Japan probably has not been able to replace the four large carriers destroyed in the battle of Midway Island. The enemy's battleship and cruiser strength is relatively large, but battleships and cruisers are helpless at sea without heavy destroyer screens and large air umbrellas from carriers.

Now, the Japanese Fleet is hard-pressed to find enough destroyers to escort its convoys of merchant ships, which probably accounts for the fact that the

May Hold Fleet

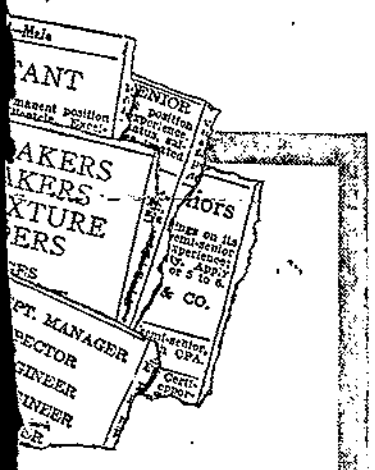
It is quite possible that the Japanese never will send out their fleet. There is another strategy which they might follow, that of keeping their heavy ships well behind the scope of their land-based fighting planes for use as virtual forts in the final defense of key positions.

This strategy would require that American invasion forces, wherever they might be, be subjected to the heaviest possible bombardment from land-based planes. The bringing of this air power to bear against the enemy is the primary reason for every campaign thus far undertaken. In future attacks the same motivation will continue to dominate campaigns until the Asiatic Continent is reached.

It once was hoped that Chinese bases could be reached by land campaigns from the west. Now, however, the easiest and the cheapest route appears to be across the Pacific.

American republics in withholding recognition from the revolutionary junta in Bolivia because of its original Axis backing is encouraging. The effectiveness of that demonstration of unity still continues.

Although the Bolivian situation had remained unchanged for some weeks, reports late this week began to point to the possibility that the junta in La Paz might remove its three or more pro-Axis members in the hope of inducing the United States and the eighteen other



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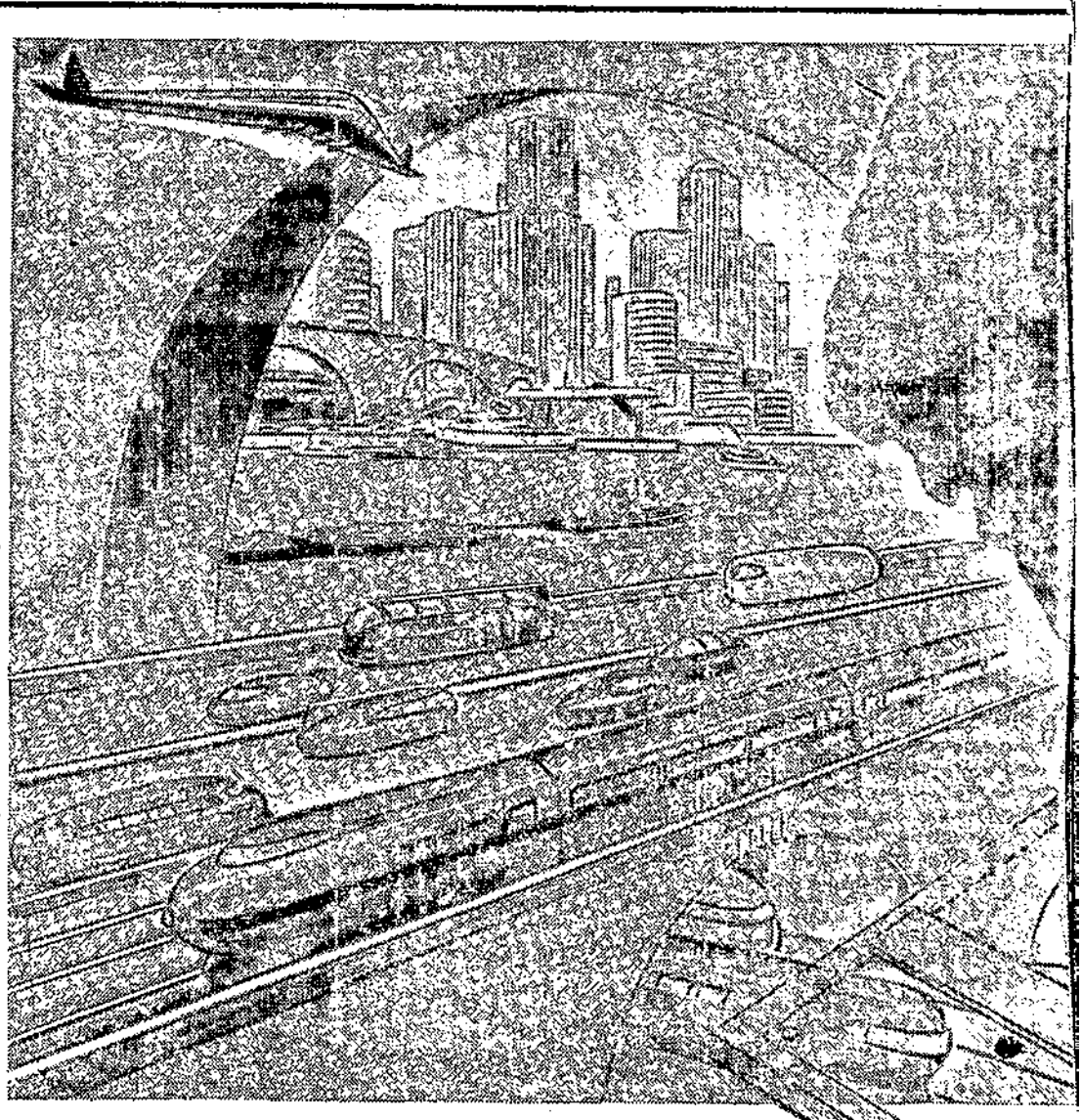

"WHERE THERE IS NO VISION,

War has quickened progress. In a thousand labora- war uses,
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conferences. Nevertheless, it must be recognized, they emphasize, that in the present state of the world's development Russia is going to rely first on her own strength. This, they concede, may be in opposition to the theories of collective security, and the insistence on "friendly" governments on her border may be in opposition to the principles of the Atlantic Charter. But, they ask, what assurance do they now have about what Britain and the United States will do to keep Germany down after the war, and in view of this lack of assurance and in view of the fact that the United States and British Governments are bound to change from time to time, why blame Moscow for relying for its security first on its own exertions?

It is at least interesting to compare this Russian argument and the unilateral actions it is intended to explain with their declarations at the Moscow and Teheran conference.

At Moscow Mr. Stalin reaffirmed his adherence to the United Nations declaration of Jan. 1, 1942, which stated that each Government "pledges itself to cooperate with the Governments signatory hereto." Among the Governments that signed the declaration of Jan. 1, 1942, was that of Poland, which Mr. Stalin now refuses to recognize.

That same declaration obligated the Russians to abide by the articles of the Atlantic Charter, the first of which states that the signatories "seek no aggrandizement, terri-

that it does not conform with p
Russian statements does not m
the Russian point of view any
real. The Russians are still cla
ing the right to settle the Po
issue unilaterally, and they are
worried about what they believe
be a hesitant policy on the part of
Britain and the United States in
regard to the future of post-war
Germany, and it may be more useful, even if it is less logical, to examine whether or not there is any validity in their claims and any basis for their fears.

Essence of the Complaint

It is, of course, ridiculous to compare the Anglo-Irish dispute and the American-Bolivian dispute with the Russo-Polish dispute. The essence of the complaint against the Russians in the Polish issue is that they are insisting on the right to chuck out certain members of the legitimate Government of Poland, whereas if we are intervening directly or indirectly in Bolivian affairs we are doing so in favor of the legitimate Government and against a Government that attained power by means of a coup d'état.

The Russian supporters concede this basic difference, but they nevertheless ask this question: If Washington believed that certain members of the legitimate Bolivian Government were acting against the best interests of the United States, would Washington intervene in Bolivian affairs to try to remove those members, and if so, would Washington allow Mos-