tories, in a thousand places, exciting inventions are taking shape. Just as America's past has prepared her for the present, so the present is preparing America for the future. War has unlocked inventive genius to give us a more abundant life when peace has been

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RUSTLESS IRON AND STEEL

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RUSSIAN CHANGES CALLED OLD PLAN

Moscow Diplomats Declare Autonomies Are Evolution of Stalin-Lenin Policies

By RALPH PARKER

By Cable to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

MOSCOW, Feb. 11 — Although the changes in the Constitution adopted by the Supreme Council last week are emphatically held here to be mainly of domestic concern, keen interest is taken in the lively foreign reaction to them.

Now that full reports of American press comment are available, it has become possible to compare the opinions of American commentators with the opinion of foreign diplomatic representatives in the Soviet capital. There is a wide difference in their interpretations.

According to diplomatic observers here it is necessary to view the recent changes from a historical perspective. The nationality policy identified with Premier Stalin, they contend, has been developed steadily along the lines he and Lenin agreed upon, long before the revolution, as compatible with Socialist doctrine. This policy envisaged the freeing of the smaller nations within the sphere of Russian influence from the danger of becoming victims of acquisitive great powers, and when Premier Stalin first turned his mind to the problems of these small nations Czarist Russia seemed to him the power from which the danger was most acute.

Say Russia Saw Domination

After the revolution, these observers say, Russia saw many small nations on her borders, suddeny released from Czarist hands, fall under the domination or more or less direct influence of the great powers. According to the Russian view, Baron Carl G. E. von Mannerheim's counter-revolution in Finland never gave the Finnish people a chance to develop their national identity, and the successive Governments prepared that country for the role of a great-power stepping stone in a war on Russia.

The Russians also contend that for a time Transcaucasia became a playground for foreign concession hunters; that the three Baltic republics were destined to fall under German influence unless Russia was vigilant; that parts of White Russia and the Ukraine and all Bessarabia passed under the control of lands which were seen neither to give them the opportunity to develop their national identity nor to take measures for defense against resurgent Germany; and that alien influences sought to stir up trouble in central Asia.

And, this interpretation of Soviet history continues, because Moscow foresaw the attack on the Soviet Union the unfolding of Premier Stalin's policy to give the republics autonomy went hand in hand with concern for strategic considerations.

Evolution of Policy Seen

In the opinion of diplomatic circles new measures are therefore the logical evolution of Premier Stalin's nationality policy and not sudden and unexpected.

But it is felt here that the prime factor that has convinced the Government that it can proceed to lay the foundations for a new development in Premier Stalin's nationality policy is the drastic change in the Soviet Union's international position.

With a change from a land on the defensive into one ready to play a part fearlessly in world affairs, the Soviet Union has considered it more realistic and more compatible with declared nationalities policy that the individual republics which have common frontiers with foreign lands should have the opportunity of dealing directly in their own foreign affairs.

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Feb. 13, 1944

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Abroad

The Shadowy Shape of Things to Come

By ANNE O'HARE McCORMICK

News that the Governments of Belgium, the Netherlands and Luxembourg have decided to form a customs union is as significant in its smaller way as Moscow's bold invitation to the neighboring states to become autonomous members of the Soviet Union. It signifies that Europe is in the first stages of revival and reformation. Russia's action in the east is bound to stimulate counter-action in the west; first, because it dispels the illusion that the pre-war and pre-Hitler pattern will be restored; second, because it stirs the European nations to a sense that they must think up ways and means of saving and strengthening themselves.

"Patriotism is not enough," as Edith Cavell saw in that long, clear moment on the edge of death—a patriot's death. Resistance, even military victory, is not enough. Beyond the defeat of the Nazi plot to conquer Europe and organize it under German dictatorship lies the great test of the capacity and intelligence of Europe to conquer and organize itself.

Can the continental nations start and run again under their own steam? Can they adapt themselves to the new conditions of existence which the consuming fires of war have so starkly revealed? One of these conditions is the emergence of the Soviet Union from twenty-five years of isolationism and its clearly announced determination to play a decisive part in European affairs. Another is the proof that the process of fragmentation into self-determining units must in some fashion be reversed. There may be even smaller units, with the federalization of countries like Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia, but in a different framework. The Soviet Government vetoed plans for an eastern European, a Danubian or a Balkan Federation, but when Stalin was ready to crash the gates of non-Russian Europe he blanketed and supplanted these lesser schemes with a project for a Soviet federation.

Another condition is the limitation of the power, and even of the primary interest, of Britain and the United States to intervene in all the problems of Europe. This is not to imply that their influence, when the war is won, will not be very great. American influence will be strong because it will be directed toward the goal on which our hopes are fixed: the creation of a peace insurance system which will make the world safe from war. The people of this country will not settle for less.

But it is beginning to be apparent to the Western Powers, as in the event it will be apparent to Russia, that even the cooperation of the three great victors will not be enough to pacify Europe. This cooperation is, of course, the indispensable condition of peace. There will be no order in any European country unless Russia, Great Britain and the United States work together. Just the fear that they will not is so disturbing and dangerous that it is of imperative importance, as Mr. Sumner Welles has pointed out, that some agreement be reached on the question of Poland before it hardens into a real line of division.

The cooperation of the nations of Europe is also necessary. This applies first of all to France. This afternoon the President will make a brief address to the nation in presenting a destroyer-escort to the French Navy. At his press conference yesterday he seemed to discount expectations that he would take this occasion to recognize the French National Committee by saying that he knew of no revision in American policy toward France. But "revision" is not necessary to carry that policy forward to the point of formally accepting the Committee as the authority which will represent and act for France when the liberating armies enter the country. Mr. Roosevelt intimated that this was in contemplation, as indeed it must be unless France is treated like occupied territory and administered by AMG.

The more generously and unreservedly this gesture is made the better. The President has proved himself the stanch friend of France in her darkest hour, and in this he has been the symbol of the sentiments of the United States. Now France begins to live again, begins to take thought for the future, and in any preview of that future it is obvious that we need France and France needs us. There are indications that General de Gaulle recognizes this more clearly than he did. It is increasingly apparent to this Government. Even in prostrate Italy it has been found neither easy nor wise to impose foreign rule. The eagerness of the Allied military authorities to turn over the administration of most of the occupied provinces to the Badoglio Government does not commit us to further support of that regime, but it is an acknowledgment that people do not learn independence from dependence.

There are strict limits, in short, to our power to help and to achieve our own solution to every problem. This is the sober truth the great Powers and also the small are discovering. The proposed customs union of Belgium and Holland is one sign of the intention of the lesser nations to combine and help themselves. Before the war the Dutch and Belgian Governments were active in an effort to create a common front among the states of northern Europe by means of the Oslo Conference. But the timid effort was blocked by the Great Powers. It did not go far enough, not nearly as far as the two Governments are prepared to go now. It may be that from this beginning the Oslo group will be re-formed as a real customs union. Meantime it is a warning and a promise that Europe will not be organized by power alone.

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Soviet League of Nations

NOT even Mr. Molotov, we imagine, expects his historic speech to be taken at face value. The Soviet Foreign Minister might even be irritated if the world were to believe that the decentralization of a mighty nation was being undertaken overnight merely in order to oil its administrative machinery for the future or to pay a political reward to a fighting people.

Both these purposes may well be present, but they hardly rate a measure which by its scope, potentialities, and timing was bound to rock the political world and inspire endless speculation on the eve of the Allied invasion. In the first place, the proposed decentralization would surely not increase Soviet efficiency in the midst of gigantic military operations, and there is probably no intention of effecting the change immediately. In other words, if administrative reform were all that was involved, the announcement would have been held up and not allowed to strain a diplomatic situation already tense. As for the "reward" theory, there are ways in which the Soviet leaders could expand the freedom of their people short of setting up sixteen separate armies and sixteen foreign ministries, complete with diplomats. The average Azerbaijanian or Uzbek might, for example, prefer some of the more personal freedoms mentioned in the Soviet constitution but held in trust pending his coming of age.

Molotov himself emphasized the "international significance" of the move, which he described as being "of great importance from the viewpoint of all progressive humanity." Its great importance can hardly be denied, but we find it difficult to accept Molotov's assurance that it "will constitute a new moral and political blow at fascism." On the contrary, like other recent Soviet diplomatic maneuvers, it is more likely to raise questions concerning Russian intentions than to bridge the ancient gaps between the Soviets and their Western allies.

We do not take seriously the theory that the move is designed to give the Soviet Union sixteen votes at the peace table or in some future association of nations. Power politics rests on power more than on politics, and this kind of arithmetical juggling would be both unnecessary and childish. There are several ways, however, in which the new formula might well enhance the Soviet's international position and profoundly affect the nature of the peace.

Most obvious and not least important, the establishment of sixteen separate foreign offices will give the Soviets a flexibility which may prove highly convenient, enabling the Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic, for example, to make a treaty with Turkey for which the

The Nation Feb. 12, 1944 p. 176, 177

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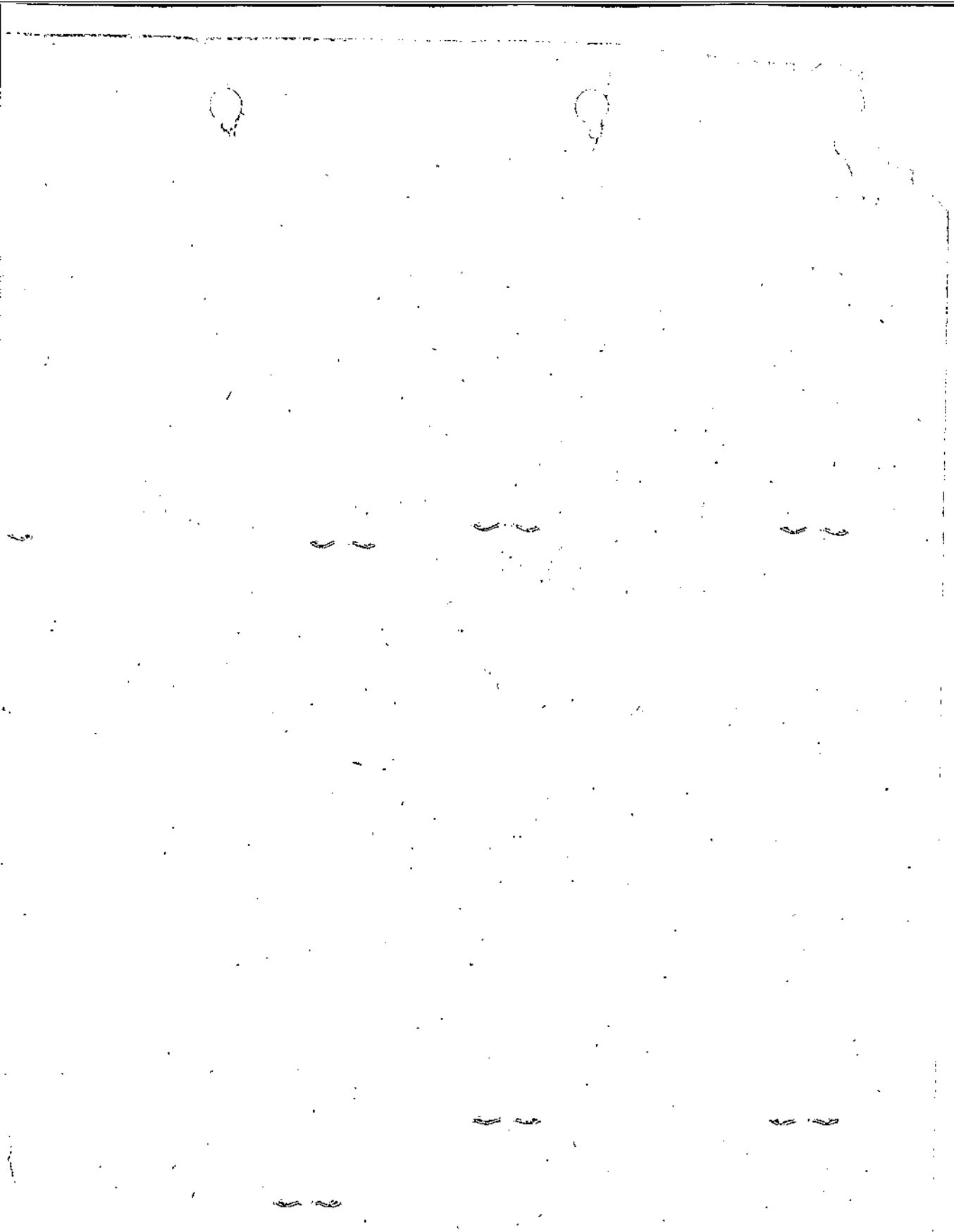
Russian Soviet Socialist Republic might take no responsibility. More fundamentally—and perhaps this is the real inspiration of the arrangement—the formula would seem designed to remove from the realm of international discussion the issue of the Baltic states, Karelia, and Moldavia, an issue between Russia and the Anglo-American powers which is almost as thorny as the Polish question. Should the Washington and London governments choose to discuss the independence of, say Estonia, Mr. Molotov can politely refer them to the Foreign Minister of the autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic of Estonia, who will doubtless inform the Western governments that his state is already independent and sovereign, that it has its own army, and that it is even willing to exchange diplomats; that, in short, the Western powers need have no further concern about Estonian independence.

There is a good possibility that the Western powers may even welcome this trick solution of a problem which they are powerless to solve any other way. The dangerous aspect of the development is that what a Russian-controlled Estonian government can do, a Communist-dominated Yugoslavia of the future might also do, or a Communist-dominated Bulgaria, Hungary, Greece, or Rumania. In short, the way has been opened for a Soviet League of Nations which would require no strong-arm methods of acquisition on the part of the Russians. In this way a powerful Russian sphere of influence could be established in Eastern Europe at the expense of a broader international organization in which spheres of influence would disappear.

It is entirely possible that no such development will occur. But as long as it *may* occur, the Russians will hold one more trump card in a hand already rich with trumps. We do not believe that the Soviets are committed to such a course, but rather that they are preparing themselves, and magnificently, for any and every exigency. This approach is characteristic of Soviet diplomacy in the past three years. The German Committee in Moscow was another such trump held in reserve. When it became apparent that the Allies meant business about a second front, the card was not played. Unfortunately, each time one of the great powers seeks security reinsurance against a failure of the United Nations Mutual Protection Association, the others feel obliged to take out new policies also. Thus the Soviet Sixteen may be regarded as a reply to moves for an extension of the British sphere of influence forecast in the recent speech of General Smuts. These in turn find inspiration in the new nationalism prevalent in this country and in expansionist tendencies in Moscow. It is clear that the approach to an international organization by way of a "nuclear alliance" of the great powers cannot hope to make headway as long as it is accompanied by simultaneous drives toward the acquisition of spheres of influence. No wonder the small states are bewildered, when at one and the same time they are being invited to adhere to a universal security plan and to enter one or another planetary power group.



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How Fast Can Russia Rebuild?

By EDGAR SNOW

Can the Reds really regain peak production in five years? Will they be a big market for U. S. goods? A Post editor tells what he saw and heard abroad.

RUSSIA covers a sixth of the surface of the earth and before the war had a population of 193,000,000 people, yet, in the past, few Americans thought of it as a great market for our products. Perhaps this was because too many of us were looking at maps on which Russia was labeled "Enigma." But now it seems that the "Enigmamen" who live over there are Homo sapiens, too, with the normal appetites of customers. And they are going to need everything from washers to washing machines after Hitler, on his way home, has destroyed what remains.

So we hear talk of a Russian market in terms of increasing billions of dollars. There is also much conversation about thousands of cushy jobs awaiting Americans in the Soviet Union—jobs for scientists, engineers and technicians, doctors, teachers, specialists in all fields, including religion. It is even said that valuable mining and other concessions will be farmed out to those who get in on the ground floor.

A sanguine school of speculation along such lines apparently has grown up in certain quarters since word reached them that "Stalin is gradually abandoning Communism." The Bolsheviks are shedding their horns—the church is coming back, the Comintern has been dissolved and officers are again sporting epaulets, as in Czarist days.

It is not my purpose here to argue how many angels can dance on a Socialist needle, nor to minimize Russia as a factor in our postwar economy. Obviously, Americans can and will "do business with Stalin," as the saying goes—and good business—as long as we have

Pupils in one of Russia's vocational schools. To them will fall much of the task of rebuilding.

Saturday Evening Post, Feb. 12, 1944, p. 20

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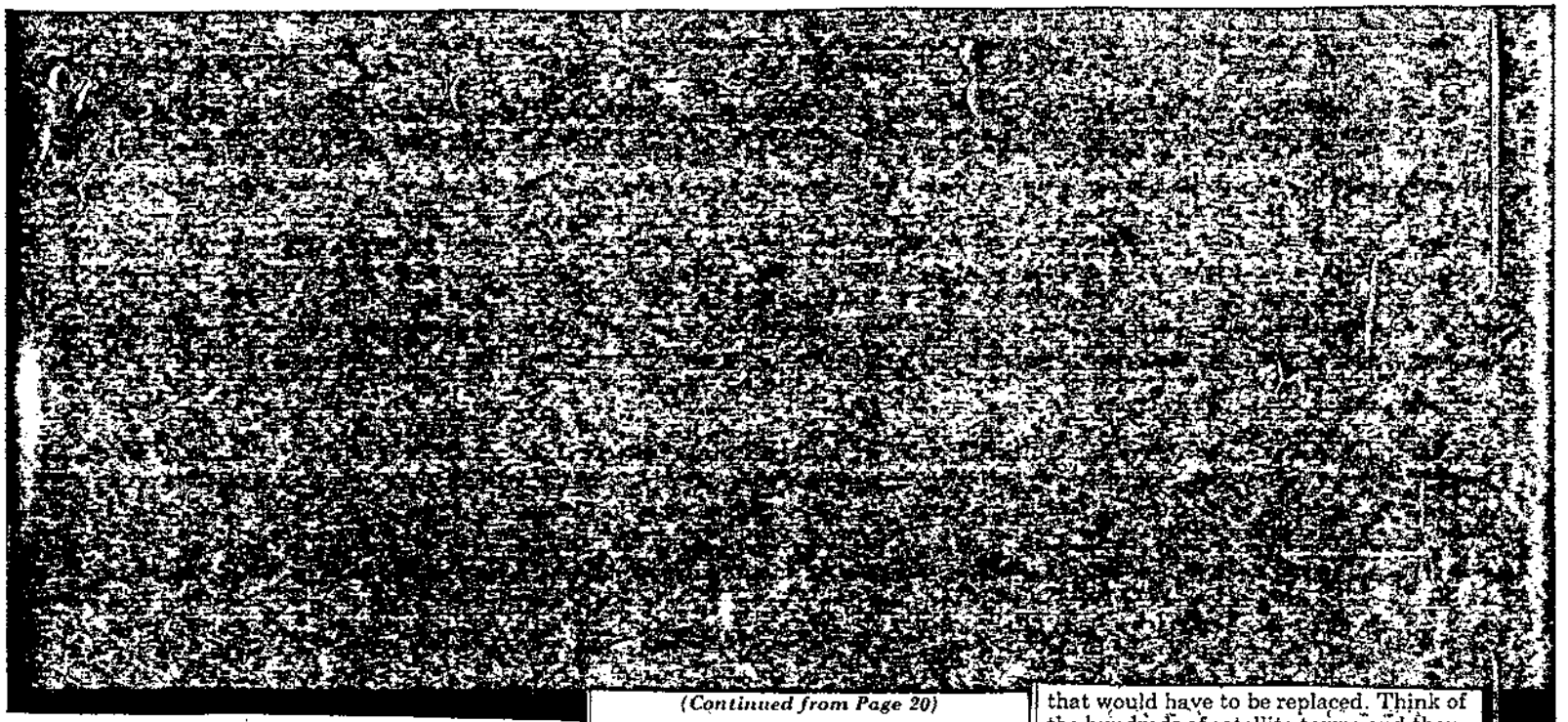

something essential to a Soviet scheme of things, a scheme laid down in the master plan of development drawn up by the big nation's rulers. But note that carefully: not what the individual Russian consumer or particular region or group may want to buy from us, but what the State plan requires for its fulfillment, will determine the size and nature of the Soviet market. In that respect—and it is fundamental and unique—there has been no change in Soviet policy whatsoever.

The complex needs of the whole nation as seen by the Soviet State Planning Commission, then, govern the role of foreign trade in Soviet reconstruction. On the face of it, those needs are so prodigious as to rock the imagination. As I shall try to show later, however, the Russians intend to answer them in ways which will most quickly restore and guarantee "the techno-economic independence of the country building Socialism in a capitalist environment"—which was, and remains, a basic Soviet principle.

Though Hitler occupied only about a tenth of Russia, it was by far the most developed tenth in almost every respect. It held about half the working coal mines, produced three-fifths of the iron ore and pig iron, about half the steel and machinery of Russia, and about a third of the harvest. More than half the electric power was lost and about 30 per cent of the railways. About a third of the population formerly lived in the occupied regions. The finest cities, the capitals of the richest provinces, fell into enemy hands.

Judging from what I have seen of places retaken by the Red army, and heard from eyewitnesses about the condition of others, it seems clear that the Nazis intend to destroy as completely *(Continued on Page 40)*

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as possible every means of production in the path of their retreat. This includes the removal of labor power, too, and hence millions of able-bodied Russian workers and peasants and their children are being herded westward by the battered Germans. Perhaps 20,000,000 Russians may thus be temporarily or permanently eliminated as producers.

One way to visualize the task awaiting the Russians after the war is to think of the Soviet Union in geographical terms of our country. For instance, take a dozen large towns which have been destroyed by the Nazis: Sevastopol, Rzhev, Kursk, Kharkov, Kiev, Odessa, Leningrad, Rostov, Novorossiisk, Stalingrad, Smolensk and Dniepropetrovsk. In population they formerly about corresponded to the American cities of Trenton, Atlantic City, Nashville, Boston, Baltimore, San Francisco, Chicago, Milwaukee, Peoria, Washington, Des Moines and Cincinnati, respectively.

Leningrad was never completely occupied by the Germans, of course, but made itself into a fortress and for more than two years has been continuously bombed and shelled. This city, which is about as big as Chicago, will doubtless have to be largely rebuilt. All the rest of the cities mentioned—only Odessa and Sevastopol have yet to be retaken—are from 50 to 90 per cent destroyed. Stalingrad, a town the size of Washington, D. C., before the war, was about 95 per cent obliterated. Though most of the others still resemble cities when seen from afar, their ruins, on closer examination, are found to be almost as worthless as the ashes of that immortal bastion on the Volga.

Conceive of the jobs involved in rebuilding all the American cities I listed. Think of the thousands of factories, power plants and other public works, railways, administration buildings, schools, libraries, churches, laboratories and homes that would have to be replaced. Think of the hundreds of satellite towns and thousands of villages surrounding each metropolis. In Russia many of those have been as thoroughly burned, demolished, shelled and plundered as the larger centers. You can understand now why peace can mean no letup for the Russians.

In addition, Russia's prewar needs have been aggravated. Maintenance and normal replacement have been neglected. All machinery has carried excess loads and much is rapidly becoming worthless or obsolete. Some harbors and ports under construction have been ruined or work on them is halted. The Red navy and the merchant fleet require speedy rehabilitation, for Russia will become a maritime power—we may be sure of that—commensurate with her size and length of coastline.

The Job for Youth

Public buildings everywhere have fallen into disrepair. All new housing construction, except where essential to the war effort, ceased in July, 1941. Repairs are needed on a staggering scale to make habitable even many of the houses now standing, and thousands of new ones must be built for people literally living in holes in the ground. Everybody's clothes are worn out or wearing out. For more than two years practically no garments but uniforms have been produced. Many thousands of people are now walking on paper soles stuffed in their only shoes.

It is rather amazing to find that, on the whole, Russian youth—and it is chiefly a job for youth that lies ahead—is not depressed by the outlook. Their elders appear to have convinced them that it's going to be wonderful to tackle

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something on just as big a scale as confronted their revolutionary paters.

Foreign observers in Moscow last winter often speculated on the length of time that would be needed to get Russia back to its prewar condition. Estimates among us varied from fifteen to thirty years. But the natives I talked to on the subject were much more optimistic. Some Russian Communists told me that as far as actual production is concerned, they will fully recover within five years.

"Our problems won't be nearly as difficult as they were at the end of the civil war," one Communist pointed out to me. "At that time we had almost complete paralysis of production and complete disorganization of distribution. We had little industrial plant, and only a small percentage of it was heavy industry. We had few technicians and skilled workers. The war had penetrated everywhere and there was widespread famine. Battles had been fought in the Caucasus, the Ukraine, the Donbas, the Urals, in Siberia and along the Volga. No part of the country was untouched. It took us about seven years to create order out of the chaos."

Viewed from that angle, things could be a lot worse. Russia is infinitely better equipped today. By far the larger area of the country has been physically unaffected and several mighty bases of production remain intact. In some of them, construction has outdistanced all enemy efforts at destruction elsewhere, so that real net gains have already been registered in production. Another point: the three five-year plans placed great emphasis on the development of reproductive industry. Production of the means of production was more than 60 per cent of the total industrial output, which was twelve times greater, incidentally, than during World War I. By 1941, machine making accounted for about 25 per cent of all Soviet industrial production. This was enormously important for the battle against Germany, and will be likewise in the battle of reconstruction.

New mineral and agricultural resources have been opened up, and when the lost lands are won back, Russia will be richer in these respects than in 1941. The mechanization of agriculture in some backward areas has been completed. Though war has wrecked thousands of railway buildings, installations and pieces of rolling stock, elsewhere it has hastened new construction. The Soviet railways system, largest in the world, provided one of the great surprises of the war. It is now being rehabilitated faster than was believed possible—which partly explains the Red army's sustained summer-winter offensive. Here our aid is of first importance. Instead of facing foreign intervention and blockade, the Soviet government is now getting billions of dollars' worth of Lend-Lease materials from us—a good percentage of which is of direct reconstructive value.

But the most dramatic difference in the inheritance of this postwar generation of Russians is the existence of a stable administration, politically experienced, technically skillful, and sure of its objectives and of the methods of achieving them. Today, there are no more classes to be liquidated, no more internal battles to be fought on the grand scale. There is no organized opposition.

Despite severe losses on the battlefield and in the Nazi terror behind the lines, the Soviet Union will be able to mobilize a far greater number of skilled workers and technicians than Lenin commanded in 1923. Actually, there are more skilled industrial workers in Russia now, it is claimed, than before the present war. Such facts were made possible, basically, by a system of education which reduced illiteracy from about 60 per cent in Lenin's time to about 5 per cent today.

The Soviet Brain Draft

Even before the war, 40 per cent of the students in Russian universities were women. Since large numbers of males have gone into the Red army, the percentage of females entering the higher and secondary schools is said to account for well over half the total. Many of these girls and women are learning to become technicians. Eighty per cent of the doctors graduated in the last two years were women. The percentage was also high among scientists and engineers.

In 1940 all youth was more or less conscripted under a Commissariat of Labor Reserves, headed by M. Maskatov, and the new educational system went into operation in full force in 1941. Not much is yet known about this abroad, and it is worth a brief description, for

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it will provide the human basis of Soviet reconstruction.

At the end of the seventh grade in city schools a selection now takes place in which about half—sometimes more than half—the students are earmarked as "labor-reserve trainees," to be assigned to technical schools of various levels. Less efficient students may drop out and go directly to the factories. Top students compete for scholarships which carry them through "tekhnikums," colleges or universities, where they branch out into the professions and sciences.

Selection is conducted somewhat as in our Army we choose men for further training to fit them for particular branches or send them to officer-candidate schools. Graduates of workers' schools may later on apply for professional training also, and if their records justify it the requests are granted.

I visited several labor-training institutes in Moscow and found them a kind of cross between our polytechnic and vocational-training institutes, but with important differences. Students were between fourteen and seventeen years old, and courses which normally would take three years were being covered in two. There was an eight-hour day of class and field work. Half the time was devoted to general education and half to technical, including military, training. Some students spent a month in the classroom and alternated with a month in the field.

Education for Tomorrow

The state furnished clothing, lodging and part of their food, for which students paid 500 rubles—or half the monthly 1000 rubles allowed each person by the government. On graduation they were guaranteed jobs at minimum wages of 1000 rubles a month. About 30 per cent of those I talked to were Komsomols—Young Communists. A large percentage said they hoped to become engineers.

Up to last spring, these schools had provided the Soviet Union with about 900,000 trained technicians. As the system is still being expanded and can theoretically draw upon a mass of 40,000,000 grade-school students for future trainees, its possibilities are enormous. There is a further augmentation of Soviet technicians coming from polytechnical schools operated along similar lines by factories, mines and railways, for older workers as well as youths.

About 75,000 new industrial, transport and communication engineers, physicians, agronomists and other specialists were graduated from Soviet schools in 1942, according to Sergei Ogoltsov, head of higher education in the U.S.S.R. The number will greatly increase this year. The Russians do not expect to need any postwar outside engineering assistance, or at any rate nothing comparable to early days.

"We shall want only a little help from foremost specialists in the very latest techniques developed in America during the war," I was authoritatively told. But even here the Russians propose to do the job themselves. They are now preparing a few hundred selected students to send to this country for advanced study, and the vanguard has already arrived.

Olga Mishakova, brilliant secretary of the Komsomol organization—which now claims a membership of about 15,000,000 youths among all nationalities—introduced me to a young woman who was my guide to some of the schools I visited. She was Vera Smirnova, a charming girl of twenty-two, blond, very feminine and, I soon realized, very competent. But I had known her some time before I discovered that Vera was the daughter of illiterate peasants and had won her way through the higher schooling system on scholarships. She was a graduate engineer, had designed subway cars for the new Metro, and helped build the defense works which stopped German tanks outside the capital.

I questioned Vera for hours, and from her and some talks with others I got two very powerful impressions about Russia. One is that the average intelligent youth today is almost totally unconscious of any barriers which could deny him the right to learn to do any job for which scientific knowledge could prepare him, and is sure of his ability to lead. The other is that just because it thus draws upon the widest masses of youth for its professional people of tomorrow, the Soviet government has no fear that this war will "drain off its best blood" or "kill off irreplaceable leaders."

In tackling its task, the Soviet government will follow general principles laid down in the five-year plans of the past, especially the third plan, which was partly interrupted by the war. Housing and other human needs cannot be wholly ignored, but replacement and further development of heavy industry of all types will come first—restoration of the oil and mining enterprises, the erection of power plants and new iron and steel works, construction of basic reproductive industries and factories for making the means of transportation and mechanized farm machinery.

Commissar A. Shcherbakov, of the Politburo, told me that "machines to make machines" would have priority over everything else in Russia's imports from this country; though she would need some commodity goods, too, in the first year or two.

But once the war ends, Russians state, existing light industry can fairly quickly satisfy the more urgent needs for processed foods, wearing apparel, household goods and articles of personal use. Industrial co-operatives are to be encouraged on a much wider scale, M. Shcherbakov said. New fields of light industry apparently will be opened to organizations of that type, particularly for returned soldiers, and there will be permitted a fairly large open market. To that extent, private initiative may get a new lease of life; though, of course, industrial co-operatives in Russia are fundamentally like everything else—state enterprises.

Despite the war, a great part of the third five-year plan has been realized, and the fact that it was designed to meet strategic defense needs made it possible to adhere to its basic principles. The latter were summarized for me in Moscow in this order: (1) the utmost possible distribution of productive forces over the wide territory of the Soviet Union, with industry located near to sources of raw materials and consumption wherever possible, to level out the national economy and eliminate unnecessary haulage;

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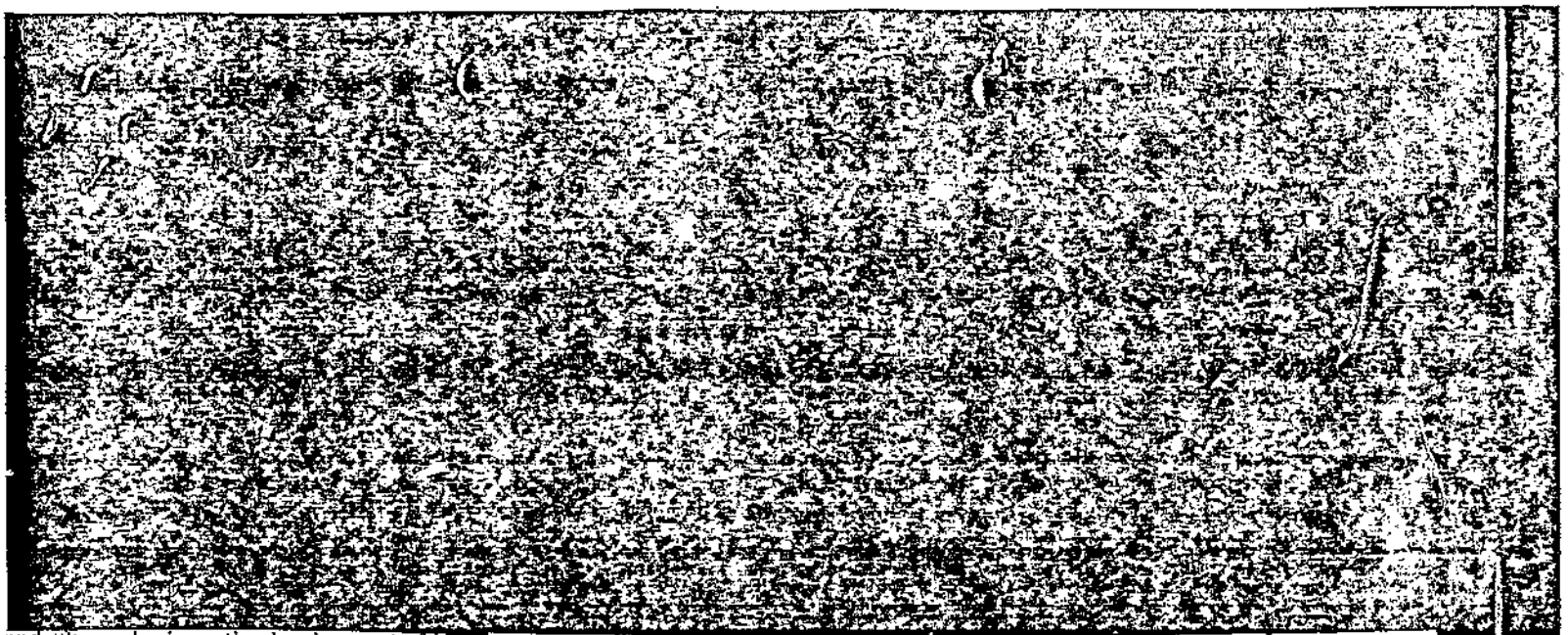

and (2) emphasis on the development of economically backward sections and national regions of the U.S.S.R.

In practice, that meant concentration of new capital construction in the eastern and southern parts of the U.S.S.R. For example, three quarters of the total new blast furnaces were to be built in the Urals and Siberia. A comprehensive new metallurgical base was to arise in the Far East, fully capable of meeting the needs of the entire area. A second Baku was to be opened up between the Volga and the Urals. And those aims were, in fact, accomplished.

The Russian Secret of Recovery

The reality of war also made imperative the location of new industries near sources of raw materials, and this has been done.

One day I asked a middle-aged Russian Communist who had spent several years in our country, "In what way do you consider the Soviet Union better prepared for the future than America?"

He answered instantly, "The unquestioned acceptance here of national economic planning. This is the main factor which will help us recover from the war in a few years. One must stress that again and again, because it means there are no contradictory interests which can interfere with the logical development of postwar economy."

There are no contradictory interests, simply because, as already stated, the principle of opposition is denied by the whole Communist Party dictatorship, as everyone knows. It is the same whether it involves an individual Ukrainian worker who might want to build a house for himself rather than apply his labor on the erection of a new turbine in accordance with the plan, or the case of a political group which might want to restore private trade and capitalism, rather than support state monopolies.

Such is the price the individual pays for whatever benefits he or his children may get from Soviet planning. In fairness, it must be admitted that it is not so high a price in Russia as it would be here. Many Russians actually are unaware of being deprived of such rights, since they never enjoyed them in our sense in the past; many are, on the contrary, genuinely grateful for immensely greater equality of opportunity than Russians ever had before.

The important thing to remember is that the Soviet Union is a nation inhabited by peoples who were Russians long before Socialism was even a theory, and that these men and women are the product of only twenty-five years of Socialism—and it is Russian Socialism—as against some six centuries of Czarist political absolutism and Mongolian despotism. It is only in that perspective that we can get an objective understanding of present Soviet methods and how and why they work.

Here in America we have evolved our own methods out of our own political history, different in so many respects from that of Russia. It seems to me hardly necessary to emphasize that with us the rights of political opposition are a fundamental tenet of a democratic faith, jealously guarded and improved for more than 160 years. We could not abandon that principle without scrapping our political heritage, and hence obviously whatever planning the state does must be reconciled to it. But it is just that necessity to reconcile an opposition, which is the price we, in our turn, pay for our form of political democracy, that the Russian Communist I quoted meant by the term "contradictory interests."

In other words, under the Soviet system, which they themselves call a "democratic dictatorship," they have a small all-powerful group who can decide how many locomotives to make; how many power plants to build, and where; how many sewing machines to produce, and how many needles. They can decide how many engineers are needed at Sverdlovsk and how many doctors in Tashkent, and put them there; how much factory machinery they will take out of Germany and how many German prisoners will be needed to rebuild the cities they have ruined.

Soviet Single Track

Also, Russia does not have competing interests seeking foreign markets and there is no need to reconcile different pressure groups to a particular trade policy. There is but one vested interest: the state trade monopoly. Stalin calls it "one of the unshakable foundations of the Soviet government." Russia possesses within its boundaries virtually everything needed to build a powerful modern state. Since no one makes any profits out of trade, the state monopoly is not after large exports and imports, or small, *per se*. What it seeks is simply to export enough goods to balance the imports required to strengthen Russia's economic independence, in accordance with objectives planned for a particular period.

That peculiar feature of Soviet foreign trade was dramatically demonstrated during the depression years, 1929 to 1932. World trade then declined by 25.5 per cent, but exports and imports of the Soviet Union increased by 26.6 per cent, simply because the state plan required them to. Thereafter the general volume of world trade increased, but Russia's exports and imports declined by about two thirds.

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During the early period, which coincided with the first five-year plan, Russia imported large amounts of machine-building machines and equipment for chemical and electro-technical industries. She had to export to acquire exchange. In the later period, Soviet heavy industry was already able to make most of its needs in machines. Just before this war the Soviet Union was thus able to stop exporting raw materials and agricultural products and instead sell industrial goods and machinery abroad.

The State Bank—the only bank in Russia—is now believed to have comfortable reserves of gold, and anyway, the whole credit position of the U.S.S.R. is greatly strengthened, in view of the Moscow Conference. Our first $1,000,000,000-credit loan, though it is non-interest bearing, provides for repayment to begin five years after the end of the war, and the Russians always insist they intend to pay back all Lend-Lease loans. But by September, 1943, we had sent Russia $3,287,000,000 worth of Lend-Lease goods, including nearly $900,000,000 worth of industrial materials. What form the repayment may take is not specified, but the Russians probably have in mind goods as well as gold. Who knows whether we would even want to receive shipments of Soviet goods on such a scale, in repayment, five years from now, should the Russians be able to supply us? One can easily hear the howl that might go up from American manufacturers at such a moment.

Postwar Blueprint

Actually, Soviet foreign trade has never been very large and, as already remarked, it was purposely and drastically curtailed when the second five-year plan succeeded. The most Americans ever sold to Russia in prewar times was $69,691,000 worth of goods in 1938 – the year of Munich, when a dozen other countries bought more from the United States. Even so, the Soviet Union took far more from America than from any other nation, including Great Britain.

No doubt Stalin will be able to find plenty of things to export in exchange for what machines and materials he requires to supplement Lend-Lease. But the man who thinks of the Soviet Union as a permanent huge market for American surplus production is listening to his own Charlie McCarthy. Russia cannot, in any predictable way, provide a panacea market for American industry. Once the U.S.S.R. has fully restored its industry, her imports will again be reduced to normal figures. And Russian economists believe the industrial-recovery period won't exceed five years.

Though Josef Stalin will probably make final decisions in postwar trade arrangements with us, he will heavily rely for advice on a scintillating little Armenian who will soon become better known in this country—Anastas Ivanovitch Mikoyan, who heads the Foreign Trade monopoly. He is immensely popular in Russia. Others stand higher in the Politburo, historically, but many consider Mikoyan a likely successor to his fellow Caucasian, if for any reason Stalin leaves the scene.

Mikoyan is said to have furnished much of the brains behind the Soviet fifteen-year plan which was projected just before the war. It envisaged widespread reorganization and technical improvements in Soviet production. This plan will probably be revived as the long-view blueprint of postwar reconstruction. Among other things, it promised to equal and surpass the United States in every line of production, before 1960!

Well, it will be a nice change to provide our neighbors with "something to shoot at"—in the production of the innocent goods that make the abundant life.

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EMBASSY OF THE UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS

Information Bulletin

(Issued Three Times Weekly)

Vol. IV, No. 18 Washington, D. C., February 12, 1944 5

DECREES PASSED BY SUPREME SOVIET OF USSR

The decree on the State budget of the USSR provides for revenues and expenditures in the sum of 249,575,982,000 rubles. The decree approves the State budgets of the Union Republics for 1944, with the exception of the budgets of the Moldavian, Lithuanian, Latvian and Estonian Soviet Socialist Republics, which the decree refers to the Council of People's Commissars of the USSR for consideration. The decree further approves the reports on the execution of State budgets for the years of 1940, 1941 and 1942.

The next decree adopted by the Supreme Soviet, on the creation of army formations of the Union Republics and on the transformation in this connection of the People's Commissariat of Defense from a Union People's Commissariat into a Union-Republi-

Feb. 12, 1944 p. 1-2

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can People's Commissariat, establishes that for the purpose of strengthening the defensive might of the USSR the Union Republics shall organize army formations of the Republics; Article 14 of the Constitution, which lists the matters within the competence of the USSR as represented by its highest organs, is supplemented by a clause stating that besides the functions of the "organization of the defense of the USSR and the direction of all armed forces of the USSR" previously placed by the Constitution within the competence of the Union, within its competence comes also "the laying down of the guiding principles for the organization of army formations of the Union Republics"; a new Article—18-B—is added to the Constitution which reads: "Every Union Republic has its own Republican army formations"; Article 60 of the Constitution of the USSR, defining the competence of the Supreme Soviets of the Union Republics, is supplemented by a clause of the following content: "Establishes the procedure of the creation of Republican army formations"; the People's Commissariat of Defense is transformed from a Union into a Union-Republican People's Commissariat.

The third decree passed by the Supreme Soviet, on granting powers to the Union Republics in the sphere of external relations and on the transformation in this connection of the People's Commissariat of Foreign Affairs from a Union into a Union-Republican Com missariat, establishes that for the purpose of the ex pansion of international connections and the strength ening of cooperation of the USSR with other states and considering the increased need of the Union Re publics for establishing direct relations with foreig states, the Union Republics may enter into direct re lations with foreign states and conclude agreement with them; Article 14 of the Constitution is supple mented by a clause which reads that the competenc of Union organs, in addition to functions previously entrusted to them of "representation of the Union in in ternational relations, conclusion of treaties with othe states," also includes "laying down of the general pro cedure in the mutual relations of the Union Republic with foreign states"; Article 18-A is added to th Constitution of the Union of the following content "Every Union Republic has the right to enter int direct relations with foreign states, conclude agree ments with them and exchange diplomatic and con sular representatives"; Article 60 dealing with th competence of the Supreme Soviet of the Union Re publics is supplemented by a clause of the follow ing content: "Establishes the representation of th Union Republic in international relations"; the Peo ple's Commissariat of Foreign Affairs of the USSI is transformed from a Union into a Union-Republica People's Commissariat.

FOREIGN POLICY BULLETIN

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RUSSIA CREATES A FRAMEWORK FOR EAST EUROPEAN FEDERATION

RECENT indications that the United States and Britain may be on the point of clarifying their policy toward Europe—with specific reference to France and Italy—are welcomed by all who had felt growing uneasiness over the dangerous lag in the political strategy of the Western powers. Such clarification has been made imperative by the bold bid for influence in post-war Europe announced by the U.S.S.R., whose military advances, unlike those of the British and Americans, are closely meshed with political plans. This is the real significance of the statement of Premier Molotov to the Supreme Council of the U.S.S.R. in Moscow on February 1 that the sixteen Union republics now composing the Union will henceforth enjoy the right to pursue their own foreign policy, and raise their own armed forces which are to form component parts of the Red Army.

CHARACTER OF U.S.S.R. Molotov's announcement opens up far-reaching vistas for the war and post-war activities of the U.S.S.R. among its neighbors in Europe and Asia. No one familiar with the Soviet Union, as established by the basic treaty of 1922 between the four original republics (the Russian S.S.R., the Ukrainian S.S.R., the White Russian S.S.R., and the Transcaucasian S.S.R.), can pretend that the sixteen republics will enjoy independence in international affairs in the sense in which this term has been hitherto understood. The largest of the constituent republics remains, as in 1922, the Russian S.S.R., which includes more than nine-tenths of the area and more than two-thirds of the population of the pre-1939 territory of the Soviet Union, and embraces most of European Russia and all of Asiatic Russia, with the exception of Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan. It is the political, military and economic weight of this key republic that has made the influence of the U.S.S.R. increasingly felt in world councils, and this weight would hardly be increased by the grant to the other fifteen republics of the right to have their own foreign policy and armed forces. The numerical prestige of added votes at future United Nations conferences may therefore be discounted as a primary reason for the Kremlin's decision. Its main objects, so far as can be discerned are, first, to enhance the power of attraction of the U.S.S.R. for other nations which, in the continued absence of an effective international organization, may find themselves adrift without bearings following the defeat of Germany; and, second, to give the outward semblance of independence to those nations that may decide to steer their future course under the aegis of the Soviet Union, thus helping them to "save face" and possibly affording technical satisfaction to the signatories of the Atlantic Charter.

CULTURAL AUTONOMY ENCOURAGED. This latest move in Soviet foreign policy is a direct outgrowth of the program that guided the formation of the U.S.S.R. in 1922. At that time the Soviet leaders purposely left the word "Russia" out of the name of the new Union, on the assumption that other soviet socialist republics, whenever and wherever formed, might eventually join the U.S.S.R. Actually, there is no doubt that the Soviet government has given great latitude to the more than 150 different races and nationalities that compose the U.S.S.R. to practice their own language, customs, and traditions—but not, until recently, their religious beliefs—provided they conformed with the over-all political and economic pattern of the dictatorship centered in Moscow and controlled by the Communist party. The various national groups have been represented as such in the upper chamber of the Supreme Council—the Council of Nationalities—which was preserved in the 1936 Constitution of the U.S.S.R. at the insistence of Stalin, himself a native of Georgia, one of the minority national groups in the Union.

It would, therefore, be entirely in accordance with the precedent set in 1922 for the U.S.S.R. to invite,

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or induce, the entrance of other soviet socialist republics in the future—for example Poland under a régime sympathetic to that of Moscow, such as the Union of Polish Patriots, or Yugoslavia under a régime headed by Marshal Tito. Meanwhile, the Kremlin could answer criticisms from Britain and the United States—and the Russians are by no means insensitive to these criticisms—concerning Russia's pre-1941 absorption of Eastern Poland or the Baltic states by pointing out that these territories, since then incorporated into the U.S.S.R., will retain independence in matters of defense and foreign policy. The way in which this procedure will operate has been illustrated without delay by the appointment of Alexander Korneichuk, former Vice-Commissar of Foreign Affairs of the U.S.S.R., as Foreign Commissar of the Ukrainian S.S.R. It so happens that Korneichuk is the husband of Wanda Wassilewska, Polish writer who now heads the Union of Polish Patriots. Together they can—and may be expected—to make an appeal over the head of the Polish government in London to the Ukrainians of Eastern Poland to join the Ukrainian S.S.R.; a similar appeal can be made by the White Russian S.S.R. to the White Russians in Eastern Poland, and so on down the long border of the U.S.S.R. from the Baltic to the Black Sea.

U.S.S.R. FILLS VACUUM. The use that is being made by Stalin of the flexible formula of national cultural autonomy within the framework of a strongly centralized federation has already caused alarm in Washington and London, not to speak of some of the spokesmen for the small nations that lie in the path of the Russian advance against Germany. Two things must be borne in mind, however. First, the old adage that nature abhors a vacuum applies to international as to other human affairs. The vacuum which, we must hope, is soon to be left in Europe by the collapse of Hitler's "new order" should have been prepared for long ago—had Britain and the United States moved with political boldness and imagination—by the creation of a United Nations organization capable both of adjusting impending conflicts and of using force to assure the security of all nations, large and small. The truth is that the Western powers have not moved very far toward international organization during the war, except on paper, and have confined their efforts at collaborative machinery largely to cooperation among themselves. In the absence of an over-all United Nations organization, it was to be expected that Russia, now on the crest of the wave, would use such methods as it considers best to achieve its own security against the possible resurgence of Germany after the war. While we have been debating the pros and cons of an international police force and a United Nations political council, the Russians have evolved their own version of both for Eastern Europe.

Second, neither Britain nor the United States has shown much concern in the past for the welfare of the peoples living in the uneasy borderlands between Germany and Russia. Nor have the Western powers been actually in a military position to render them effective aid against either of their powerful neighbors. The small countries of this long-contested area must find some basis for stability and recovery after the war if they are not to fall prey to further conflict and impoverishment. Many of their leaders have looked to the Western democracies for inspiration and aid—but, let us admit it frankly, have for the most part looked in vain. To say that they were really independent between 1919 and 1939, moreover, would be to disregard the pressures to which, in fact, they were almost constantly subjected by either Germany or Russia, or both. If they should now place their bets on cooperation with Russia, as Czechoslovakia already has done through the Russo-Czech treaty of mutual assistance, this should not come as a surprise to Britain and the United States—but rather as a reminder that we cannot expect to exercise power in any area of the world unless we are ready and willing to assume the responsibilities that go with power.

VERA MICHELES DEAN

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SOVIET RUSSIA TODAY

MARCH 1944

New Powers for the 16 Union Republics

AFTER some preliminary snapping at the Nazi bait marked "Sixteen Votes at the Peace Table," "Pattern for Bolshevizing Europe," "New Soviet Trickery," etc., most of the more responsible commentators have turned to a sober and realistic appraisal of the profoundly important action taken by the recent session of the Supreme Soviet in enlarging the powers of the Constituent Republics of the USSR in military and foreign affairs.

This fact in itself is proof of the growing weight and prestige of the Soviet Union. It is no longer possible for serious people to continue to impute sinister motives to every move of the Soviet Government, in the face of its heroic military achievements, the unswerving unity of its people, and the consistency and integrity with which it pursues the aims to which all the democracies have dedicated themselves.

There is still plenty of confusion, viewing-with-alarm and deliberate distortion. But by and large there has been an effort at real understanding and an honesty and clarity in analyzing the meaning of this action that has been all too rarely exhibited in relation to Soviet policies. Thus the *New York Herald Tribune* saw the move as designed "to give the maximum of reality to the structure of national autonomy," and as offering "solutions of great possible interest and value" in organizing widely differing peoples. Walter Lippman, dismissing the sixteen-vote theory as not tenable, because voting is not the method by which great issues are decided in international affairs, hailed it as "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." Dorothy Thompson in a series of thoughtful articles called the move "the most important single event foreshadowing post-war policies to have happened since the war began." She commented on the extraordinary cohesion of the USSR demonstrated by the war, as well as the powers of leadership it has brought out in great numbers of men. She analyzed the new economic and cultural developments taking place within the various national republics, and the special interests of those bordering on widely separated parts of the world, and she praised Soviet foreign policy for its flexibility.

British papers came out strongly in support of the move, the London *Times* characterizing it as "a step toward multinational groupings which will provide practicable solutions to the problems of national freedom and international order."

Aside from the expected reactions from Hitler's friends and dupes, certain others who should know better have exhibited a sorry spectacle of confusion. Max Lerner of *PM* after his first hysterical editorial giving credence to the enemy interpretation that this was simply a device to absorb or "re-annex" certain countries, and the sixteen-vote theory, tried to cover himself in a second editorial by developing some pretentious theory of "federal regionalism" (or regional federalism, I've forgotten which) making no sense at all. The *Nation* saw a "trick solution" of the Baltic problem. The *New Republic* was more constructive, but thought the purpose was to provide an easier way to incorporate the Baltic States in the USSR. The New York *Post*, which has taken an extremely constructive stand on the Polish question, went way off the beam on this issue, frivolously characterizing it as just another move in the inter-allied war of nerves. The *World Telegram* played up alleged British-Soviet rivalry. The New York *Times*, while grudgingly acknowledging that this might be a step toward greater democracy, at the same time suggested that it might be a method of Sovietizing neighboring peoples. A later editorial irresponsibly accused the USSR of failing to live up to the Teheran agreements.

The confusions and misunderstanding spread by these interpretations can best be cleared up by an analysis of what the recent Soviet changes really mean. The first step toward understanding is a careful reading of the Molotov report to the Supreme Soviet which will be found in full on page 26 of this issue, and of the actual constitutional changes as analyzed by Theodore Bayer. The Molotov report is convincing proof that on one point even the pompously muddled Max Lerner was correct. That was when he declared:

> The fervent Russian partisans are likely to stress . . . 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.

Quite right, Mr. Lerner. Fervent Russian partisans as well as a great many possibly unfervent but perfectly intelligent persons are indeed stressing that this is a move for greater implementation of the already existing autonomy and towards the extension of democracy, because it is exactly that. The granting to the Union Republics of greater powers in military affairs and foreign relations is a natural development of the Soviet nationalities policy which, from the beginning, has accorded a very large degree of autonomy to each of its Constituent Republics, even to the extent of a Constitutional provision granting the right of free secession from the USSR.

Advancing National Fulfillment

THE freedom and equality enjoyed by the sixteen Soviet republics before the war has been one of the greatest factors in the unity of all the Soviet peoples in resisting aggression, and developing the mighty offensives which today foreshadow the final defeat of Hitlerism. The nationalities policy has already been extended even in the course of the war, and the new policy corresponds to new needs of the republics. Their national consciousness has been heightened as a part of their intensified patriotism to the USSR as a whole. In many cases the economic growth of the various republics, to which great attention had been given in time of peace, has been immensely accelerated in the course of the war. This has been due not only to the transfer of the evacuated industries, but to the springing up of new industries in the Urals, Central Asia and

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Far East, and the completion within a few months of great industrial projects which normally would have taken years to build. Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan, and other sections far from the front, have become the guardians of many of the scientific and cultural institutions of their country which, even in wartime, have given tremendous impetus to their national development in these fields.

To an even greater degree have both the national consciousness and the devotion to the Soviet Union as a whole been heightened among the peoples of the sections temporarily occupied by the Germans. These peoples—including the peoples of the Baltic states—have seen that only their membership in the Soviet family of nations has given them the power to defend themselves against the fascist enslavers, and is the source of their only hope—a hope that today is swiftly being transformed into reality—of driving out the invaders and resuming their national existence. In days of peace they had for the first time had the opportunity to develop their own national institutions and culture. How much more precious to them have their national ways become today after millions have seen with their own eyes and felt on their own bodies the degenerate Nazi theory of racism and the frenzied attempts to obliterate utterly all national cultures outside the borders of the German Reich.

Reconstruction of normal and decent life, restoration of their destroyed schools, historical monuments and churches, by their own local efforts and with the help of the Soviet Government, follows immediately on the liberation of the occupied sections by the Red Army. The peoples of the Ukraine and Byelo-Russia and other liberated areas, know they cannot accomplish this alone. The Soviet Government knows equally that the tremendous job of restoration cannot be accomplished without the full, free creative powers of all its people. It is clear what great new internal strength will therefore be developed by the increased degree of autonomy.

With regard to the new military powers of the Republics, this too is a logical development. Many national army formations already existed even before the new decisions. The Lithuanians, Latvians and Estonians all have their special army units, as do other nationalities listed by Molotov. All the peoples of the USSR are represented not only in the rank and file, but in the commanding staffs of the Red Army. Even in the course of the war new and great strength will be added to the army and Hitler's defeat immensely hastened, as new powers and responsibilities are given to the republics through the organization of their own Commissariats of Defense, the formation of their own Republic army formations, the establishment of their own training schools, the increase in their own corps of officers.

As for the post-war implications of this move, as Major George Fielding Eliot, writing in the *New York Herald Tribune*, points out, this step is obviously directed toward greater international cooperation. Commenting especially on the military decentralization, Major Eliot emphasizes that no government seeking conquest and world domination decentralizes its army, but rather seeks for the utmost centralization. He says:

> This action by the Russian government should, therefore, serve to increase American and British confidence in Russia's good intentions, and thus contribute materially to the cooperation of the three great powers which not only victory but the building of a just and lasting peace to follow victory must ultimately depend upon.

Expanding International Connections

THE extension of autonomy in foreign affairs is not only of immense significance for the post-war period but will greatly facilitate the development of certain aspects of Soviet foreign relations even in the course of the war. The right to enter into direct relations with foreign states and to conclude agreements with them, and the organization of the Union-Republican Commissariats of Foreign Affairs to carry out these relations, will greatly assist the solution of special problems arising in certain of the Republics that must be solved in the course of the war itself. Among these are problems of special economic needs that will need solution as soon as the republics bordering on Europe are liberated, and their reconstruction comes on the order of the day as essential both to the hastening of final victory and future world stability.

Border questions are clearly of direct importance to the people's inhabiting any disputed areas. The peoples of the West Ukraine and West Byelo-Russia have a special stake in the exact delineation of the border between the Soviet Republics of which they are a part, and Poland. In this connection it is interesting to note that according to the Soviet Constitution even before these latest amendments, no change can be made in the borders of any Soviet Republic without its consent. The new provision thus further implements this Constitutional provision, insuring to the people of Western Byelo-Russia and Western Ukraine the opportunity to participate in determining their exact border.

It is nonsense however, to assume as does Vera Micheles Dean in the *Foreign Policy Bulletin*, that the new Ukrainian Foreign Commissar, Alexander Korneichuk, will now "appeal over the head of the Polish Government in London to the Ukrainians of Eastern Poland to join the Ukrainians of the Ukrainian SSR," while a similar appeal is made to the Byelo-Russians. No such appeal is necessary. The Ukrainians and Byelo-Russians of whom she speaks are already citizens of their respective Soviet Republics and hence of the USSR as a whole. As soon, however, as a government truly representative of all the democratic elements of Poland is constituted by the will of the Polish people themselves, Korneichuk will undoubtedly participate in negotiations to satisfy fully the national aspirations of the Ukrainian and Byelo-Russian people and equally to insure a strong, free and independent Poland. The Soviet Union has already suggested the Curzon line as a basis for such negotiations, and the inclusion in Poland of East Prussia.

The Baltic Republics

SPECIAL problems facing the Baltic peoples when their imminent liberation occurs will also be easier of solution. Here, too, Mrs. Dean and others are wrong in interpreting the new moves as a "device" to facilitate the "reannexation" of the Baltic states into the USSR, and to satisfy the "technical" requirements of the Atlantic Charter. No such "device" is necessary and no "reannexation" is involved. These states, by the will of their people, are already legally a part of the USSR. Hundreds of thousands of their citizens are fighting heroically to speed the day of their return to the USSR, both in regular units of the Red Army and as guerrillas behind the lines. Their legally elected representatives participated in the recent de-

isions of the Supreme Soviet. Let them speak for themselves.

Deputy Vares, of the Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic:

> In all their history the Estonian people never had such a strong, technically equipped army as the Estonian Corps of the Red Army. . . . The Estonian people never supported or approved the policy of the reactionary pro-fascist government of Estonia. This was proved in June and July of 1940 when the Estonian people joined the family of peoples of the Soviet Union as an equal Republic. . . . The whole strength and power of the Soviet Union backs the interests of each Union Republic, no matter how small it is, and we need have no fear of any enemy or aggressor.

Deputy V. Lacis, of the Latvian SSR:

> Forcibly dismembered from the Soviet Union . . . from 1919 to 1940 the so-called independence of Latvia was a sham. Puppets and agents of Hitlerite fascism occupied the ministerial posts. . . . That is why in July of 1940, the Latvian people expressed their unanimous desire to join in great companionship the peoples of the Soviet Union. . . . There are some people abroad who refuse to recognize this historical decision of the Latvian people . . . who in their time were scornfully driven out by the Latvian people, never having been representatives of their people. . . . Most characteristic is the behavior of the former Latvian Minister to the USA, I. Bilmanis. This adventurer is abusing the hospitality of the great overseas power in his public utterances.

And Deputy J. Paleskis, of the Lithuanian SSR:

> We Lithuanians have clearly seen what it means for small nations to depend only on their own forces. . . . In the Soviet Union there are no defenseless Republics and peoples.

In the Spirit of Teheran

IT is absolutely incorrect to interpret this move, as some commentators have done, as a move in *opposition* to Teheran, as an indication that the Teheran agreements are unworkable, and that therefore the Soviet Union is seeking other methods to insure post-war security. Just the contrary is true. Teheran opened a new era in world affairs. It marked the final crystallization of a world alignment based on the peaceful co-existence of the USSR, a socialist democracy, with the capitalist democracies. This new alignment can only gain in power with the full strength not alone of the central Government of the USSR but of all its sixteen republics, made available to help solve the manifold problems of the post-war world.

The extension of autonomy in military and foreign affairs to the sixteen Soviet Republics, opening the way for them to have their own envoys in other states, and for other states to have their representatives not only to the USSR, but within its different Constituent Republics, immeasurably broadens the base of future international cooperation. As Moscow and Teheran showed that at last the other powers were ready to give their full confidence to the Soviet Union which had long sought such cooperation, so this new move, opening up every section of the whole vast area of the USSR to a multiplicity of contacts with the outside world, is an additional earnest of the good will of the Soviet Union and its complete confidence in the other democratic powers.

This point is clearly brought out by an article in the authoritative journal *War and the Working Class* which, commenting on the new decisions, states:

> The whole world remembers that in pre-war decades, the policy of isolation for 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 belated defenders of these bankrupt politicians are trying to whitewash their charges, and engage in confusing chatter about the never-existing Soviet "policy of isolation." In the light of the decision of the supreme organ of state power of 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?

The article also denounced as Nazi-inspired the speculations to the effect that the revisions were part of a plot to bring other countries into the Soviet Union. An article in the same issue by B. Baltiski on Soviet-Polish relations emphasized that the Soviet Union needs neither spheres of influence nor vassal states, but that it needs friendly neighbors, just as its neighbors need the friendship of the Soviet Union. This article said:

> Both the United States and Britain also want their neighbors, great 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?

To sum up the meaning of these Constitutional changes, the first point to be noted is that the very fact of their adoption in the midst of the bloodiest war and the most severe tests that any nation has ever had to face is proof of the immense strength and the unshakeable unity of the Soviet Union. A demonstration of the sincerity of Soviet aims of ever-expanding democracy and self-determination this action is in dramatic contrast to the fascist policy of enslavement of nations. In the opportunities it offers both for further strengthening within the Union of all the peoples of the USSR and for ever closer contacts between the peoples of the Soviet Union and the outside world, it must be seen as a powerful stabilizing force. It means that the Soviet Union can never again be dealt with on any basis but as a great, powerful family of nations, whose aims are at one with those of all the democratic peoples of the world. It means new strength for all the United Nations in the military struggle against the aggressor, and a great moral victory over fascism, offering further guarantees of the lasting cooperation and durable peace set as the goal of Moscow and Teheran.

JESSICA SMITH

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Molotov's Report to The Supreme Soviet

Text of the statement by the Foreign Commissar Viacheslav Molotov, to the Supreme Soviet on the historical session of February 1, 1944

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 by Molotov in the Supreme Soviet of the U. S. S. R. on Feb. 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.

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 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 transformations in the organization of defense and in foreign relations, providing for great expansion of functions of Union Republics, should serve as 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.

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, Azerbaidzhanian, 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, Tadzhiks, Turkmenians, Kirghizians and most of the peoples of the Northern Caucasus 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. 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 for 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 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 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

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waged by our army for the liberation of the Ukraine, for the liberation of Byelo-Russia? Who fails to appreciate wholeheartedly what the Red Army does to prepare the imminent liberation of Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, Moldavia, the Karelo-Finnish Republic? Who fails to remember that Soviet troops saved Azerbaidzhan, 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 launched an offensive along the whole front, for having defended Leningrad and fully lifted the blockade from it and now for their chasing of the enemy hordes from native soil without giving any respite?

Who, save 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 in 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 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 Azerbaidzhan, 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 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 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 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 by 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 co-operation 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.

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 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

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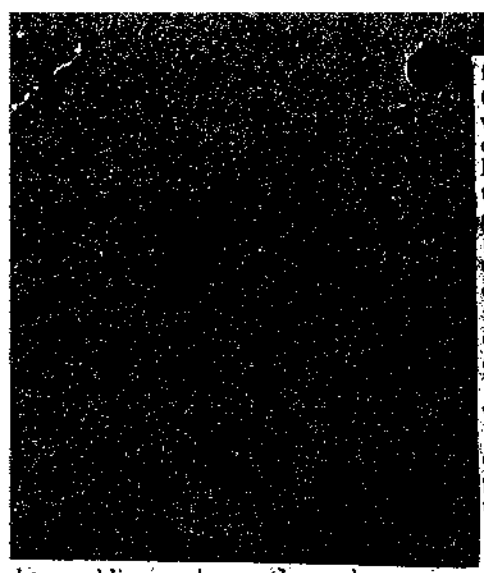

the republics can be met better by means of direct relations of the republics with corresponding states. Naturally questions of this kind require special concrete elaboration in union and republican organs. It cannot be denied, either, that a certain time will be required to organize these external activities 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 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 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 SOLTION OF THE 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. 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 ensured 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; 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 co-operation among people 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 a great patriotic war against German Fascism and its allies, which use the material and man-power 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 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 withstood all 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 of 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 still more fully the historic meaning of the existence of the Soviet Union to the peoples of East and West.

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 especially 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 transformations.

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Soviet Renews Pact For Japan's Fishing

Renewal of the Russian-Japanese fisheries agreement, providing Japan with fishing privileges along the Siberian coast, has been arranged after nearly three months of negotiations, a National Broadcasting Company broadcast from Moscow said last night.

Permission for Japanese to fish in Soviet waters has been subject since 1936 to annual agreement, which expires each Dec. 31, and the negotiations usually are a gauge of relations between the two countries.

Last year's pact was signed March 26 after prolonged conferences at Kuibyshev, then the temporary capital of Russia. It called for Japanese fishing companies to pay 4 to 5 per cent more for the privilege than in 1942, when the cost to Japan had been increased 20 per cent.

Terms of the agreement for 1944 were not immediately known.

This is a clipping from page 1 of the New York Times for March 31, 1944
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Soviet Foreign Policy

A THING OR TWO

Is Not So Enigmatic

WASHINGTON

I don't think Soviet foreign policy is as enigmatic as it looks when viewed through the lenses of ideological apologetics or ideological attack.

I think we may hazard a few statements of fact, and place some reliance on what they indicate for the future:

¶ The Russians are in the home stretch of a long and bloody war.

¶ In that war, they got little help from the international working class solidarity of Marxist tradition. In the Allied countries, sections of the working class were more hostile to the Soviet Union than the capitalist class; put Matthew Woll alongside Thomas W. Lamont and judge for yourself.

In Central Europe, whose working class had been Marxist for two generations, [illegible] and patriotism prevented any effective [illegible] we know of from the German workers "the workers fatherland."

In some countries, as in Poland, [illegible] matic rivalry and Soviet ruthlessness with political heresy have made the Socialists more deeply anti-Soviet than the Right.

Under those circumstances, one may reasonably suspect that the Russians are in no mood to shed their blood for the sake of bringing Communism to the West.

¶ The Soviet Union has been terribly ravaged. A huge volume of supplies is needed for reconstruction. Their principal source must be the U. S. A. and Britain. The Soviet Union and Communists abroad cannot carry on a revolutionary policy abroad and expect to get those supplies.

¶ The Red Army is emerging from a war a great, but battered, military power. The U. S. A. and Great Britain, which have done little fighting, have millions of fresh men under arms.

There still are plenty of people in the West who were glad to see the Nazis bleed the Soviets, and would be more enthusiastic about a war against Stalin than they ever were about a war against Hitler.

Revolutionary uprisings in western or central Europe would immensely add to the danger of a clash between Anglo-American and Soviet power.

Under those circumstances, the Soviet Union and the Communists will not only do nothing to encourage revolution but will do all in their power to prevent it.

¶ Soviet foreign policy, though rationalized by both friends and enemies in ideological terms, has been little influenced by ideological considerations, and will be less so than ever in the future.

The Soviet Union will seek the establishment of friendly governments in western and central Europe. There will be circumstances in which it may regard a rightist government as a safer ally than a liberal or leftist.

The Soviety Union will choose its friends and makes its moves in terms of Russian interests. The primary Russian interest is in peace abroad and reconstruction at home. That primary interest and not ideology will determine Soviet foreign policy and the Communist line abroad.

—I. F. STONE

PM, March 31, 1944
page 24

MOSCOW DEMANDS SATELLITE RISING

Rumania, Bulgaria and Finland Warned They Must Resist Hitler to Escape War

HUNGARY'S LESSON CITED

Nations Urged to Use Their Own Armed Forces—Sofia Said to Rebuff Soviet

3

By W. H. LAWRENCE

By Cable to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

MOSCOW, March 29—A plain warning was delivered today to the peoples of Finland, Rumania and Bulgaria that the only way they can save their countries from becoming battlegrounds is to break immediately with Adolf Hitler, using their own armed forces to resist any attempt by him to occupy their territories as he did Hungary.

Significance is given to the declaration—published as an editorial in Izvestia—by the fact that the Red Army now has powerful forces poised at the borders of Rumania and Finland, but, so far as known here, without orders as yet to invade territory beyond the Soviet Union. In the case of Bulgaria, the Soviet Union is not at war with her.

[Russia's pre-war boundary with Rumania was at the Prut River.]

As has been the case since Soviet armistice conditions were tendered to Finland at her request, the editorial was a restrained argument for leaving Hitler's camp and joining that of the United Nations, without denunciations of the "satellite countries" for their previous collaboration with Germany.

Hungary an Object-Lesson

Hitler's occupation of Hungary, an "ally," is an object-lesson to Finland, Rumania and Bulgaria, especially the last two, which, Izvestia points out, have sizable armies that give them every possibility of resisting attempted German occupation. Foreign press reports are cited as basis for the information that Bulgaria has twenty divisions.

Izvestia put the problem to these country bluntly as follows:

"Either to be completely occupied without resistance by the Germans with the inevitable prospect of making their territories a theatre of war operations and in the final analysis sharing the fate of Germany, or to break with Germany, joining with the democratic countries, firmly and decisively rising in defense of their sovereignty and the very existence of their State."

Izvestia disputes the arguments being put forward inside the "satellite countries" by "servants of Hitler" and joined by some people inside the democratic countries, that it is dangerous for such countries as Rumania, Bulgaria and Finland to break with Hitler because such an act would cause the Germans to transform their countries into a destructive, bloody battleground.

Such arguments are offered, Izvestia said, not only to "move to pity some 'tender-hearted people,' but also to hide first of all the fact that it is not breaking away from Germany but on the contrary retaining union with Germany that inevitably entails catastrophe for the satellite countries."

Hungary's experience is a good answer to this argument, Izvestia argued, contending that the only help the satellites can expect from Hitler would be "treachery, violence and banditry."

The restrained tone of the editorial and the arguments it put forward are regarded here as confirmation that the door to early peace with Finland is not firmly shut despite the Soviet Government's announcement last week that Finland must bear responsibility for all consequences of her refusal to accept what are generally considered generous terms.

It is also regarded as explanation why the Soviet Government has not yet reported any advance across the Rumanian border by Marshal Ivan S. Koneff's troops now at the Prut River on an eighty to 100 mile front.

Bulgarian Decision Reported

LONDON, March 29 (AP)—Crediting Moscow messages, the Ankara radio said today that Bulgaria had accepted closer collaboration with Germany.

"This, if true, would mean a Bulgarian declaration of war on the Soviet Union," the broadcast added.

[The Soviet Minister to Sofia was on the way to Moscow after "frank talks with Bulgarian liberal politicians," the British radio reported, according to the Columbia Broadcasting System]

"Carpetbaggers" Flee Red Army

MADRID, March 29 (AP)—Tens of thousands of German "carpetbaggers," civilians and officials who went east for easy plunder of occupied territories, are swarming back across the Carpathian Mountains into Hungary to escape the Red Army.

Hungarian and Rumanian sources in Madrid told of this exodus today and of the problems it is creating for the German defense of the northeast Balkans.

The German Army has taken command of the Carpathians, but German military transport is being delayed on highways and railroads by the panicky flight of Nazis who once reveled in soft government jobs or did a roaringly profitable business as civilians requisitioning the wealth of the Ukraine and Poland.

In Hungary, dissolution of all opposition parties by the new puppet government gave the Germans an unexpected problem: Where to get the manpower to maintain the Hungarian civil government.

Five concentration camps, established by the Gestapo and operated under the name of the Hungarian police, already are filled with some 20,000 Hungarians of almost all parties, reports here said.

This is a clipping from page 3 of the New York Times for March 30, 1944
Clipped at the Seat of Government.

EDEN SEES WORLD GUIDED BY 3 STATES

Holds Britain, U. S. and Soviet Must Have Deciding Voice—And, Eventually, France

TO HEAR SMALL NATIONS

He Says They Will Have Rights but Big Powers Must Bear Responsibility

By Wireless to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

LONDON, March 28—A post-war Europe in which all nations, great and small, will be free to express opinions and state grievances but in which the great powers that must bear the brunt of preserving peace will have a greater voice in deciding on action to be taken in the general interest was foreshadowed today by Anthony Eden, British Foreign Secretary, in an address to the Free Church Federal Council.

The Foreign Minister explained that in his mind that meant Britain, the United States and Russia first of all, but he expressed the hope that France soon after her liberation would resume her old place in the European family of nations.

Mr. Eden's speech to the church group was taken as important pronouncement on high policy. He declared that he was not proposing a dictatorship of the great powers, but his remarks were interpreted to mean that those nations which wielded a predominance of power would have their votes weighted in accordance with realities.

Duties of States Would Vary

In his speech he said:

"Every State must have a right to make its voice heard in the discussion of the means whereby we shall arrive at our common ends. Let us admit that, though all States are equal in status, they are not equal in power, and consequently their duties must vary. The responsibility for the preservation of peace must fall in the first instance on the powers which signed the Moscow declaration and, I hope, also on France when, as we all trust, without long delay she resumes her place amongst the great powers.

"They must be able to confer together regularly on the major problems of the world and give a decisive lead when action is necessary. They must, of course, associate other powers with them in their task.

"But we must recognize that those who bear the greatest responsibility and those on whose shoulders the burden will fall must have the greater voice in deciding any action to be taken in the general interest. All independent States must be free to declare their opinions and their grievances.

"But when it comes to deciding on action which only certain States by their military power are in a position effectively to take, we cannot simply count heads. The great powers have and must have special responsibilities in the field of security.

"This does not mean that there will be a dictatorship of the great powers. Every free nation will have its own responsibility for peace and its own contribution to make to it."

For a Common Purpose

Mr. Eden said that, if the policy whereby one nation was permitted to prey upon another was to yield to something better, there must be agreement among the nations on a common purpose. Only through recognizing the principle of interdependence could independence be achieved, he said.

"We shall see in the future," he said, "a large number of States enjoying 'sovereign equality,' varying from huge entities like the United States, the Soviets and the British Commonwealth, to very small communities, such as Luxembourg."

He said that, while the Moscow and Teheran conferences accepted that the world community would be composed of many independent States, it did not contemplate any kind of super-State.

This is a clipping from page 3 of the New York Times for March 29, 1944
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No, Communists Don't Think Much of Liberals

Browder Says They're 'Unrealistic,' Bad at Organization

This is the last of three articles on the new Communist Party line. The first told how the Communists have abandoned the advocacy of socialism to plug for "the free enterprise system," defining free enterprise as industry's freedom to form monopolies and cartels. The second told how the Communists base this new policy on Soviet policy, and why. In this final article, the Communist attitude toward liberals is described.

The series is based on the writings of Communist leaders and on an interview which Earl Browder, general secretary of the party, gave the author.

By Harold Lavine

As far as the Communists are concerned, U. S. liberals now live in never-never land, where they while away the moody hours tilting at windmills or trying desperately to sweep back the ocean.

The Communists consider it hard-headed realism to expect the U. S. A. to achieve prosperity in the postwar world through monopolies and cartels, even though monopolies and cartels are organized for the express purpose of restricting production and curbing technological development.

They consider it equally hard-headed to expect industry to police itself, with Donald Nelson telling Henry Ford he shouldn't fight the CIO, and Charles E. Wilson preventing Standard Oil from resuming its prewar agreements with I. G. Farbenindustrie.

They say it's realism to believe that everything will be all right in Italy within six months, no matter what, as long as the understanding reached at Teheran continues.

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And when liberals express their doubts, the Communists call them leprechauns.

"If you want to find someone who really thinks he has the last word from God, and that it came 50 years ago, they are the liberals," Earl Browder told me. "Yes, even the Republicans change with less inner writhings than the liberals do."

Discussing liberal critics of industry:

"They place themselves outside the sphere where real decisions are made and policies are really worked out; they become scolders from the sidelines."

Again:

"Liberals have not yet begun to approach these questions in a practical, responsible fashion as men who have to assume the responsibility for the outcome."

On still another issue:

"We find in many circles of the capitalist class much keener appreciation of this problem in its practical terms than we find in most of America's traditional liberals at the present moment, because in these capitalist circles there are men who are really facing these problems in terms of assuming personal responsibility for a favorable outcome for the country."

Differences on FDR

In their present mood, the Communists, unlike most liberals, are wholly uncritical of Roosevelt's wartime policies. Where once they were attacking the President as the agent of Wall St., they are now in the forefront of the fourth-term drive. The CIO, for example, has still not formally endorsed Roosevelt for re-election; the Communists have been plugging him for months.

Logically enough, the very policies which have disturbed the liberals are the ones that have brought the Communists closer to Roosevelt. The exigencies of war have compelled the President to give representatives of industry greater and greater voice in the Administration. Liberals, while they recognize the inevitability of this, nevertheless find it disturbing. The Communists consider the liberals sentimental fools.

Despite this contempt for the liberals, the Communists nevertheless believe that most of them eventually will come around to seeing things as they do, and that "a large majority of the Americans" will, too. "And that is quite possible," said Browder, "because our proposals are not for a Communist policy for the nation.

"It is true Communist methods of thinking come to this point ahead of most of the Nation and place the question most sharply, but the whole Nation will see, it will agree with it, will carry it out without turning Communist at all."

Look to Leadership

It's because they see things more clearly than other Americans, Browder said, that Communists think it necessary to retain their own, tightly-knit organization, despite their plan to abandon independent political action except in extraordinary circumstances. "The general progressive camp in America" flounders "in facing new complicated issues," approaching them "entirely through trial and error," he explained. "It has a contempt for theory.

"We think we have a contribution to make to the broadest progressive camp in this field, in bringing the question of theory and orientation and the ability to face questions without flinching."

He said that Communists also consider it their duty to organize "the progressive camp," explaining:

"We find . . . that progressive elements in America are very badly organized although America generally has the reputation of being first-class in the field of organization. . . . On the other hand, we pride ourselves as having some mastery of the art of organization and we think we have in this field a distinct contribution to make to the general progressive camp. . . ."

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'The Unpopular Front'

There are two premises in the new Communist Party line, as expounded authoritatively by Earl Browder in his interview given to PM's Harold Lavine, upon which everything turns. One is that the world's fate hinges on Russia's future, and Russia's alone. The second is that American progressives must give up their home-front struggle to fulfill the promise of American life, lest Wall St. fall out of the Teheran alliance. I consider the first a misconception, the second a betrayal.

Anyone would be a fool to underestimate Russia's greatness in the coming years, or its moulding influence in world affairs. The Russian rulers will be among the movers and shakers of the future. And I cannot imagine a sincere and knowing liberal anywhere in the world who does not rejoice at the strength that Russia has shown, and at the security which its growing strength and prestige give us against another fascist thrust at world domination.

PM believes this and has believed it all along. But that is very different from believing that the world's fate can be decided by Russia alone, any more than it can be decided by America alone, or by any other single people.

Revolution Marked Advance

In every period of history, to be sure, some one people has been used as the spearpoint of social advance. There can be no question that the Russian revolution has done for our time what the French and the American revolutions and the Protestant reformation did for past centuries. Yet it is one thing to recognize these broad perspectives, and quite another thing to isolate a single country and say that whatever helps it helps the world. We reject that kind of talk about America when it comes from the narrow nationalist groups here. Is it any better talk when it is about Russia? To orient everything around an uncritical acceptance of Russian power is precisely as short-sighted and precisely as silly as to orient everything around an uncritical acceptance of American power. A Russian century makes no more sense than an American century.

What makes sense is a people's century. And the question is: how do we get it? If the American Communists have an answer to that, I am willing to listen to it and appraise it. But it must be an answer that runs in terms of the world as a unity, and not just of what will help Russia.

Two Great Powers

America and Russia will be the two great powers of the world for some time. If they choose to turn against each other, the world will again be plunged into war. If they join their strength to enforce peace, then peace comes within the world's grasp. But it must be an America and a Russia working together, each of which is progressive in outlook—an America and a Russia which will not combine to freeze the power-relations of a reactionary world. If in either country the isolationist and parochial groups gain control, the outlook for peace is a dim one. If they do in both countries, it is blotted out.

I think that Browder senses this—

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about America, at least. Hence his anxiety to win over the American big-business groups. Hence his willingness to throw on the scrapheap of lost causes the struggle for genuine American economic freedom. Hence his acceptance of monopoly control of the American economy, on the ground of "inevitability." Hence his readiness to envisage a world handed over to despoilment by the cartels. Hence his eager wooing of the National Assn. of Manufacturers. Hence the urgency with which he holds before the donkey of business imperialism the juicy carrots of unlimited foreign markets for exploitation. Hence his wishfulness about how well a "free enterprise economy," with the controls removed and the war plants handed back to the monopolies, will solve the postwar employment problem of America, and how well it will treat the worker, the farmer, the small-business man, the consumer.

Browder's Basic Fallacy

What is Browder's basic fallacy is the belief that the American isolationists and the reactionary primitives can be appeased rather than they must be mastered; it is his belief that they can be lured into good behavior on foreign policy if only we surrender to them on domestic policy. This is to substitute the politics of blandishment and manipulation for the politics of majority strength.

To abandon the home-front struggle thus is a betrayal of the best American progressive tradition. It is a betrayal of the Marxian tradition as well in its crucial principle—that men can, acting together, transform themselves by transforming their living conditions and their power structure. I know of very few thinking American progressives who will not be surprised at the extent to which the Communists now depart from their basic principle.

One may well ask why they do so. I don't pretend to know their motives. But I can guess about some of their thought processes. Their minds have so long been fixed on Russia that now, with Russia's victories in warfare and statecraft, they have come to identify themselves completely with Russia. As their failure to get very far in their domestic program has become marked, they have withdrawn into the area of foreign policy. And in doing so, they have counted on tapping as a new psychological source of strength the great admiration and gratitude that so many Americans have for Russia. The American Communists are like an adolescent who never came to maturity in his own life and struggle, and now lives his own life wholly in his mother's life.

The Communists may, of course, point to the fact that Russia itself has found it possible to operate on several levels at once. Its socialism has not kept it from seeking agreement with tough-minded capitalists. Its fighting anti-fascist faith has not kept it from striking pacts with fascist powers when necessary.

But a struggling movement cannot do what a powerful governing group can. It takes great assurance, great strength, the support of a huge mass force, to play Machiavelli greatly. Stalin can do it; Browder cannot. Russia can do it; the American Communist Party cannot. And when the American Communists, trying to pursue a policy of pipsqueak Machiavellianism, ask the liberals to join them, then the comedy has gone too far.

Communist Policy Changes

I think back to the succession of stages through which American Communist policy has gone. I am not talking now of the anti-war and pro-war changes, but of changes more fundamental. They moved from a stage of world revolutionary socialism, to a stage of class-conflict-without-world-revolution, to a popular-front stage in which they joined the liberals. Now comes the unpopular front, in which they have joined forces with the conservative and even the reactionary groups. Given the logic of these successive retreats, what lies beyond in the next stage?

We on PM have been interested in making clear, to ourselves and to our readers, the far-reaching implications of the new Communist line. We reject it wholly, as far as it involves the abandonment of the struggle for economic mastery and social freedom and equity at home.

As far as working with Russia goes, we are wholly with that and always have been. The Communist position changes nothing there. There is nothing wrong and there is everything right in using the Teheran agreement—and others like it to follow—as the yardstick for international action. The Communists do no service to Teheran—in fact, they do it a disservice—by taking it out of the real social struggle of our time, and by associating it with a policy of appeasement within America.

Communists Distort Teheran

And, let us add, they do it no service by tying it in with a policy of appeasement and passivity in those areas of foreign affairs where America can play a creative role—in North Africa and France, in Spain and Italy, in Yugoslavia and Greece, in Arabia and Palestine. Browder seems to think that what we do in such areas is of only minor importance compared with our relations with Russia, and that if only the latter remain healthy, the former will take care of themselves.

It is true that the issue of Russian-American relations is the dominant one. But even the Russians should remember that an America which pursues a policy of appeasement of fascists in western Europe will not be a healthy force in the United Nations structure as a whole. Foreign policy cannot be split into two, and kept in air-tight compartments. We cannot be Dr. Jekyll in eastern Europe and Mr. Hyde in western Europe.

Which means that we on PM believe in continuing the two-front war—the war against fascist terrorism on the military front and the war against poverty and inequality and discrimination on the home front. And it means also that we believe in building a two-front peace—a peace based on a United Nations structure which includes both Russia and America as its crucial partners, but a peace which is also built firmly and permanently on democratic fulfilment in America.

—MAX LERNER.

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Browder Admits Communists Take Line From USSR

Party's Policies Frankly Linked To Teheran Conference

The Communist Party, U. S. A., changed its line again on Jan. 9, but the average non-Communist still isn't aware of what the changes are, or how far-reaching. Only the other day, for example, George Creel, writing in Collier's, *denounced criticism of Cordell Hull as Communist-inspired, when the fact is that Communists now think highly of Hull and of the State Dept. in general. They now think as highly of Hull as Creel does.*

Although numerically the Communists are insignificant, what they do and say does have an influence on American politics. In part this is because some Communists have managed to achieve positions of power in labor unions; but mostly it's because such reactionaries as Martin Dies and Westbrook Pegler so frequently raise the bogus issue of Communism to stampede the Nation against labor and the New Deal.

This is the second of three articles in which PM is attempting to describe and examine the new line, tell what the Communists themselves say is behind the switch in policy, and what others say. The series also will tell how the policies affect liberals and labor and how they are being applied.

By Harold Lavine

Anyone who imagined that Soviet Russia cast the American Communists adrift when she dissolved the Comintern just didn't reckon with the Communists. Whether or not Stalin was sincere in his alleged desire to dissociate himself from Communist movements outside the USSR, one thing is certain: U. S. Communists simply won't dissociate themselves from Stalin. The new Communist Party line, which Earl Browder promulgated on Jan. 9, is frankly linked to Teheran; and the outstanding fact about Teheran is that it was there Soviet Russia joined the Anglo-American coalition.

Similarly, when the Soviet Union recognized the Badoglio Government the other day, the Communists did an immediate flip-flop. Until that split-second, the Communists had been fervid in their denunciatoins of Badoglio. The *New Masses* for Mar. 14 castigated Winston Churchill for accepting him and Victor Emmanuel "as the symbols of the true Italy." But one day later, the *Daily Worker* was praising Stalin's acceptance of them as "a token of Soviet regard for the dignity and equality of the Italian nation." Three days later, Joseph Starobin said, "it would have been the same step forward if all three powers had simultaneously taken the same step." (*Daily Worker*, Mar. 17.) And there was no mention of Badoglio in the *New Masses* for Mar. 21; scorn for critics of the State Dept.

Tools of Russia

"Anti-Communists interpret such convolutions as proving that American Communists are either tools or agents of the Soviet Union. I told Browder as much during my interview with him when he complained, his voice throbbing with indignation, that "nobody engages in any serious political discussion with our point of view . . . It is supposed to be sufficient answer to everything we have to say to bring out the old cliche and to say, 'Who can trust a Communist anyway?'"

His answer to charges that American Communists base their policies on Soviet policy was to admit them. He said:

"Perhaps in order to get a correct picture of that we should connect it up with another fact—that the major factor in deciding the fate of the world has been the Soviet Union . . .

Russia's Role

"Now if the fate of the world is decided by the Soviet Union, does it not follow that anyone who is thinking correctly about taking part in deciding the fate of the world should have been conscious of this fact and have had this as a

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central point in all their decisions? Is it not true that if the statesmen who decide the role of Britain and of America had had this fact on their minds for the last 10 years, we would not have had this war at all; it would have been prevented? In fact, the great disaster for the world has been that there were not enough men who understood that the role of the Soviet Union was a decisive one for the whole world.

"If that is true, how can you make it a point against the Communists in general that in every decisive moment their position was determined by what happened in relation to the most important fact in world affairs?

"Anyone whose opinions were determined by any other consideration was orienting himself on minor facts in the world situation."

I hope I wasn't being chauvinistic when I wondered, as Browder talked, whether the U. S. A. wasn't as decisive a factor in world affairs as the Soviet Union; and whether Americans shouldn't be expected to make the U. S. A. "a central point in all their decisions"; and whether anyone whose opinions were determined by American considerations really was "orienting himself on minor facts in the world situation."

Browder's Answer

But I had no chance to wonder out loud for Browder was now reading an extract from the letter he addressed to President Roosevelt and to members of Congress on Sept. 11, 1939. The extract began: "We are Americans who love our country . . ."

I pointed out to Browder that when he wrote the letter both the U. S. A. and the Soviet Union were "neutrals." Stalin exploited his neutrality to prepare his nation for the war he knew would come with the Axis. But when Roosevelt attempted to prepare the U. S. A., the Communists fought him.

His answer:

"If you really examine what we said—what we said was that armaments without a correct policy would bring disaster to America.

"We never opposed armaments. We were in favor of armaments, and we argued for armaments at a time when the leading liberals were arguing against us. But when armaments are brought forward as a substitute for policy, we always fought against it."

Just as Teheran made the Communists pro-free enterprise, NAM-style, so has it changed them from critics to partisans of Cordell Hull, the State Dept., and our foreign policy in general. Hull began to grow in their eyes when he flew to Moscow. Since Teheran, he's taken on such diplomatic stature that Browder recently wished him many years more as Secretary of State. Compared with Teheran, Browder told me, our *amours* with Franco, Badoglio, Peyrouton, Giraud, Archduke Otto, and King George of Greece, have only minor significance. In Browder's lexicon, of course, *Teheran* means "cooperation with the Soviet Union."

U. S. Foreign Policy

And he made it clear that as long as the U. S. A. continues to cooperate with the Soviet Union we can have faith that all the blots on U. S. foreign policy will just naturally come out in the wash.

"The main direction of policy is going to determine everything else," he said, "and to understand how true that is, just look back six months and see what happened with relation to Yugoslavia." I cut in quickly: "Yes, but look back two days and see what happened in relation to Italy."

"You could have had the same pessismistic attitude on Yugoslavia as you have on Italy today," Browder answered. "It is cleared up not by barking at Cordell Hull but by the logical development of the policy that Cordell Hull himself initiated in October, and you will have the same clarification with regard to Italy within another six months.

"We may cry about the time that is lost, but that's the way things work out in this world. We cannot get everything all at once, and particularly you cannot get progress on little things until you do get the main orientation correct. That we have today.

"Past delays were largely because the whole world was marking time, waiting for Teheran . . ."

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Liberal critics of the Communists interpret their present affection for the NAM brand of capitalism and their horror at criticism of industry's plans for the postwar world in direct and simple terms. The criticism runs something like this: the Communist Party is now the purchasing agent for the Russians; it's willing to forget wage rates and working conditions, larceny of Government property and combinations in restraint of trade as long as U. S. firms do pleasant reconstruction business with the Soviet Union.

Decision Explained

How much seems certain: The arguments the Communists use to defend monopolies and cartels would have made just as much sense in the prewar world as now. If monopolies and cartels represent "the highest stage of capitalism," they did so five years ago, too. And while the opportunities for trade will be greater after the war than before, they nevertheless were vast enough then.

So perhaps James S. Allen expressed the basic reason for the Communist decision to suppress criticism of industry when he wrote in the *Sunday Worker* of Jan. 30:

"Another important lesson which has been learned since Hitler's coming to power is that the bourgeoisie need not be a single reactionary unit. As long as the issue appeared to both sides as a fight between socialism and capitalism, the bourgeoisie tended to unite under the banner of counter-revolution, of fascism . . .

"The appeasement sector of monopoly capitalism viewed Hitler as the anti-Soviet messiah and the bulwark against the peoples of Europe . . .

"Thus to launch an all-out attack upon monopoly capital as a whole would have the effect of uniting the bourgeoisie and driving it into the arms of fascism. . . ."

If this means anything, it means the Communists are fearful that U. S. industrialists will gang up against the Soviet Union after the war if they smell even an imaginary danger of socialism in the U. S. A.

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Of course, the fact is that industry often scares awful easy. Which is why the Communists now think liberals are irresponsible leftists when they advocate yards and plants.

NEXT: The Co[illegible] and the Liberals.

THE FATE OF FUTURE GENERATIONS

By Ilya Ehrenburg

The following article appeared in Number Six of the Soviet publication WAR AND THE WORKING CLASS:

In America much is being written about the future. We have no time for debates and projects: we are fighting. But at times we too stop to think what the world will look like after victory. Of course, this same question is exercising the minds of people under the roofs of Paris and in the mountains of Yugoslavia. Tormented Europe is trying to discern the vague contour of the new day.

However the paths of nations may vary, there is one thing that unites all honest people—hatred of fascism. As they glance back on the cemetery of the First World War, on the 20 years of fragile peace which to some was an uneasy dream and to others a feverish preparation for aggression, on ultimatums, on mustard gas and on the ruins of Guernica, people ask themselves: will the storm clear the world from the miasmas of fascism?

In these days the fate of future generations is being decided. Will the second half of the 20th Century be an era of ripening wheat ears or an era of scorched earth?

In 1916 I was in the city of Arras. It had been destroyed by German artillery. It was an ancient city with splendid architectural monuments. After the war the French began to rebuild it. Of course, they could not recreate the perished antiquities. A new city sprang up. It was completed on the very eve of the war. In 1940 I saw the ruins of the new Arras. And now not only the French, but the whole world, is thinking with alarm whether the same fate awaits a third Arras.

On the right bank of the Dnieper I picked up a bundle of German letters. One of them seemed to me interesting. This is what Lieutenant Robert Greiser wrote his friend: "When I feel gloomy, I cheer myself with thoughts of the future. One often hears various opinions as to the reasons for our reverses: with some it all amounts to criticism of the war operations, others put it down to blunders in timing. At any rate, the German people demonstrated their power. There is no need for despair. If we are fated to perish, our children will accomplish what we dreamed about and 1965 will become the year of greater Germany."

So we see that the Germans are also thinking about the future. Foreseeing a military defeat they are dreaming of preparations for new wars of conquest. They are now relying not so much upon their "secret weapon" as upon the soft-heartedness of their adversaries.

Upon the vigilance, staunchness and moral strength of the nations will depend the fate of a century, the fate of the wheat ear, the fate of our children, the fate of Europe. It is not enough to wrest the weapon from the hands of fascism. It will forge another. Fascism itself must be extirpated.

All around us we see ruins, ashes, ditches filled with the corpses of slaughtered children, the tears of mothers. The captive nations of Europe see the same thing. An American journalist said to me, "We don't like to read about German atrocities." Nobody does, although it is easier to read about them than to see them with one's own eyes. However, even Americans have ceased to doubt the atrocities perpetrated by Hitler's army. It only remains for us to reflect how it is that peaceful store clerks, sausage-makers and brewers could become hangmen and thugs, why they bury children alive and why they are proud of their "gas vans."

It is not a matter of German blood: the blood of Germans is like that of all mortals. It is a matter of the formation of society and of the individual. The Germany of the Hohenzollerns was infected with the same ideas, which later found their consummation in fascism. Even in those days the Germans declared they were superior to other nations, and in those days too they asserted that the Slavs must serve as manure for the Germans.

The phrase "a scrap of paper," pronounced over outraged Belgium, sounds as a prelude to the many "historical" and hysterical utterances of the Fuehrer. "Gallows are good for Russians," the Kaiser's generals used to say, forecasting the labors of Koch and Lose. In 1893, that is, 40 years before Hitler's accession to power, a German professor named Karl Jentch published a book called *Neither Communism Nor Capitalism*, in which he proposed to solve the social problem by the conquest and colonization of Russia.

In 1916, together with French regiments I entered Chauny, which had been abandoned by the Germans the day before. Chauny was famous for its pears. The fruit orchards seemed undamaged, but on closer scrutiny I found that all the trees had been cut through with saws. Twenty-seven years later in the Ukrainian city of Glukhov I saw apple trees which had been cut down by the retreating Germans. The same ideas and the same actions. The Germany of the Kaiser, of Hindenburg and Ludendorff was the model for the fascist state.

Fascism invented the "race theory" as a justification for brigandage. It established a "hierarchy of nations,"—some nations are created to be masters and others to be slaves, it declares. Even before Hitler Germany was inclined toward self-deification. Mussolini assured his oft-defeated blackshirts that

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they were the heirs of Julius Caesar and were therefore entitled to Corsica, Tunis, Malta, Abyssinia and Athens.

Superstitious to the core, the fascists decided to find their own Beelzebub. They made anti-Semitism a mystic religion of the state. They engineered the wholesale massacres of Jews. On orders from Berlin, General Franco also started to propagate anti-Semitism. There are no Jews in Spain, and the Castilian peasants reading the articles of the Falangist disciples of Streicher asked, "Why do they write so much about people that lived many thousands of years ago?"

The fascists hate progress and they furnished their prejudice with pseudo-scientific terminology. They have even invented "Aryan physics" and "Aryan trigonometry." All moral standards have been abolished in fascist society. The fascist "superman" despises love, brotherhood, kindness and compassion. German writers are fond of quoting Nietzsche, but theirs is the Nietzscheanism of Smerdyakov, who firmly believes that "everything is permissible." It is not surprising that one of the saints of Hitlerism is the pimp Horst Wessel, that the SA detachments originated in the saloons of Alexanderplatz which have long been favorite haunts of the criminal world, or that the Hitlerites employ gangster methods in every field, whether it be diplomacy, jurisprudence or economics.

An attentive observer might have discovered microbes of fascism long before Hitler came to power. I have already said that German militarism was one of the forerunners of fascism. There was a time when the good French bourgeoisie laughed heartily when they read of blackshirts forcing castor oil down the throats of Italian workers. These bourgeoisie did not suspect that the raids on the Italian people's halls would end in a raid on French Savoy. Let us recall the raids of the ruffians recruited by the megalomaniac D'Annunzio on Slav cities. Let us recall the cry of the Polish magnates, "A Poland from sea to sea!" That was in the days when only the friends of the future Duce knew anything about fascism and when Hitler was still a petty spy.

We are interested in the origin of fascism not only because we are fond of history, but also because we do not want the blackout years to be repeated. Fascism had its forerunners, but it must not have its successors. You have only to put a semi-fascist in place of a fascist, and five or 10 years hence the real fascist will replace his surrogate and deputy.

In the foreign press we sometimes find von Papen and Schacht mentioned as men who are supposedly capable of removing Hitler. We are familiar with these "successors," representatives of the Prussian Junkers and Ruhr industrialists. It was they who cleared the way for Hitler.

Recently two 10th anniversaries were "celebrated." On February 6, 1934 the fascists staged a revolt in Paris; six days later the Austrian reactionaries began shelling the workers' houses in Vienna. The forerunners of fascism were shamefaced: in Paris they advanced as their justification the decay of morals and the Masons; in Vienna, municipal scandals and Marxism. It was then that the fate of France and Austria was determined. Dolfuss, without realizing it himself, opened the gates of blood-drenched Austria to Hitler. The French fascists when they stormed the House of Deputies paved the way for the black day when the swastika flag waved over that building.

Certain truths take a long time to penetrate the minds of distant observers. The attack of the Italian and German aggressors upon Republican Spain was looked upon by many democrats as Spain's internal affair. Nobody discerned in the little Spanish general the big traitor, forerunner of the quislings and Lavals. On the contrary, there were democrats who, fooled by fascist propaganda, were inclined to prefer the general to the Deputies of the Cortes.

When the World War broke out Franco began to carry out the behests of his masters. However, to this day the British and Americans have spared the Iberian gauleiter. The peculiar idea was fostered that Franco is not the Falange and the Falange is not fascism. The general took note and continued his work for Hitler, of course. And now we have the United States Attorney General Biddle finding that the Falange is the prototype of the Italian fascist party and the German National Socialist party.

The fascists have a penchant for pseudonyms, such as Doriot's "people's" party, the "Rexists" and the Slovak "Guardists." Some of the fascists deny their fascist nature and even come out with hypocritical condemnations of fascism. We learn to know the fascists not by their labels but by their proclivities. Arrant foes of progress, the fascists of all countries are the natural friends of Hitler Germany and the natural foes of the Soviet Union.

Attorney General Biddle, enumerating the motives which led him to class the Falangists as fascists, recalled that the Falangists advanced the slogan of "pan-Hispanism" and called for a fight for a "greater Spain." That does not surprise us, for are we not familiar with "greater Rumania," stretching as far as the Volga, and "greater Finland," stretching to the Urals? Of course, Americans are more alive to the plans of conquest directed against Latin America; but when talking of Cuba one should not forget the Kuban, where not so long ago the Rumanians were rampant.

One would think that the Poles, who were the first bloody victims of Hitler, would curse the time when they were possessed by the fascist idea of a "greater Poland," the period from the raid on Vilna to the rape of Teschen. However, there are Poles whose

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dream it—, once they've shaken off the German conquerors, to become Polish conquerors themselves.

The fascists of all countries look upon Hitler as their bulwark and savior. For the sake of the Fuehrer, French or Croatian fascists betray their country. The prewar fascists and semi-fascists of Europe could not keep their eyes off the Fuehrer and the Duce: they dreamed of a blacked-out Europe. In the days of Munich the Frenchman Marcel Deat (he called himself a neo-socialist then), attacked Czechoslovakia and hailed the deal between Poland and Germany. But no sooner did Hitler fall upon Poland than Marcel Deat cooled toward Warsaw. Who was this French neo-socialist championing? Hitler Germany. Many, when discussing the reasons for France's defeat, forget the role played by the French fascists and semi-fascists who in 1939 were far more afraid of the victory of France than her defeat.

Unfortunately there was not a new Zola in prewar Europe to paint a portrait of the rank and file. We recall the young men who marched through the streets of European capitals. They adored uniforms: black shirts, brown shirts, blue shirts and green shirts. They inaugurated their public activities by beating up passersby and by pogroms. They never read anything but the wretched fascist sheets and they were proud of their ignorance. At times of spiritual strain they went to see detective films or attended a boxing match. They boasted of their biceps and their lack of conscience. They shouted all sorts of slogans without even stopping to think of their meaning. The Belgian fascists, for example, cried "Rex will win," but very few of them knew that Rex was Latin for King, and none of them knew which king was meant. At the time of the Italian attack on Abyssinia, the French fascists howled "Down with sanctions!" And again it would have been vain to ask them what sanctions they were talking about or what interest the French had in the annexation of Ethiopia to Italy. The Italian fascists, including children of pre-school age, used to roar, "The Mediterranean is ours!" The Spanish fascists recognized one another by the cry, "Up with Spain!" All fascists considered it their sacred duty to vociferate, "Down with Democracy," "Kill the Jews," "Death to the Bolsheviks!" It was a preparatory school for the "burgomasters" and hangmen of the "new order." From this school came the marauders of "The Blue Division," Hauptsturmfuehrer Leon Degrell and all of Hitler's other *landsknechts*.

A writer on life and manners might also have painted a portrait of the prewar semi-fascist. He was the type who did not take part in street disorders and did not shout at demonstrations until he was hoarse. The semi-fascist prided himself on being an educated man, even a man of thought. His view of the fascists was: "Those young fellows sometimes go too far, but they are sincere. They love their country. And they hate democrats, Masons, freethinkers, workers, Jews, Bolsheviks and other foes of order." The semi-fascist stayed at home, but donated money for bludgeons and leaflets, for bombs and pogroms. The semi-fascist imagined he was the fireman and the fascists the pump and water. Actually the fascists were the incendiaries and the semi-fascist nothing but the fuel can.

It is opportune to recall this now, when the Red Army is smashing Hitler's divisions, when the armies of the Allies will soon be landing in Europe, when nations are already beginning to decry the dawn of victory. We all know how easily microbes spread. Epidemics do not recognize frontiers. Fascism in any one country is *not only* a menace to the citizens of the infected country; it is also a menace to the neighboring nations and mankind generally. There is plenty of room on this earth for all sorts of languages and all sorts of beliefs, but the peaceable and free man cannot live in harmony with fascism. Legalization of fascism, whether frank or camouflaged, means legalization of crime.

We find fascists and semi-fascists trying to interfere wth the noble efforts of the Allied nations. Is it not amazing that a certain English politician named Mr. Knox could publicly refer to the nation which by shedding its blood had helped this same Mr. Knox to escape from a German concentration camp, as a "pernicious aggressor?" Do not the activities of Mr. McGovern, who in London champions Hitler's allies against Britain's allies, seem sinister and fantastic? Is it not an astonishing thing that articles are printed in the *New York Daily News*, in numerous Hearst newspapers and in certain English weeklies, condemning Russia and lamenting over the poor Hitlerite orphans?

Everything about the Russians arouses the ire of these gentry. When the Red Army was retreating they cried, "There is no sense in helping the doomed." Now that the Red Army is in Estonia and Tarnopol, they cry, "This is a threat to Europe!" When the Kremlin chimes played the *Internationale* these newspapers talked about "dangerous internationalists." When they heard our new national anthem, they howled "dangerous nationalists." In December they were outraged by "Soviet centralization"; in January they took up the cudgels against "Soviet decentralization." They write, "We will not recognize any annexations," and at once go on to declare that Vilna, which was annexed by the Poles, and Kishinev, annexed by the Rumanians, belong to the annexors. What can these declarations of love for the fascists and this calumniation of the Soviet Union mean? Only that microbes need no visas nor steamships nor clippers.

The Russian soldiers, the British seamen, the American airmen and the Yugoslav and French guerrillas who died fighting fascism cannot take part in discussions about the future. They died believing

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they were sacrificing their lives to rid the earth of a terrible evil. Will the living dare betray the fallen heroes?

We have seen what was the attitude of the French people toward the attempt to replace fascists with semi-fascists. When Pucheu, Peyrouton and other traitors tried to pose as honest Frenchmen, and even as democrats, the voice of indignant France rose from the depths of the underground. The semi-fascists came to get ministerial portfolios. But they found prison bars awaiting them. The masquerade in Algiers did not last long. The masks were removed, not at the invitation of the master of ceremonies, but at the demand of the uninvited guest and true master, the French people.

But in Italy the grand masquerade is still continuing. The heroism of Marshal Tito's Army opened the eyes even of those who worshipped blindness as supreme wisdom. But the covert fascists of Greece and Poland still call themselves anti-fascists. At times it seems that it is easier to smash German divisions than to clear the minds of certain observers of fascist lies. But time is pressing; Europe has suffered too much to permit amnesty being granted to hangmen, jailors, traitors and marauders.

We know that if the Germans are now preparing for 1965 they have already prepared themselves for the nearer date of Hitler's defeat. The magnates of the Ruhr and generals of the Reichswehr will attempt, by throwing Hitler overboard, to save the fascist state, which for the time being will pose as semi-fascist. The ersatz experts have already made preparations for an ersatz purge.

When I gaze at a child, a tiny sapling or a clump of earth I ask myself: can it be that we who have lived through two terrible wars and have learned to know the utter inhumanity of fascism will not save our children from a similar fate? In this war our Army and our people have displayed the maturity of courage and moral strength. We shall win the war. We must also win the peace.

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The Invasion of Europe

A Crushing Blow or a Prolonged War?

by MAJOR-GENERAL M. GALAKTIONOV

(*in full from the current issue of "War and the Working Class."*)

EVERY day brings nearer the date fixed by the Teheran Conference for the realisation of the active joint operations of the Allied Armies. In connection with the approaching date of the invasion there is growing opposition —now open, now thinly disguised —to the invasion of Europe on the part of elements hostile to the Allied cause in Great Britain and the U.S.A.

Such acts present a sharp contrast with the statements of responsible statesmen in Britain and America, and also with the facts confirming the energetic preparations of our Allies for active operations on the Continent.

The Teheran decisions speak with full clarity of the crushing blows to be dealt to Germany from the East, West and South, by the Allies. Consequently, the invasion of Western Europe is supposed to be such a crushing blow from the West. Delivered with all strength it must, together with simultaneous blows from the East and South, lead to the speedy defeat of Germany. Of course, such a problem cannot be solved without a corresponding strain and effort.

But the raising of this problem is fully realistic: from the point of view of her military situation, Germany is now near catastrophe, while our Allies have all the necessary forces and means for striking the enemy with sweeping and crushing blows.

Nevertheless, a certain section of the Anglo-American Press is energetically advocating a different conception, according to which the invasion of Europe will merely form a prologue to prolong the war for the exhaustion of Germany.

Thus, a correspondent in the *Observer* recently asserted that the forthcoming campaign will be aimed at the exhaustion of enemy reserves, to be accomplished by a gradual extension of the Front.

Even certain official persons, contrary to the spirit of the Teheran decisions, are trying beforehand to depict the invasion of Europe as a prolonged operation of a protracted war.

In his speech at Scranton on March 1, the British Ambassador to the U.S.A., Halifax, speaking of the difficulties involved in the forthcoming invasion of Europe, spared no sombre colours to represent the military operations in Western Europe to his American audience as a quite prolonged and protracted affair.

The same idea was actually pursued by the American journal, the *United News*. Curiously enough, this American journal cannot but recognise that precisely the plans of the Hitlerite Command are now aimed at protracting the operations. Germany hopes that the invasion of the European Continent will follow the pattern of a prolonged war of attrition. Yet the American journal considers the invasion of Europe will be "a lengthy process."

The strategy of exhaustion reflected in such pictures of the forthcoming invasion of Western Europe by our Allies, may be called the strategy of small-scale action.

Incidentally, it is quite well known, from the experience of the first World War, that some near-sighted people hoped to win

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victory over Germany by biding time and digging in.

It is a fact that victory is won not by passive waiting. Germany in the last war was exhausted in the hard battles forced upon her by active Allied offensive operations and was defeated in 1918 as the result of a series of crushing blows by the Allies on the Western, Balkan and Italian Fronts, and by the young Red Army from the East.

The second World War began with the French army waiting behind the Maginot fortifications, whereas Hitler Germany tested the use of the new mechanised Army on the field of battle against a weak Poland.

However, Allied strategy, based on the blockade and exhaustion of Germany in positional warfare, was scattered to the dust. The methods of exhaustion strategy not only did not lead to the actual weakening of Germany, but on the contrary did not even prevent her strengthening herself. The real weakening of Germany began only in the battles on the Soviet-German front.

As a result of the war against the Soviet Union, Germany has now exhausted her manpower and her material resources have reached a state of extreme tension.

Hitherto a characteristic of the war against Germany on the European Continent has been the fact that active large-scale operations were conducted only on the Soviet-German Front.

The absence of a second front in Europe was reflected by the fact that Great Britain and the U.S.A. adhered, in the war with Germany, to waiting—the strategy of exhaustion. During the early period of Germany's attack on the Soviet Union this was connected with the Allied need for time to deploy their armed forces. But how can the adequacy of the strategy of waiting and exhaustion, which still continues to be commended by certain circles and organs of the Press in Britain and America, be explained at present, when Britain and America are on the threshold of the invasion of Western Europe?

Let us briefly review these methods. First, the blockade of Germany. During the first World War this showed itself chiefly in a disastrous aggravation of the food situation in Germany, and, to a lesser degree, in the difficulties of supply, industry and certain war materials and products: yet to the very end of the war, industry fully met the demands of the front for armaments (except for tanks) and munitions. In the conditions of the present war, the blockade of Germany is far from complete. In view of this, the Germans are able, in the present war, to cope with the economic difficulties and to maintain war production on a far higher level than in the last war.

The duration of the second World War, which has already been in progress 4½ years, reveals with complete clarity that to achieve victory over Germany—even if the question is viewed merely from the point of view of the strategy of exhaustion—she must be deprived of the districts from which she is drawing her material resources, namely that active offensive operations are necessary.

In present conditions the war of exhaustion has acquired a new and powerful weapon, aviation. We by no means intend to underrate the tremendous importance of this weapon. Nevertheless, the experience of air war has exhaustively proved that long range bomber raids, unaccompanied by ground operations, constitute a means of prolonged war. Several years of air war would be required to achieve substantial results in the sense of exhaustion against such an adversary as Germany. The quite intensive air raids on Germany in recent months, doubtless of great importance for the general course of the war, nevertheless have not brought about a considerable reduction of Germany's war production.

Let us go on to the third element of the military operations of our Allies against the common enemy—the landing operations in Italy. Already nine months have passed since the first landing in Sicily, and some conclusions may be drawn about the character of these operations. Their restricted scope is now completely obvious. The operations in Italy are the best illustration of the contention that a strategy of exhaustion cannot lead to a serious weakening of the enemy, which is attainable only as a result of active offensive operations and decisive battles. The operations in Italy have been hitherto restricted to the limits of small-scale strategy which does not lead to decisive results and prolongs the war.

The conception of the Second Front in Europe is associated throughout the whole world with a change to decisive operations.

The difficulty of the operations involved in the invasion of Europe must not, of course, be underestimated. Most of the difficulties are rooted in the very nature of the landing operations, every one of which begins with the landing of small forces, which renders it easier for the defenders to attack them. Nevertheless, this stage of the struggle obviously does not represent hardships for the Allies as the experience of landing operations has shown that, with domination of the sea and air, it is precisely the initial stage of the landing which can be accomplished with the greatest success.

The shortcomings of the above-mentioned operations are due to other things. To begin with, they are very restricted in scope, whereas our Allies have vast armies at their disposal, fully equipped with modern arms. The second shortcoming is the slow pace of development of the operations and the irresolute action. Lastly and most important: to lend the operations a decisive character, they must be developed in directions vitally important for Germany.

In the Italian theatre the German Command was able to confine itself to defence, with the object of gaining time precisely because here they could afford to sacrifice part of the territory without substantial injury to the conduct of the war as a whole.

If the invasion of Europe were to resolve into a number of local operations on the Italian model, Germany would be given the possibility of defence with a restricted number of divisions, while retaining its main forces on the Soviet-German front. And only an invasion on a wide front in the most vital directions, an invasion with big forces and decisive aims would correspond to the demands of Allied strategy and wrest from Germany the principal means of her strategy for the protraction of the war.

Crushing blows with powerful Allied forces from the East, West and South must become the shortest and quickest way to final defeat of Germany with the least losses. It would be extremely naive to maintain that victory over Germany is attainable without losses and sacrifices. Nevertheless, the prolongation of the war will demand incomparably greater losses and expenditures.

The present Allied methods of struggle with Germany, while not leading to decisive results, are nevertheless involving serious losses. This relates to the air war in particular. Half-hearted and irresolute methods of conducting the war against Germany are in the final analysis bringing grist to the mill of the opponents of the Second Front. The exaggeration of the difficulties and losses during the period of the invasion serves these circles with an additional argument in favour of its further delay.

The British *Daily Mail* recently published an article from its Stockholm correspondent where he clearly painted an exaggerated picture of Germany's power of resistance and the strength of the German fortifications. Germany, the article says, will have time for repulsing our invasion in Western Europe and regrouping German forces for the final clash in the East. Perhaps this is the most fantastic plan of defence in history, it says, but it may prove successful if we invade prematurely, or without adequately trained troops.

This plan is truly fantastic. As if there were no brilliant Red Army operations which have brought Hitler Germany to the brink of disaster! As if there were not and was not the brilliant Red Army offensive which but recently breached the strongest German defence at Leningrad! Manipulating with the Hitlerite fantasy, the author advocates delay in invasion. He is helping the open opponents of the second front, and the latter, let us say it outright, are helping Germany to realise her strategic plan for the prolongation of the war.

The firm implementation of the Teheran decisions about the simultaneous crushing Allied blows in directions vital for the enemy is the only way to the speedy and final rout of Hitler Germany.

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RUSSIA'S CLEAR-CUT POLICY CONTRASTS WITH AMERICAN INDECISION

THE crossing of the Dniester River, announced on March 18, brought Russian troops into Bessarabia, giving added significance to the Kremlin's rapidly unfolding foreign policy, represented in the north by its peace negotiations with Finland and in the south by its recognition of the Badoglio régime.

FINLAND AT BAY. While Moscow's peace terms were, on the whole, moderate considering the blows Russia could, if it wished, inflict on Finland at this juncture, and Marshal Mannerheim was reported to have said his forces could not withstand a renewed Russian onslaught, the Finnish government, on March 14, rejected these terms, in spite of pressure from the United States and Sweden. To many people in this country Finland's action may appear foolhardy and unjustified. But from the point of view of many Finns a shift from the domination of Germany to that of Russia offers little perceptible improvement.

Such improvement could have come if Britain, Russia and the United States had implemented their Moscow pledge to establish an international organization "at the earliest possible opportunity." Only within an international organization could Finland, or any other small country, expect adequate guarantees against threats by any one of the great powers. In the continued absence of a system of collective security, American advice to quit the war can hardly prove effective, since the Finns learned by bitter experience during their first war with Russia in 1939-40, when they enjoyed considerable sympathy here and in Western Europe, that they cannot count on concrete assistance from us or from the British—least of all now, when we are fighting side by side with Russia in a common effort to defeat Germany.

SELF-DETERMINATION QUESTIONED. In fact, so great is our concern to maintain intact the coalition of great powers that there is a growing tendency to question the right of self-determination on the part of small nations—in marked contrast to 1919, when that right became one of the cornerstones of the peace settlement. There is no doubt that self-determination, unless it takes place within the framework of an international organization, is bound to result in further pulverization and hence weakening of Europe. The alternative to self-determination, however, is not the absorption of small nations into the territories of great powers, as the London *Times* seems to suggest, but the establishment, as soon as possible, of an international organization within which, as anticipated at the Teheran conference, all countries, great and small, could find a measure of security. Otherwise, just as the Finns are understandably timorous at handing over their fate to the U.S.S.R., so the Russians are understandably anxious, in their hour of victory, to consolidate their strategic position on the Baltic—and prefer their own method of attaining security in the hand to an international system still very much in the bush.

Meanwhile, the Soviet government, which has castigated the Polish government in exile and used unvarnished language to the Finns, appears to be meting out more gentle treatment to the Badoglio régime, which it recognized as the government of Italy on March 11. This decision has been explained by Communists in the United States as an attempt to restore lost morale to the Italians, and thus strengthen them for the selection of their own post-war government. As a matter of fact, there has been relatively little criticism of Badoglio among members of the Italian Committee of National Liberation. Their attacks have been directed not against Badoglio, but against King Victor Emmanuel, and those elements surrounding the monarch who have profited by Allied occupation to use Fascist methods against all political opposition, without benefit of the Fascist label. Britain and the United States at least could have made, had they wished, a distinction between the

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King and Badoglio, thus giving some encouragement to those anti-Fascist groups in Italy which have been pleading for the establishment of a regency. Such a measure would even have satisfied Mr. Churchill's expressed preference for the monarchical system without, at the same time, sanctioning the semi-Fascist elements now regrouped around the King. In practice, Anglo-American policy of leaving both the Badoglio régime and the six parties comprising the Italian Committee of Liberation in the dark concerning our future intentions has tended to alienate both, without rallying the Italians to our side.

RUSSIA'S AIMS IN EUROPE. The chief weakness of our policy is that, in contrast to the Russians who have a definite objective in mind and use a wide range of methods to attain it, Britain and the United States give the impression of not being certain just what they are striving to achieve on the continent once Hitler has been overthrown. Russia's objective is two-fold: to win the war as soon as humanly possible; and to achieve its own security against the renewal of German aggression. To achieve their own security, the Russians are following two interlocked policies: they are establishing along their western border a safety belt of territories which, in their opinion, could otherwise be utilized by the Germans for some future attack on Russia. Hence their insistence on the incorporation into the U.S.S.R. of Eastern Poland, the Baltic states, Bessarabia and the section of Finland they acquired at the close of the first Russo-Finnish war in 1940. Second, they are seeking by all means at their disposal to make certain that countries adjacent to Russia's 1941 border will, after the war, have governments friendly to the U.S.S.R. and the Soviet system. Hence their hostility to the Polish government in exile, their backing of the Union of Polish Patriots and the Polish army in Russia headed by Lieut. Gen. Berling, their treaty of mutual assistance with Czechoslovakia and, further afield, their recognition of the Badoglio régime.

Compared to these clear-cut aims, the policy of Britain and the United States in Europe remains unclear. Are we merely striving to assure our own survival—in itself a worthy and obviously essential aim? Or are we also intent on extirpating in Europe the forces that bred Fascism and Nazism, and that, unless they are uprooted, may breed them again once hostilities are over? Naturally, the military commanders in the field must have the first say when the lives of millions are at stake. But this is only a partial answer. Commanders in the field are not functioning in a vacuum. They either have, or if they do not should have some idea of the general course pursued in world affairs by the governments they serve. To raise these questions is not to weaken the war effort, as some people contend. On the contrary, it could be fairly argued that if the military forces of the United States—whose prevailing lack of conviction has been the subject of recent comment—were more fully aware of the issues at stake, they might make an even more valuable contribution to the war effort. And this applies with still greater force to the civilians behind the lines who can hardly be expected to perform adequately their functions as citizens of a democratic society unless they have a rough idea of the direction in which the government is moving.

VERA MICHELES DEAN

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Text of Hull's Statement on U. S. Foreign Policy

WASHINGTON, March 21 (AP)—The text of a State Department statement on United States foreign policy:

Secretary of State Cordell Hull on March 21 informed press and radio correspondents that after returning from his recent trip to Florida he had noted a growing interest in the foreign policy of the United States and an increasing number of requests for information about various points in our foreign policy. He said that he was glad of this increased interest. The Secretary said that in addition to many statements and declarations by the President, he had himself made a number of basic statements on foreign policy during the past two years. He thought it would be a convenience and help to the public generally if there could be compiled a brief memorandum of a number of them. Accordingly, the following had been prepared:

Bases of the Foreign Policy of the United States

Our Fundamental National Interests—In determining our foreign policy we must first see clearly what our true national interests are. At the present time, the paramount aim of our foreign policy is to defeat our enemies as quickly as possible. Beyond final victory, our fundamental national interests are the assuring of our national security and the fostering of the economic and social well-being of our people.

International Cooperation—Cooperation between nations in the spirit of good neighbors, founded on the principles of liberty, equality, justice, morality, and law, is the most effective method of safeguarding and promoting the political, the economic, the social, and the cultural well-being of our nation and of all nations.

International Organization Backed by Force—Some international agency must be created which can—by force, if necessary—keep the peace among nations in the future. A system of organized international cooperation for the maintenance of peace must be based upon the willingness of the cooperating nations to use force, if necessary, to keep the peace. There must be certainty that adequate and appropriate means are available and will be used for this purpose.

Political Differences—Political differences which present a threat to the peace of the world should be submitted to agencies which would use the remedies of discussion, negotiation, conciliation, and good offices.

International Court of Justice—Disputes of a legal character which present a threat to the peace of the world should be adjudicated by an international court of justice whose decisions would be based upon application of principles of law.

Reduction of Arms—International cooperative action must include eventual adjustment of national armaments in such a manner that the rule of law cannot be successfully challenged that the burden of armaments may be reduced to a minimum.

Moscow Four-Nation Declaration—Through this declaration, the Soviet Union, Great Britain, the United States, and China have laid the foundation for cooperative effort in the post-war world toward enabling all peace-loving nations, large and small, to live in peace and security, to preserve the liberties and rights of civilized existence, and to enjoy expanded opportunities and facilities for economic, social, and spiritual progress.

Spheres of Influence and Alliances—As the provisions of the four-nation declaration are carried into effect, there will no longer be need for spheres of influence, for alliances, for balance of power, or any other of the special arrangements through which, in the unhappy past, the nations strove to safeguard their security or to promote their interests.

Surveillance Over Aggressor Nations—In the process of re-establishing international order, the United Nations must exercise surveillance over aggressor nations until such time as the latter demonstrate their willingness and ability to live at peace with other nations. How long such surveillance will need to continue must depend upon the rapidity with which the peoples of Germany, Japan, Italy and their satellites give convincing proof that they have repudiated and abandoned the monstrous philosophy of superior race and conquest by force and have embraced loyally the basic principles of peaceful processes.

International Trade Barriers—Excessive trade barriers of the many different kinds must be reduced, and practices which impose injuries on others and divert trade from its natural economic course must be avoided.

International Finance—Equally plain is the need for making national currencies once more freely exchangeable for each other at stable rates of exchange; for a system of financial relations so devised that materials can be produced and ways may be found of moving them where there are markets created by human need; for machinery through which capital may—for the development of the world's resources and for the stabilization of economic activity—move on equitable terms from financially stronger to financially weaker countries.

Atlantic Charter: Reciprocal Obligations—The pledge of the Atlantic Charter is of a system which will give every nation, large or small, a greater assurance of stable peace, greater opportunity for the realization of its aspirations to freedom, and greater facilities for material advancement. But that pledge implies an obligation for each nation to demonstrate its capacity for stable and progressive government, to fulfill scrupulously its established duties to other nations, to settle its international differences and disputes by none but peaceful methods, and to make its full contribution to the maintenance of enduring peace.

Sovereign Equality of Nations—Each sovereign nation, large or small, is in law and under law the equal of every other nation. The principle of sovereign equality of all peace-loving States, irrespective of size and strength, as partners in a future system of general security will be the foundation stone upon which the future international organization will be constructed.

Form of Government—Each nation should be free to decide for itself the forms and details of its governmental organization so long as it conducts its affairs in such a way as not to menace the peace and security of other nations.

Non-Intervention—All nations, large and small, which respect the right of others are entitled to freedom from outside interference in their internal affairs.

Liberty—There is no surer way for men and for nations to show themselves worthy of liberty than to fight for its preservation, in any way that is open to them, against those who would destroy it for all. Never did a plainer duty to fight against its foes devolve upon all peoples who prize liberty and all who aspire to it. All peoples who, with "a decent respect to the opinions of mankind," have qualified themselves to assume and to discharge the responsibilities of liberty are entitled to its enjoyment.

Dependent Peoples—There rests upon the independent nations a responsibility in relation to dependent peoples who aspire to liberty. It should be the duty of nations having political ties with such peoples to develop materially and educationally, to prepare themselves for the duties and responsibilities of self-government, and to attain liberty. An excellent example of what can be achieved is afforded in the record of our relationship with the Philippines.

This is a clipping from page 12 of the New York Times for MARCH 22, 1944 Clipped at the Seat of Government

Johnston Accepts Stalin Bid To Visit, Study Soviet Russia

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

WASHINGTON, March 21—Eric A. Johnston, president of the Chamber of Commerce of the United States, has accepted an invitation from Premier Stalin to visit Soviet Russia. Tentative plans call for his leaving about May 12 and returning to the United States June 20.

Mr. Johnston, an outspoken proponent of the American free enterprise system, accepted the invitation so he could have a look at how the Soviet system operates from the point of view of an American business man.

It can be taken for granted, according to persons close to the Chamber president, that he will be as blunt in his statements to the Soviet people as he was in talking to the British when he visited England last summer.

Mr. Johnston's view regarding Soviet Russia has been that Americans must recognize that it has a different economic system but American business men welcome the competition of any other systems and are confident theirs can out-produce them. He also has stated that while we underestimated Russia's economic and military strength before the war, we must not underestimate it after the war.

Characteristic of Mr. Johnston's outspoken approach to the prob-

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lem of Soviet relations was a portion of his remarks to Tass, the Soviet news agency, on Feb. 23:

"I know the business men of America. They wish to sell their products and to buy materials in the markets of the world. They believe we must export goods and services to each other and not ideologies and political concepts. It would be unrealistic not to recognize that there are basic differences between the American and Soviet systems."

He states his concept of Soviet-American economic relations in his forthcoming book, "American Unlimited," to be published next month.

"Russia and the United States represent two extremes, and their inevitable competition for world markets will have about it something truly titanic," he said. "One is history's greatest democratic capitalist society, the other the greatest collectivist society ever known; one is people's capitalism at its best, the other state capitalism at its strongest.

"Americans do not shrink from that mighty test. We welcome it just as a well-trained athlete eagerly looks forward to a competitive test of his prowess. Fully aware of Russia's emerging force and productivity, we confidently put our faith in the American way of life."

Although Mr. Johnston has insisted that he has no interest in the Presidency this year, some of his friends regard him as a political dark horse for the Republican nomination.

This is a clipping from page 1 of the New York Times for March 22, 1944
Clipped at the Seat of Government.

Soviet Foreign Policy Ignores 'Party Line'

By Eddy Gilmore

Moscow, March 19 (AP).—By her recent action in recognizing Premier Marshal Peitro Badoglio's regime in Italy, Russia has given further evidence of an increasing tendency to act boldly in diplomatic affairs, paying little heed to Communist pronouncements abroad and basing her course on an apparently settled policy.

The Russians know what they want and are proceeding toward that goal.

Rusian recognition of the government of Marshal Badoglio and King Vittorio Emanuele should not cause any great alarm in the United States and Britain, however, it is felt here.

In fact, the action might be taken as evidence that the Soviets are not seeking to communize Europe, and as being in line with the dissolution of the Comintern last year.

When the United States and Britain made use of the services of the late Admiral Jean Darlan in North Africa a number of Russians were startled. But Russia's latest action might be termed the same kind of expediency.

Wash Post
March 20, 1944
p. 4

New Soviet Line-Up

Russian Constitutional Changes Are Analyzed and Explained

To the Editor of The New York Times:

The Soviet autonomy decrees concerning the transformation of the People's Commissariat of Foreign Affairs from Union People's Commissariats into Union Republican People's Commissariats, as announced on Feb. 1, 1944, made unwarranted confusion all the more confounded among American newspaper writers and radio commentators. Yet this latest move on the part of the Soviets may well augur the way for a truly effective alliance among the four great powers: the United States, the U.S.S.R., China and Great Britain.

The following statement is a brief summary of relevant theses analyzed in Soviet journals during the past few years. Time and again Russian journals and radio broadcasts have reiterated their plans to the effect that the Soviet Union must occupy a place corresponding to its contribution to the cause of saving the world from the Fascist plague.

Soviet As a Democracy

These decrees appear to project post-war policies of enduring significance. These are signs of an internal post-war stability the like of which Soviet Russia has not experienced throughout the twenty-six years of its existence. Similarly, they indicate that the Nazi invasion of Russia brought about a national cohesion within the Soviet Union such as the Stalin regime was unable to achieve throughout the years it has been in power. Moreover, the gradual appearance of a new generation almost completely loyal to the present Soviet regime makes the process of decentralization all the more feasible. It may pave the way for a gradual introduction of political democracy within the Soviet Republics.

These decrees are not moves toward expansionism, imperialism or spheres of influence per se. To be sure, the Soviet Union has recently entered the arena of international power politics uninvited and much to the dismay of the other major powers. This does not necessarily mean that the Soviet Union is embarking on a venture to deprive small states of their national sovereignty.

On the contrary, the Soviet autonomy decrees bear evidence of being the most sagacious administrative scheme yet devised. For they have taken into account ethnographic principles, demographic realities and geographic factors affecting the national unity, political security and economic foundation of each of the sixteen Union Republics.

The tendency toward decentralization has been quite evident for some time past. Moreover, one of the paramount motives of the Stalin Constitution of Dec. 5, 1936, was the Soviets' cognizance of the significance of federalism. Stalin and his associates have learned that a centralized state is fraught with danger in peacetime. Some form of an all-pervading centralization in peacetime is necessary in order to avoid anarchy; centrifugal centralization, however, is indispensable in wartime. Bitter experience has taught Stalin to realize that sixteen armies are less dangerous to his highly centralized state than one army.

In the absence of an effective world security system, the Russians are determined to eliminate root and branch the pre-war cordon sanitaire. Concurrently, it is extremely unlikely that the Stalin regime is interested in senseless aggression that would in any sense approximate that of the Nazis. The Soviets have thus taken fate into their own hands and are shaping their own destiny as the second greatest power in the world.

Fundamentals Unchanged

In the Stalin Constitution of Dec. 5, 1936, Articles 126 and 141 specifically provide that the Communist party and not the state is the repository of final political, economic and administrative power. The new decrees do not change this fundamental core of the Soviet Union.

Of equal significance is the juridical structure of the Soviet Union. According to Article 69 of the Soviet Constitution the Supreme Court has no jurisdiction over the final decisions of the Supreme Soviet Council of the U.S.S.R., hence the Supreme Soviet, or in the last analysis the Politburo, is its own judge. The Union Republics will thus continue to be the functional and operational agencies of the U.S.S.R.

That Stalin and his associates are masters of psychological warfare has been proved more than once in recent years. They have been fully aware of the variegated social milieus prevalent in the various areas comprising the sixteen Union Republics, hence they have continually pursued a policy of differential treatment of the Union Republics.

The issuance of this autonomy decree, while the savage battle is in progress and prior to the Red Army's conquest of the Baltic states, is of extreme psychological significance. The decree would tend to minimize in a large measure potential organized resistance on the part of the populations inhabiting those areas: Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Karelia-Finland and Bessarabia.

The powers of taxation and the formulation of one federal national budget are reserved exclusively to the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. Similarly, the power to make treaties and to declare war is reserved to the Supreme Soviet Council. Thus in consonance with the new autonomy decrees, the Union Republican People's Commissariats of De

s is a clipping from
e E-8 of the
York Times for
March 19, 1944
Clipped at the Seat of
Government.

fense and Foreign Affairs will continue to depend upon the Supreme Soviet for their financial support and rigid supervision. The new decrees confirm the policy which the Soviets have pursued during the past twenty-odd years—namely, that the national culture is national in form and socialistic in content.

The Union Republics of Uzbek, Kazakh, Tajik, Turkmenian, Kirghizian, Azerbaidzhan—and most of the peoples of the northern Caucasus—also peoples of the North, who were not subject to conscription under the Czarist regime, have been given opportunities under the Soviet regime on a par with other nationalities and peoples that compose the Soviet Union and its Red Army.

These decrees aim to deal a moral-political blow to fascism, particularly to the vicious concept of the Master Race (the Herrenvolk). Similarly, the decrees seem to have been carefully timed as a counterpoise to the projected Anglo-Saxon English-Speaking Union advocated by Prime Minister Winston Churchill in his speech at Harvard University on Sept. 7, 1943, and by the British Ambassador, Lord Halifax, in his recent speeches in Canada and in the United States, as well as to counteract the appeal of Field Marshal Jan Christiaan Smuts made before the Empire Parliamentary Association and published on Dec. 4, 1943, wherein he advised the European nations to align themselves with the British Empire.

A phenomenon that is too often overlooked is that the continuation of the Pan-Slav movement on the European continent had never ceased to function, even during the Soviet regime. To be sure, under the Soviet direction the Pan-Slav movement is radically different from that of the nineteenth century. The Soviet Pan-Slav movement is a politico-economic opportunist construction, which has a powerful psychological appeal to the people in the Slav countries to solicit their support to Soviet Russia.

Hence the two newly announced constitutional changes will "yield fruit also in the post-war period." "Having borne the whole brunt of the struggle with the main forces of the most dangerous enemy in saving itself as well as other countries," the Soviet Union demands this deference and has thus undertaken to protect, influence or control such countries, whether or not they become integral parts of the Soviet Union.

CHARLES PRINCE.

Bloomington, Ind., March 12, 1944.

Moscow Looks at Japan

In the Soviet Union the printed word is never without significance. The press is not merely subject to censorship and direct governmental inspiration; it is, in the last analysis, part of the official setup. This is especially true of the newspapers and periodicals published in Moscow, the Soviet capital. Those organs are, in effect, specialized, each covering certain fields of public interest. The publication called War and the Working Class devotes itself largely to the field of foreign affairs. Its articles are, to be sure, not "official" pronouncements, in the sense that they announce governmental decisions, but they reflect official trends in foreign policy and are sometimes used as "trial balloons" to elicit reactions abroad.

A recent article on Japan, prominently featured in War and the Working Class, is therefore noteworthy both for what it actually states and for what it may imply. The article, from the pen of the publicist, E. Zhukoff, reviews at some length Japan's general situation and prospects in the war which it is waging against the western powers. It should of course be remembered that Soviet Russia is neutral in that conflict, having a nonaggression treaty with Japan from which Russia profits in many ways, especially by being able to get supplies from America via the Pacific through its great Far Eastern seaport of Vladivostok, the terminus of the Trans-Siberian Railroad. The article is couched dispassionately, with no intimation that Soviet Russia envisages entering the Far Eastern conflict. Its conclusions are, however, not optimistic regarding Japan's situation and prospects. Indeed, it states that the Japanese people, as well as its leaders, now realize the futility of the alliance with Hitlerite Germany in an adventurous imperialistic policy of conquest.

The grandiose military successes ~~of the months~~ succeeding Pearl Harbor gave an illusion of invincible power which intoxicated and misled the Japanese people. This was succeeded by the belief in a limited victory whereby the western powers would be compelled to make a compromise peace, leaving Japan in possession of most of her conquests. Now, however, the article declares, few persons in Japan longer believe that victory is possible, and the Japanese government has not succeeded in hiding from the public the disasters of recent months and the increasingly grave strategic situation. Even under present conditions Japan is unable to replace her attritional losses. After the defeat of Germany, the western powers will be able to concentrate naval, military and air forces against Japan which will give them an overwhelming superiority.

The article does not specify either the time or the scope of the Japanese defeat which it forecasts. Neither does it speculate on Soviet Russia's attitude in such an eventuality. But the fact that so pessimistic an estimate of Japan's position and prospects should appear at this time in the Soviet organ devoted to discussions of foreign problems cannot be without meaning.

The Sunday Star
March 19, 1944
Page C-2

RUSSIAN FORESEES JAPANESE FAILURE

Soviet Journal Says Anglo-U. S. Power Will Beat Strategy Leading to Peace Offensive

By W. H. LAWRENCE 6

By Cable to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

MOSCOW, March 17—Few persons in Japan now believe that victory is possible and the optimistic declarations of Government circles have not succeeded in hiding from the populace Japan's failure in recent months, the publication War and the Working Class declared today.

These points were made in a long review of the Pacific war by E. Zhukoff. The article, placed prominently in the Soviet journal of international relations, is a discussion of measures taken by the Japanese on the military, diplomatic and home fronts to prolong the war, consolidate Japan's gains, achieve an outward appearance of working relations with colonies in East Asia that desire independence and then to launch a peace offensive.

The author concludes, however, that these efforts will fail and that Japan's already grave difficulties will measurably increase when the Anglo-American coalition, following up the inevitable defeat of Adolf Hitler, is able to transfer large naval and military forces now operating in the Atlantic. He points out that the combined Allied productive capacity in ships, transports, aviation and other war matériel vastly exceeds that of Japan, which is unable even to replace her attritional losses on the present scale of war activity.

The prospect of Japan's defeat elicits no expression of regret from the Soviet magazine, which says the Japanese nation now realizes the futility of its alliance with Hitler in its adventurous imperialistic policy of conquest.

Japan, the article said, achieved a grandiose military success in the early months of 1942 as a result of which her people were misled into believing victory would be easy and the Anglo-American forces would speedily capitulate.

But the military situation has changed since then and the Anglo-American coalition has "completely captured the strategic initiative" with naval forces so strong the Japanese Fleet does not dare risk a large-scale encounter with the United State Fleet, it added. As a result, "there now are very few who remain in the country who believe in victory."

"The optimistic declarations of the Ministers are in shouting contrast with the facts," the article said. "Some of the efforts of Government circles have succeeded in hiding from the populace the large losses suffered in recent months in the Pacific Ocean."

This is a clipping from page 6 of the New York Times for

March 18, 1944

Clipped at the Seat of Government.

EDITORIAL ACROBATICS

Pity the poor [illegible] editors in the United States, [illegible] of the New Masses, for example. For their current issue they write a scathing attack on Mr. Churchill's support of the Badoglio Government, and by the time the editorial is published it has become an attack on the policy of Marshal Stalin. Imagine the feelings of these unflinching followers of the Moscow line when they wake up—too late, alas, for what they have written is written and what the Kremlin has decided is decided—to find that the eloquent scorn they have poured upon the "threadbare nonsense" of Mr. Churchill's arguments for British policy in Italy applies with even greater force to the larger recognition accorded the Italian regime by the Soviet Government.

Only yesterday all the fancy legal talk about legitimacy in British and American official circles strained the patience of the New Masses' editors to the breaking point. They tell London, Washington—and Moscow also, as it turns out—that "even if legitimacy were made a criterion, then Badoglio's Government should be dispensed with immediately. It is no more legitimate than Mussolini's Government—a government legitimatized by Victor Emmanuel, who shared the loot brought him by the Duke of Addis Ababa, Marshal Badoglio." The Governments that disregard the six-party coalition, "whose legitimacy was established in the twenty years it fought fascism," are warned that they are preparing for an explosion. After stating flatly that "there is compelling need for a revision of policy in conformity with the Moscow declaration on Italy," the editorial concludes with a confident prophecy that the situation will be changed for the better. "Badoglio, according to reports, has offered to resign over the transfer of part of the Italian fleet to the Soviet Union. What an opportunity to call his bluff!"

All this editorial was written before Marshal Stalin had spoken, but it appears in the issue of March 14, the day after Moscow announced its decision to exchange Ambassadors with the Badoglio Government. The New Masses cannot read the mind of Marshal Stalin and Marshal Stalin plainly does not read the New Masses. Worse than this, he doesn't seem to care about its judgments. We shall be interested to see what the New Masses says next week, but we are sure that Marshal Stalin need not worry. He can be quite sure that a policy that is "nonsense" or "support of fascism" when it is a State Department or Foreign Office policy immediately makes sense to American Communists when it is adopted by the Kremlin.

This is a clipping from page 18 of the New York Times for March 16, 1944
Clipped at the Seat of Government.

Concessions To Russia Seen Threat To Future

TABLET 3/11/44

Division of Italian Fleet and Treatment of Turkey Are Discerned as Consequences of Teheran

By THE OBSERVER

The gloomy shadow of Moscow and Teheran continues to weigh upon the international arena in an increasingly accentuated manner, and makes these agreements appear as a surrender of the Democracies to Dictatorship. Most newspaper columnists trace Mr. Churchill's recent unhappy speech before the House of Commons back to Teheran, as they do the present Allied pressure on Turkey and the surrender of one-third of the Italian fleet to Soviet Russia.

Arthur Krock, "New York Times" correspondent in Washington and one of the best informed newspapermen in the Capital, says in his column on Mar. 7: "Some weeks ago information reached a small group here that the disposition of the Italian fleet had been brought up at Teheran by Mr. Stalin and that Russia was to get one-third." And, with reference to Turkey, Mrs. Anne O'Hare McCormick in the "Times" of Mar. 4 says: "And whether or not Britain would have applied pressure to Turkey on her own initiative, the fact is that it was the Russians who insisted at the Moscow conference that the Turks should take a more active part in the war or be deprived of lend-lease."

Thus it seem that these and other startling developments of recent days, which bring a series of surprises to everyone, were already, in general outline, agreed upon at Moscow or Teheran; that what happens now is the mere putting into effect of what was agreed upon before and the executing of the full and unchallenged preponderance granted to Russia over the entire North, South and Central Eastern European area. In this light the Big Three seem to be applying the cynical old-date method of power politics, in which not principles of justice and democracy but the brutal division of spheres of influence and supremacy over free nations is being used.

Democratic Capitulation

The case of the Italian fleet and the British decision to cut off lend-lease supplies to Turkey are the most recent and perhaps the clearest illustrations of the Democratic capitulation to Russia at Teheran and Moscow. As the Polish, Lithuanian, Latvian, Estonian and Finnish problems in the north of Eastern Europe constitute practically one joint issue of surrendering the entire Baltic basin to the Soviet Union, so do the Yugoslav and Turkish difficulties and the case of the Italian fleet represent a similar problem in the South: a joint surrender of the Balkans, the Dardanelles and the Eastern Mediterranean to Russia. Thus two key strategic positions in the pivotal Eastern European area, the gates to the Black and Baltic Seas, are gradually being given away to the Soviets. The consequence can only be to leave Europe completely defenseless against the Russian colossus and on the mercy of its imperialism.

There are two main guardians of Europe, posted at her Eastern ramparts by geography: Turkey and Poland. Poland's uncompromising and unrelented fight against the Nazis and her stiff resistance to Soviet political pressure, are reflected in Turkey's neutrality—both represent the protection of Europe against Nazi and Soviet Imperialisms. The millions of casualties Poland has offered on the altar of Christianity are one part of the same fight Turkey is conducting in her own sphere by keeping neutral and thus stopping both Germany and Russia from invading her territory. In this light Mr. Churchill's betrayal of Poland in his latest speech and the recent withdrawal of lend-lease to Turkey, alongside the granting of one-third of the Italian fleet to Russia, are in fact two different expressions of the same policy, which follows the line of weakening all elements that are obstacles to prevent a Soviet flood across Europe.

As Mrs. McCormick says in her column of Mar. 4: "The suspense of military supplies to Turkey and the allotment of one-third of the Italian fleet to Russia are fresh evidences of the change in the political balance as the war goes on. Both these developments, following the recent speeches of Mr. Churchill and Mr. Eden, indicate the increasing influence of the Soviet Government in Allied decisions and Moscow's active and expanding interest in the European settlement." What Mrs. McCormick does not add, however, is that these two decisions were made by the Democracies and thus they are responsible for the change in the political balance for Russia's benefit. It will be recorded in history that in the crucial moment for European civilization, the colossal weight of the Democratic power was used not in its defense but to help those who are determined to destroy it.

No Political Concessions

No one objects to lease-lend having been sent in large quantities to Soviet Russia as a means of assisting her magnificent fight against Germany. Many people object, however, that these supplies, on which depended the Soviet ability to continue fighting, were not used as a medium to obtain in exchange from Russia political concessions that would insure the Atlantic Charter and the moral issues of this war from constant violation by the Soviet Union.

The Turkish example is a proof that lend-lease can be used as a political weapon if Britain and America decide to do so. Unfortunately it is applied in this case against a neutral that has offered an admirable record of statesmanship and honesty in this war, and for the benefit of a power that threatens the existence of all her neighbors and of the entire order of law in Europe. This happens not through an independent decision of the powerful Democracies, but at the insistence of Soviet Russia who wants to see Turkey her satellite and not a partner. It seems paradoxical that on one side Britain and America demand that Turkey enter the war right away and on the other give her no war supplies. "So far not a single tank or plane has been delivered. All we got were beautiful words," says the Ankara statement given to the United Press. And in comparison to what Russia received and is still receiving in lend-lease, Turkey's request is very modest and represents a trickle of supplies, according to the United Press, only 300 planes and 500 tanks

The TABLET MARCH 11, 1944

The issue here is certainly not practical but political. It is Russia that used pressure on England to cut off lend-lease to the Turks. Turkey does not want to become a Soviet satellite; she refuses to give up her independent policy as does Poland; she sticks to her alliance with England as Poland does. And these are the two nations which are fined by the Democracies for their avowed allegiance to their Western Allies and their refusal to capitulate to Russia. Thus in the Turkish case the power of lease-lend is used to press surrender upon a free nation, and not to insure her liberty, to weaken the position of the Democracies with regard to Russia and not to strengthen it. Nothing more humiliating could be invented.

The decision to allot to Russia one-third of the Italian fleet is another blow for Turkey. With the Italian fleet in her possession Russia is well placed in the Mediterranean and the Aegean and can extend her pressure on the Turks. This, combined with the lend-lease argument, forms a strong pincer for Turkey. The Russian desire is to get control of the Dardanelles or at least have them internationalized.

Russian Aims Strengthened

If Russia finally gets what she wants and Turkey enters the war ill-equipped and unassisted, the Soviets will decide about her fate and boundaries and the matter of the Dardanelles will be settled. This would be the doom of Turkish independence. The Turks know it and that is why they postpone decision, demanding guarantees and supplies from the Democracies first. Were Turkey to become a victim sacrificed on the altar of international expediency, such a decision would bring serious consequences for the entire balance and security of Southeastern Europe, the Near and the Middle East. It is astounding that Britain, which always protected that area from the control of any major continental power in view of the importance of an open road to the Iranian and Persian oil fields, should now surrender that area to Russia.

The question of the Italian fleet however has also another angle, not less far-reaching in its consequences. First of all, it seems cruel to Italy, a nation, that was always considered a different case from Germany in this war—only Mussolini and his Fascists were made responsible for Italians siding with the Nazis—to pay such a heavy price. After all, the Italian people have repudiated the Fascists and are combating them now jointly with the Allied soldiers. Still they are to lose their entire fleet, the main protection of their homeland. This hardly will stimulate their eagerness to fight and hardly add to their confidence in the Democratic pledge, that after victory they will emerge as a free people.

But even were the Italian fleet sacrificed, it seems strange that only the Big Three are to take advantage of it. France, Yugoslavia and Greece are countries which suffered the most from Fascist aggression, and still are to get no compensation for their losses. France was stabbed in the back by Mussolini and she sacrificed almost her entire fleet, scuttling it at Toulon, so that the enemy should not seize it. Yugoslavia and Greece lost almost their entire navies. And Russia, who did not appear at all in the Mediterranean war theater and even severely criticized the African and Italian campaigns as not representing a true "second front," gets one-third of the Italian fleet. The Big Three seem to have disregarded here the rights and interests of all other Allies and simply divided cynically the spoils among themselves.

This is a very dangerous precedent; it makes the United Nations appear non-existent and must create distrust in the fairness and justice of the Democracies. So far as the European nations are concerned it may evoke the impression that three large non-European Empires have joined hands in carving up and dividing European property according to their whim and without any consideration for their European allies. The result can be a very unfortunate atmosphere to the post-war collaboration of the Allies and dangerous for the actual prosecution of the war.

The European interests cannot be disregarded and nations and their rights treated simply as pawns in a game of chess. The war is not yet won, and such a policy helps first of all Hitler. It seems that Teheran and Moscow have contributed a lot in that sense.

AIR BLOWS PRAISED BY SOVIET GENERAL

But Allied Attacks Are Merely Prelude to 'Second Front,' Says Red Star Writer

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

MOSCOW, March 9—The Red Army's newspaper paid high tribute today to the "powerful and systematic blows" inflicted upon German industrial centers and vital communications, and the resultant lowering of German civilian and military morale, by day and night British and American bombers, but disagreed with the theory that air power alone can win the war.

The Red Star article, by Lieut. Gen. of Aviation Boris Sterligoff, said air bombings must be regarded as a strategic preparation for the "second front" because it has been proved a valid principle that "the outcome of the war can be decided only by the active operations of land armies of many millions, coordinated with air and naval forces."

The conclusion of General Sterligoff's article is an eloquent tribute to British-American-Soviet cooperation, which is bringing about Adolf Hitler's defeat.

"The victorious Red Army and its air force, in their relentless offensive to smash the enemy and destroy the German Fascist Armies, are pinning to their front a majority of the enemy forces," he wrote.

"British and American bombings, by their powerful and systematic blows against the tank, artillery, aviation and shipbuilding plants of the enemy and against their heavy and light industrial establishments and vital communications, weaken the resistance of Hitlerite Germany, making easier the fulfillment of the invasion that will come from the west and south in the future and the final outcome of the decisive offensive against the common enemy by the Allied military forces of freedom-loving countries.

"Do not lessen but persistently increase the blows against the Fascist centers—this is the honorable task of the British and American fliers in the battle of leading humanitarians against Hitlerism. The importance of these blows of Anglo-American aviation is that they prepare for the invasion of Allied troops on the European Continent."

The article is the friendliest one toward the western Allies that has appeared in the Moscow press in many months and it comes at a time when rank-and-file Russians again are beginning to ask foreigners why the "second front" has not yet started.

General Sterligoff's article includes a long technical discussion of air tactics over Germany, in which he concludes that day and night bombing are equally useful and complementary. Such strategic air preparation, he said, is a new page in the history of military science that will occupy a place by itself in future researches.

He mentioned the ease with which American Flying Fortresses and Liberators span the Atlantic under their own power, thus freeing large amounts of shipping space that would be required otherwise to get them to bases near enough for effective operation against enemy targets. The article is confined to experiences thus far in the air war over Germany and does not mention American superbombers, such as the B-29, now in production.

This is a clipping from page 6 of the New York Times for

March 10, 1944

Clipped at the Seat of Government.

Briton Reveals Stalin 'Purge' of 10 Million Foes

An authoritative British spokesman's assertion that political imprisonment of 10 to 18 millions of persons and deportation of another nine millions have led to "vast unrest" in Russia was placed in the Congressional Record yesterday by Senator Wheeler (D.), of Montana.

Author Well Informed

Wheeler called the report "very illuminating."

He noted that the author, F. A. Voigt, editor of the British magazine, The Nineteenth Century and After, is known as one of the ablest and best-posted men on European affairs in Europe. Voigt is usually regarded as speaking for Robert Vansittart, Britain's permanent undersecretary for foreign affairs.

"Although evidence is scanty, it is for the first time possible to form a picture of Russian life under Stalin," Voigt wrote. "The power of the Russian state has three main foundations:

"The N.K.W.D. (the secret police, formerly the O.G.P.U.); the armed forces, and the labor camps. The latter are an institution unique in the modern world.

"Sentences" for Life

"They are made up of men and women (chiefly men) who have been sentenced to detention in a labor camp for some real or alleged political offense. The usual sentence is eight years. But, as the sentence can be automatically renewed, the victim has little, if any, hope of returning to the community, even if he survives the eight years.

"The conditions under which the prisoners live are such that the chances of survival are very small. He is as good as lost to his family, who, as a rule, write him off.

"Various estimates of the number of these prisoners have been made, but there are no means of establishing the truth, which is known only to the highest officials of the government and the N.K.W.D.

"The estimates current in Russia vary from 10,000,000 to 15,000,000.

"Millions of Russian subjects have been deported from one part of the Soviet Union to another. There has been a mass deportation of Ukrainians to Siberia; it is creditably stated that these deportees number about 9,000,000. Here again economics and politics intermingle.

"And as the whole Russian system, with its complete control, not only over collectivities of human beings but over every individual man, woman and child, cannot tolerate the free migration of labor, migration is compulsory. But it also serves a political purpose.

"There is in Russia a vast unrest—the unrest of many millions of peasants who are in exile and want to go home. There is also extreme economic distress. In some regions there is starvation. But the army must be fed somehow.

People Not Informed

"It has been a primary purpose of the Russian despotism to make just comparisons impossible. That is why Russia has cut herself off and why her people are subjected, as the people of no other country are, to the permanent influence of official propaganda and indoctrination—an influence from which none can escape.

"The Russians are led to believe that, however great the evils that prevail in their own country may be, those that prevail in other countries are much greater.

"Thus it is that, although there is immense discontent in Russia, and although the administration is generally detested, there is no wish, except perhaps amongst the aged, to return to the old order or to adopt non-Russian forms of government."

Wash. Times-Herald March 10, 1949

Russia vs. Britain

London Seen Shifting Foreign Policy to Counter-Balance Attitude of Moscow

By HANSON W. BALDWIN

Russian foreign policy is one of the great factors in the future of Europe; British foreign policy is another.

As a natural consequence of the increasing strength and power and prestige of Russia on the Continent, Britain seems to be casting about for ways and means of counter-balancing that power. British foreign policy today is, without doubt, in the midst of change.

As yet that change is ill-defined, but there have been numerous straws in the wind. The famous speech of Field Marshal Jan Christiaan Smuts of South Africa just after the Teheran-Cairo conferences did not represent British policy, but was certainly a well-defined trial balloon. So was the later speech of Viscount Halifax in Canada.

Field Marshal Smuts, recognizing the diminishing role of Britain, as the power of Russia and the United States increased, advocated in effect a form of British regionalism on the Continent of Europe, a sort of loosely knit federation of some of the western European states with Britain. Lord Halifax later advocated a closer linking of the ties of the British dominions with Britain.

Questioning in the House of Commons after Prime Minister Winston Churchill's recent speech revealed a growing anxiety in Britain about Russia's new position of power on the Continent. A recent editorial in The Times of London opposed the dismemberment of Germany and pointed out the political and economic importance of a strong Germany deprived of all aggressive powers in the body politic of Europe.

The British Yugoslav policy seems to be an attempt to straddle, to try to secure maximum anti-Axis aid from Tito and simultaneous Russian cooperation, while at the same time continuing support of King Peter, whose government can scarcely be called a pro-Russian government.

The British so-called "monarchical policy" in Italy, and her policy in Spain seem also to be dictated in part by political reflexes—a more or less instinctive reaction to the growing strength of Russia.

These straws in the wind should not be overemphasized. There is no black and white definition today of British foreign policy—or, for that matter, of Russian foreign policy; Europe is a complex of variables. But it is obvious that if a policy of regionalism and spheres of influence in Europe should grow out of this war the trend might be dangerous. It would seem to mean a reversion to the old, old struggle of power politics.

In all this jumbled canvas, the role of the United States is as yet only dimly discernible. But two points seem clear.

First, as James B. Reston wrote in a London dispatch in this paper on Sunday, "the great power of Soviet Russia in the political field is active, while the power of the American Republic is much more passive." . . . The United States is not taking a leading role in defining the shape of post-war Europe.

Second, it will be remembered that a year ago British papers and British spokesmen envisaged Britain as the "bridge" between Russia and the United States. In the post-war world, it was said, Britain might be forced to choose between one or the other, particularly if the United States would not, or could not (because of its form of Government) commit itself to some broad form of international political collaboration after the war.

Today, this position seems to have been reversed. Britain and Russia are in some ways further apart than they were a year ago; the United States is the "bridge" between them. The dangers of such a position to all concerned are clear.

It is well to emphasize again that the political factors in the war today are more important than the purely military factors, that politically, in so far as Europe is concerned, literally anything might happen. Yet many of the basic political, as well as military problems, are problems of ignorance, suspicion and misunderstanding. There is hope that at least some of them may be solved if the approach is made by men of good-will.

This is a clipping from page 6 of the New York Times for March 9, 1944
Clipped at the Seat of Government.

FILE

Hitler's American Newspaper Pals

(By Wireless to Inter-Continent News)

MOSCOW, March 7.—The majority of Americans have not swallowed Hearst's "disgusting anti-Soviet concoctions," says the Soviet foreign news interpreter, A. Sergeyeva, in an article published in the latest issue of War and the Working Class.

"The Hitlerites have mobilized all of their accomplices, agents and yes-men in the neutral and even in the allied countries to try with their provocative cries about 'the Bolshevik danger' to paralyze the tremendous impression made on the world by the decisions of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR.

"The Hitlerite slander," says the Soviet writer, "was taken up by the reactionary Polish emigre press and a section of the American press which has never ceased its hostile campaign against the USSR and the American government's policy of collaboration with our country in the struggle against the common enemy, Hitler Germany. The Patterson-McCormick press and especially the press of Hitler's transatlantic friend, Hearst, unleashed their pack to spread the most absurd inventions about the Soviet Union and Soviet policy.

"The American hack writer, Brown, a notorious anti-Soviet observer of the Washington Star hastened, even before the publication of Molotov's report in the U.S.A., to reproduce in his paper the Hitlerite allegation to the effect that these reforms constitute 'a skillful, political maneuver designed to give the Soviet Union the possibility of control of a considerable part of Europe.'

ANTI-SOVIET CONCOCTION

"Hearst's so-called commentators seized upon this insinuation about the Soviet Union, calling it, 'Plans for Conquest.' While the New York Daily News tried to frighten its readers by inventions about the Soviet Union allegedly wanting to 'swallow' up various small countries and some parts of other countries, Hearst's New York Journal-American goes so far as to include in its invented 'expansionist plans' of the Soviet Union, Outer Mongolia, Sinkiang, Hansu, Shansi and the Balkan countries, Poland, France, Spain, Germany and Northern Italy. Why not the whole globe!

"But along with the friendly press comments on the decisions of the session of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, voices are raised in an effort to bring confusion in the estimate of the decisions of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR from the point of view of their practical international repercussions.

"Such attempts are sometimes made by papers which unlike the Hearst press are not organs of Hitlerite propaganda and, who, at any rate, consider themselves in the democratic camp. Today many papers cannot but note the positive significance of the prospects for the extension of international relations and contacts of the Soviet state.

"Nevertheless a number of the papers of the allied and neutral countries voice some sort—mainly vague—of apprehensions and doubts with regard to the international consequences arising from the extension of the prerogatives of the Union Republics in the field of foreign relations. Some organs of the press, usually well-informed and understanding of the most complicated problems, have suddenly displayed a strange 'lack of understanding,' declaring that the 'exact aim' of the new Soviet laws are not 'entirely clear' to them. that everything is 'so foggy as yet.'

NOT 'QUITE CLEAR'

"Anti-Soviet elements in the allied and neutral countries are deliberately spreading among the readers confused, or even perverted, pictures about the Soviet Union. The organs of the foreign press which for years deliberately misinformed their readers about the Soviet Union refuse to this day to change to a truthful presentation of things, although life and the war have revealed to the world the unsightly basis for these inventions circulated about the Soviet Union.

"Reluctant to admit that their past information was false and explain the true state of affairs, these newspapers prefer to pile up new inventions or deliberately create confusion in the minds of the readers to avoid speaking the truth.

"When some of the foreign papers pretend that they are 'not clear' about the state of affairs and 'don't understand' the meaning of the reorganizations of the Soviet state, when with thoughtful appearance they let it be understood that they are expecting these reorganizations to result in some unforseen consequences which must allegedly be anticipated with special fear, then, all this nonsense pursues one object: to undermine the tremendously favorable impression made by the new step of the Soviet government in the development of its national policy and further extension and strengthening of the international contacts of the Soviet Union."

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MAR 27 1944

JOHNSTON ENVISAGES BIG U. S.-RUSSIA TRADE

Chamber of Commerce President Urges Accord on Credits

By Wireless to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

MOSCOW, March 6—Pravda published today a Tass news agency interview with Eric A. Johnston, president of the United States Chamber of Commerce, who expects to come here in May or June for a discussion of post-war trade possibilities between the United States and the Soviet Union, which he regards as extremely favorable.

The Tass correspondent quoted Mr. Johnston as predicting that post-war trade between the Soviet Union and the United States would reach record peaks and is urging an agreement as soon as possible regarding a mutually acceptable trade policy and credits program.

"American business circles cordially greet the great victories of the Red Army," Mr. Johnston was quoted as saying. "They are proud that the output of American industry is assisting the Red Army victories over the common enemy.

"This is new evidence that the industrial power and almost boundless resources of the United States and the U. S. S. R. can effectively add to each other, both in war and peace time.

"I know the American business men. They want to sell their products and buy various materials in the world markets. They consider that we must export goods and do service for each other but we should not export ideologies and political opinion.

"It would be unrealistic if we did not acknowledge the fact that there exist basic differences between the systems of America and the Soviet Union."

But these differences, he indicated, should not hamper profitable trade for both.

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Nazi Peace Intrigues

by B. SHATROV

(An article in the current number of the Soviet Journal "War and the Working Class")

THE history of wars and diplomacy teaches that when the leading circles of one of the belligerents become convinced that the war is lost, they turn to the weapon of diplomacy, trying, through this medium, to achieve, if not the victory which is already unattainable, at least a lightening of the burden of inevitable defeat.

If the country which has lost the chances of victory is faced by a coalition, her favourite method of diplomacy is an attempt at the conclusion of a separate peace with any one member of this coalition, so as to split and weaken the coalition. In such cases, history teaches that the enemy may sound the ground and even—directly or through intermediaries—make proposals for a separate peace simultaneously to several members of the coalition, hoping that perhaps one or another would fall for the bait. A particular example of this was afforded by the conduct of the German imperialists during the first World War.

It is a well-known fact that the present chieftains of brigand Germany have no less grounds for seeking a way out of the impasse by non-military methods than had the Kaiser's Government during the first World War. It is also known that as regards deception and treachery, the Hitlerite gamblers have far surpassed their predecessors of that period.

The present situation of Hitler Germany is far graver than the situation of Kaiser Germany in 1916-17. The fall of the fascist regime in Italy, which led to Hitler's loss of his principal Ally in Europe, gave an added spur to sentiments of hopelessness in Germany. The next blow to the calculations of the Hitlerite gamblers was dealt by the results of the Moscow and Teheran Conferences, whose decisions marred German hopes for a split of the anti-Hitlerite bloc, and heralded the approaching offensive of the combined forces of the Allies against Hitler Germany from East, West and South.

The Hitlerites are past masters of these "other methods." Ever since the coming to power of the Hitler gang in Germany, history has produced many a glaring example of cynical deception, brazen lying, treachery and hypocrisy which are the distinguishing features of Hitlerite diplomacy, and its methods. These methods of treachery and deception Hitlerite diplomacy has used and is using with special zeal in trying to isolate the Soviet Union from the other democratic Powers. It is known, for example, that on the eve of their attack on the Soviet Union, the Hitlerites erroneously counted on creating an all-embracing coalition against our country, drawing Britain and the U.S.A. into this coalition after frightening the ruling circles of these countries with the bogey of revolution. It is known that precisely this was the aim of Hess in his adventurist diplomatic flight to Britain in May, 1941.

The Germans have widely employed the policy of playing up the contradictions between classes in separate States, and also between the bourgeois States and the Soviet Union, and in some cases this policy brought the Hitlerites a certain measure of success. This was the case, for example, in France.

The Hitlerite gamblers have by no means renounced their hopes of disuniting the anti-Hitler coalition. It is towards this aim that the

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German provocateurs are directing all their efforts.

With this aim in view, Hitler's gangster diplomacy is pursuing its "peace" overtures at present. The calculations of the Hitlerite brigands are quite simple: they want, by means of diplomatic manœuvring, to avert the necessity for a simultaneous struggle against numerous enemies, and thus be allowed a chance to continue fighting their enemies piecemeal.

Nor is the second aim pursued by the Germans wrapped in mystery: by disuniting the Allies to achieve a compromise peace which would give brigand Germany breathing space and the chance to prepare for a new attack on the democratic peoples of the world.

Thus the Germans now have all the grounds for action, or at least for trying to act in the same way as they did in 1916-17. This analogy may be frequently encountered in the foreign press.

Recently the world press has carried many indications to the effect that Hitlerite diplomacy is resorting to such attempts in a number of neutral countries. These reports come from different sources, in particular, Switzerland, Turkey and Spain. Through which channels are such proposals made? There is data which, so far, makes it possible to name two Hitlerite agents acting as "peacemakers," the notorious von Papen and Hjalmar Schacht. Both Papen and Schacht undoubtedly are men more fitted than any other of Hitler's associates for such "delicate" missions. Von Papen was Hitler's predecessor as German Reichs Chancellor, and joined Hitler only on the eve of the latter's advent to power. Despite the fact that he helped Hitler to power, Papen barely escaped the fate of Roehm, Schleicher and others, during the July massacre of 1934.

According to the foreign Press, acting as "peacemaker," Papen is making proposals, including plans for a change in the German Government up to the removal of Hitler. Inasmuch as such proposals come from Papen, who still has hope of regaining the Reichschancellorship, these proposals may doubtlessly prove to the liking of some individuals and groups.

No less, if not more, convenient a mediator for such aims is Schacht, the man most closely connected with German industry and finance, and one of the principal figures in the Bank of International Settlements which is functioning in Switzerland to this day. Schacht has business and personal contacts in every one of the capitals of the world. Officially, he is not a member of the fascist party. He represents "business circles" and, as such, is known in Europe and America. All sorts of proposals conveyed through such a "business man" may meet with far greater understanding than if coming from some Hitlerite official.

There may, of course, be no doubt that there are a greater number of such "peace envoys," but apparently the other plotters of such intrigues still remain in the shadow for various reasons.

If it thus gradually comes to light who of predatory Hitlerite imperialism, then it is no less interesting to know to whom these proposals are addressed.

The experience of the first World War shows that direct offers of peace ordinarily are made not to Governments. Of interest in this connection is a report of Lawrence, the Washington *Sun* correspondent, who considers it possible, for example, that Papen used some representatives of British business circles in Turkey and Portugal for establishing certain contacts and conveying some of his proposals. That there are such business circles in countries of the anti-Hitlerite bloc can hardly be doubted. Nor that they not only are "business men," but also representatives of definite political conceptions which cannot want the complete defeat of Hitler and would like to compromise with him.

During the first World War, Germany suffered defeat not only on the battlefields, but also in her attempts by means of a separate peace to evade complete capitulation. These attempts smashed against the will of the leading statesmen of the Entente countries, who succeeded in bringing Germany to Compiegne. There can be no doubt that in the present World War the German war machine will be completely defeated on the battlefields. It is to be presumed that the same fate will overtake all the intrigues of Hitler's gangster diplomacy.

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Post-War Trade and Trade Policy

by PROFESSOR A. VOSKRESENSKY

(from the current issue of "War and the Working Class.")

EVEN today it is clear that one of the consequences of the war will be major changes in the volume, nature and direction of world trade. The conditions which prevailed on the world market before the war will no longer satisfy either quantitatively or qualitatively, the standard of production attained by the leading industrial countries during the war.

The establishment and consolidation of the anti-Hitlerite Coalition in the present war opens rich opportunities for post-war co-operation between the foremost democratic powers, who have been called upon to play a leading role in the future world family of peace-loving nations, large and small.

The determination of the Allies to collaborate with each other in solving the post-war international economic problems is witnessed by such international acts as the Teheran declaration of the leaders of the Soviet Union, Britain and the United States, the decision of the Moscow Conference, the existing agreement between the Allies on Lend-Lease Supplies, the establishment of the U.N.R.R.A., negotiations to organise a stabilisation fund, etc.

The provision regarding economic collaboration in the sphere of post-war trade policy, as provided for by Article 7 of the Lend-Lease agreement, is directed at eliminating all forms of unjust practices in international trade, at the lowering of tariffs and the removing of other trade barriers. Once again the banner of free trade is being raised in the capitalist countries.

What is meant by "free trade"? Big capitalist circles in the U.S.A. oppose Government interference in economic affairs, including foreign trade. The big American banks, for instance, object to the international Stabilisation Fund. These circles are of the opinion that everything should be left entirely to "private initiative."

There are a number of other interpretations of the principle of Free Trade. A number of statesmen of the United States, including the Vice-President Wallace, claim that the big finance capitalists, by denying government control in United States foreign trade, are trying in their own mercenary interests to institute their own control in this sphere.

All persons who have given the matter any consideration agree that, in the interests of really developing post-war world trade, the policy of the democratic countries should be directed at removing the numerous obstacles that have accumulated in the intervening period of the two wars, and developing normal world trade.

If it be found impossible to eliminate restrictive practices altogether, then it would be expedient to bring them down to a minimum. It has been pointed out that the most favoured nation principle should be applied to the trade between the countries of the United Nations. Such international collaboration in the sphere of post-war trade should be based on the democratic principle of respect for the independence of large and small countries, which precludes the economic bondage of some countries, or speculating on the needs of a Europe ruined by the Germans.

There is no getting away from the fact that certain circles will strive towards a "free trade" which disregards the interest of economically weak countries, or those ruined by the fascists. Democratic forces must vigorously combat these tendencies. The trade policy of the democratic countries after the war must help to promote healthy economic development of all countries of the world.

The role of Britain and the United States in world trade after the war, will naturally increase. Even before the war, these two countries occupied a first place on the world market. The role in the world export of certain other countries, such as Canada, Australia, etc., will be considerably enhanced. On the whole, the export possibilities in world trade after the war will in all probability be twice as great compared with the actual world export of the pre-war period.

Under conditions restricting the world market this signifies a perspective of further aggravation and the intensification of competition. It is not without reason that the financial and trading circles of the U.S.A. and Britain suspect each other of trying to strengthen their positions at the expense of others in Latin-America, in India, Africa, etc.

Taking advantage of the difficulties that the war has placed in the way of Britain's foreign trade, American industrial and trading firms aim, in one way or another, to take the place of their British competitors in trade in Latin-American countries, the Far and Middle East as well as in trade with such British Dominions and colonies as Canada, India, etc.

It stands to reason that the rivals of the American exporters—the interested British circles—have sharply reacted to the American claims in this field. Business circles in Britain favour the distribution and division of world markets, whereas Americans, in the majority of cases, favour free competition on the world market. In keeping with this, Americans are for a multilateral system of trade, whereas the British are for a bilateral system.

The Americans, supporting themselves on the great economic strength of the United States, reasonably assume that in conditions of free competition and a multilateral system of trade, their positions on the world market will be stronger than those of any other country.

The British, for their part, accuse American business circles of putting big obstacles in the way of foreign goods reaching the home markets of the United States. A great increase in the amount of American exports cannot but raise the question of a change of policy in the sphere of imports, for agreements on mutual tariff concessions, which the United States has been concluding with other countries (starting in 1934) in order to mitigate somewhat the conditions of imports, cannot fully satisfy the requirements of their business partners. The Americans themselves are beginning to realise this.

Trade with the Soviet Union will be one of the decisive factors in promoting post-war international trade. Unquestionably trade relations with the Soviet Union will be of advantage to Britain, the United States, Canada and other countries.

Provided the matter is wisely approached, the U.S.S.R. can provide them with a large and reliable market such as can hardly be said of any other partner. The state nature of foreign trade considerably facilitates the organisation of mutual economic relations and releases the exporters from the risk of losing their investments as a result of the possible bankruptcy of a partner.

It is quite clear that the scale and structure of Soviet imports will depend to a considerable extent on the conditions on which credits will be granted to the Soviet Union. The mutual interest of the export countries and the U.S.S.R. raises the question of big long-term credits.

Naturally the Soviet Union, which is a powerful industrial country possessing different kinds of resources, will come forward on the world market not only as a purchaser, but also as an exporter of a number of commodities. The development of world trade can and must substantially help to preserve the strength of universal peace.

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"E UNO PLURIA"

The Meaning of the New Autonomy of the Soviet Republics—the Opposite of "E Pluribus Unum"

By Max Baetz

WHEN one of the two most completely centralized and militarized states in the world announces the "autonomy" of its constituent parts, it must have very special reasons. These reasons are to be found in Russia's foreign policy. This institution of "autonomy" is a means—and a very clever one—of extending the influence and power of the USSR. It is unnecessary to look for dark and sinister motives.

The thing to keep in mind is that the Soviet Union is constantly making progress in the direction of industrialization. As this process goes on, its problems become more and more parallel to those of western capitalist countries. Under these circumstances she must in the course of time break away from the isolation in which geography placed her. This need will be even greater after the war. Japan will be liquidated as a great power in the Pacific and will, henceforth, furnish no check upon the influence of the western powers.

To make the need clear one need not even picture a future war. In peace as well as in war it is disadvantageous for a great power to be shut in on all fronts. There are, therefore, definite and real causes which push the Soviet Union on to find a way to the Atlantic. These causes long antedated the present Russian regime. The lethargic and industrially only slightly developed Czarist nation could better endure isolation than the Russia of our day. But the drive toward the Atlantic was definitely there.

Allow me in this connection to quote a reactionary—for in this case he happened to be right. In 1910 and 1912 Sven Hedin wrote two little books on "the Russian danger." They were called *Warning* and *Further Warnings*. In both of these books he advocated Swedish armament and a mutual defense treaty with Germany. His motivation for this policy was: Russia must press forward toward the Atlantic. Her drive will be first toward the Dardanelles and second toward the Scandinavian peninsula, he said. In those days it actually looked as if the first move in the readjustment of relations between Russia and the western powers would be in the direction of the Dardanelles. Turkey was "the sick man of Europe." The policy of the European powers was based on "the open door." The successive Balkan crises flowed from the pan-Slavic movement inspired by Russia. The position of Turkey on the European continent was progressively weakened. Russia's hand, among others, was constantly perceptible in what was going on. During this troubled time Russia and the western powers were struggling for control of the Dardanelles and the Bosporus. The upshot of the struggle was that Russia failed. She was kept away from the straits and effectively nailed down in her [illegible]

But life has moved on. For the present Soviet Union the Dardanelles have a lessened importance. After all, they provide entrance only to the Mediterranean which has, for outlet to the Atlantic, only the strongly fortified Strait of Gibraltar. The Soviet authorities have their eyes on the much more desirable passage through the Baltic Sea.

* * *

THE announcement of the "autonomy" of the Soviet republics is naturally not exclusively tied up with Baltic policy. It is a measure which Stalin designs to utilize in the interest of an expansion policy along all of his borders. Its value lies in the fact that it makes it possible to surround Russia with a circle of semi-autonomous states which, later on when they have overcome their fears, may be taken in as full-fledged members of the Soviet Union. If the suspicions of a border country or of the great powers make direct annexation inadvisable for the moment, a little neighbor nation can be indirectly tied up to Moscow through a treaty with a nearby "autonomous" republic. Toward the east a suitable candidate for this treatment would be Mongolia. And if, at some future time, the Soviet Union should fall heir to Manchuria, it would be possible to give Korea similar treatment. The same methods might be applied, also, to Iran, Afghanistan and—conceivably—to Turkey.

Along with the announcement of "autonomy" goes a new and solemn proclamation on the nationalities problem. Nowhere excepting in Switzerland have these problems been dealt with so justly and effectively as in the Soviet Union. The new guarantees of respect for the various nationalities will serve to reduce the suspicions of those border states which are invited into relations of future cooperation. These measures are certainly taken with an eye to the Baltic countries, to a future friendly Poland, and to Bessarabia which, despite its Rumanian majority, is expected to become Russian.

But this combination policy of "autonomy plus respect for the nationalities" has wider objectives. This is practically an announcement to all neighboring countries that they have nothing to fear from Ru[illegible]

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that a tie-up with Moscow involves no danger for them. The appeal may be directed especially to the Balkan states, but it probably does not leave out of account Czechoslovakia.

So far as the Baltic region is concerned, Stalin's plans doubtless include the eastern section of Prussia, the parts lying to the east of the river Elbe. It is quite possible that at Teheran he provided for the exclusive occupation of this East Prussian region by the Russian forces. It is probable that Moscow is thinking along the following line:

First: It would be possible to root out certain reactionary groups completely. These would, of course, not include such nice reactionaries as those lined up in the Moscow Free German Committee, persons with whom experience proves that it is possible to work in the most beautiful harmony. But there would be no doubt about the measures to be applied to fundamentally anti-totalitarian democrats insofar as they stubbornly refused to be converted. They would simply be wiped out.

Second: It may be possible to coax out of the people a Communist or half-communist or communist-Quisling government. And if such a regime might not be ready for a straight-out connection with Moscow, it might happily tie itself to Kovno, Riga or Tallinn. A Baltic federation of "autonomous" Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, and Old Prussia—which actually belong in part to Russia territorially and are in part militarily dependent on Russia—would furnish a first class guarantee of Soviet control over the Baltic area.

Third: During good behavior, that is, if it made up its mind to link its fate with that of Russia, Prussia would find no obstacles placed in the way of its rearmament. On the contrary, it would suit Russia down to the ground to have the German general staff occupying an outpost well toward the center of western Europe.

Fourth: This Prussia, thus set up and supported by the full power of Russia, would play a great role in Europe. By means of cleverness and threats, through conquest and pressure, the unification of Europe under Moscow's guardianship might be officially carried on. In such a situation, Poland would be wedged in between cooperating Russia and Prussia. Consequently, there would be no way out for a Polish government but to join the combination.

* * *

ALL in all, the Russian policy has a very clear objective. It renders impossible any regional federations in central or eastern Europe. The plain purpose is to prevent the development of any continental feeling of security. It envisions, further, a step-by-step envelopment of the continent within the Soviet system. Witness Russia's concern with regard to the relations between Poland and Czechoslovakia.

The logical conclusion of this course of action would be the inclusion of the European continent in the web of Soviet control—the eastern nations held tightly, the western ones more loosely. This would mean to Stalin—as it does to Hitler—not merely the control of the Mediterranean, but all the advantages of a wide front on the Atlantic.

It is improbable that plans for the accomplishment of these vast purposes are worked out, down to the last detail. But it seems beyond doubt that the vision of such a final result inspires the present Russian foreign policy. The control of the Baltic, a tiny inland sea, is only a first step. Only direct access to the Atlantic will satisfy the inner needs of the Russia situation.

The present Russian regime is radically different from any other European government. Russia under its present government is not just a country. It is a country with a world mission. This mission is nothing less than to make over the whole world in its own image. Under these circumstances it is inevitable that the Soviet leaders should use to the full the present unique opportunity to consolidate and dominate the European continent.

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Changes in the Soviet Constitution

by THEODORE BAYER

Question: How were the Molotov proposals concerning the new powers granted to the sixteen Soviet Republics, put into effect? J. D., New York City.

Answer: The Molotov proposals were incorporated in a decree which was adopted by the Supreme Soviet in its Tenth Session on February 2, 1944. In this decree the Supreme Soviet adopted additions to the Constitution providing for the extension of powers of the Union Republics in military and foreign affairs and for the necessary changes in the structure both of the government of the USSR and the governments of every one of the sixteen Republics. We give below the changes in the Constitution citing the chapter, article and section.

Chapter II dealing with the Organization of the State

The following has been added to section "a", Article 14,

"The establishment of the general character of the relation between the Union Republics and foreign states."

The Article and its section (a), as amended, now read:

Article 14: the jurisdiction of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, as represented by its highest organs of state authority and organs of government, covers:

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 between the Union Republic and foreign states.

and section (g) under the same article is amended by the following addition: "The establishment of the directing principles of the organization of military formations of the Union Republics. Section (g) as amended, now reads:

Organization of the defense of the USSR and direction of all the armed forces of the USSR, the establishment of the directing principles of the organization of military formations of the Union Republics.

Article 18 was amended by the addition of two sections, (a) which reads:

"Each Union Republic has the right to enter into direct relations with foreign states, to conclude agreements with them and exchange diplomatic and consular representatives with them"; and (b) which reads: "Each Union Republic has its republican military formation."

Article 18, with the added sections now reads:

The territory of a Union Republic may not be altered without its consent.

a) 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.

b) Each Union Republic has its republican military formation.

Chapter IV, dealing with the Highest Organs of State Authority of the Union Republics

A Section (e) is added to Article 60; the new section (e) reads: "Establishes the representation of the Union Republics in international relations. Establishes the method of the creation of military formations of the Union Republic." Article 60, as amended, will read:

The Supreme Soviet of a Union Republic:

a) Adopts the Constitution of the Republic and amends it in conformity with Article 16 of the Constitution of the USSR;

b) Confirms the Constitutions of the Autonomous Republics forming part of it and defines the boundaries of their territories;

c) Approves the national economic plan and also the budget of the Republic;

d) Exercises the right of amnesty and pardon of citizens sentenced by the judicial organs of the Union Republic;

e) Establishes the representation of the Union Republics in international relations. Establishes the method of the creation of military formations of the Union Republic.

In line with the above decision to accord each of the Union Republics the conduct of its own foreign affairs and the creation of its own military formations, the Supreme Soviet decided to transform the People's Commissariats for Foreign Affairs and the People's Commissariat for Defense from All-Union into Union-Republican People's Commissariats. Accordingly Article 77 and 78 of Chapter V should be amended in the following way: the Defense and Foreign Affairs Commissariats should be deleted from the list of Commissiariats under Article 77 and included in the list of Union-Republican Commissiariats in Article 78.

Article 83 of Chapter VI lists the Commissariats of the Union Republics, specifying that the People's Commissars are to be appointed by the Supreme Soviet of the Union Republic. To the list of Commissariats contained therein the names of the two People's Commissariats—Defense and Foreign Affairs—should be added.

A Union-Republican People's Commissariat is responsible both to the government of the Union Republic and to the corresponding Commissariat of the USSR. The highest legislative and policy making powers remain as hitherto in the Supreme Soviet consisting of the Supreme Council and the Council of Nationalities.

Soviet Russia Today, March, 1944 p. 29

Russia After The War - - -

By William Henry Chamberlin

Only the fool who traditionally rushes in blithely where angels fear to tread would be cocksure in his certainty about the future course of events in the Soviet Union. Even in the United States and in Great Britain, where there is full freedom of discussion, there is no universal consensus of opinion about political and economic trends after the end of the war. It is naturally much more difficult to chart a blueprint for the Soviet Union, where there are no public forums or discussions on the air, where changes of great potential significance, such as the recent extension of the autonomous rights of the constituent republics, are rushed through an always unanimous parliament. Changes and moods in Soviet foreign policy, instead of taking place under the watchful eyes of scores of more or less well informed newspapermen and commentators, must often be guessed at by careful scanning of the headlines and the "rumor" columns of the strictly controlled Soviet press.

The peoples of the Soviet Union have passed through an experience that is searing and profound to the last degree. No war in Russia's long and stormy history has taken so great a toll of human lives. On the basis of Soviet official figures five million would seem to be a moderate estimate of the military casualties. And it is highly probable than an equal number of civilians have perished in guerrilla warfare and from hunger and disease and cold in the occupied regions which were laid waste so ruthlessly by the Germans during their retreat.

A foreign observer in Russia during the present war remarked to me that the plight of the peasants in the occupied territory was indeed difficult, with the Germans threatening to kill them if they did not collaborate and the guerrillas threatening to kill them if they did. Some of the largest cities of the Soviet Union, Kharkov, Kiev, and Stalingrad, have been reduced to skeletons and shells.

Yet, and here is one of the curious paradoxes of Russia's future, the bitter misery of tens of millions of the Soviet peoples has been accompanied by an immense increase in the prospective power, prestige, and influence of the Soviet state. It is interesting to recall

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in this connection the recently expressed views of the Prime Minister of South Africa, Marshal Jan Christian Smuts. Smuts is no irresponsible sensational publicist, but one of the shrewdest and most astute of the senior statesmen of the British Empire. And this is how he describes the future position of the Soviet Union:

> Russia is the new colossus on the European continent. What the after-effects of that will be, no one 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 (Marshal Smuts is referring to Germany, France and Italy) down and out and herself the mistress of the continent, her power will not only be great on that account, but 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.

That Stalin is also very conscious of Russia's prospective new power is evident from the feverish pace of Soviet diplomatic and political activity during the first weeks of 1944. Moscow began to make the front pages in this field more frequently than Washington or London, as a brief summary of the more striking Soviet moves will indicate. Wendell Willkie was roundly abused in the Communist Party organ, *Pravda*, for suggesting, in the course of a very friendly article about the Soviet Union, that there should be some consideration for the rights of the smaller neighbors of the Soviet Union. *Pravda* also created a brief international sensation by giving publicity to a rumor that the British government was engaged in separate peace negotiations. The Soviet government made it clear in two firmly worded notes that it would deal only with a reorganized Polish government-in-exile, and on a basis of retaining most of the former Polish territory which was occupied in 1939. American mediation in this question was declined.

Finland was fiercely attacked in the Soviet press, and Helsinki was severely bombed. And there was a striking reallotment of powers, as between the central government and the constituent Republics. The latter were granted control over foreign policy and military affairs—provinces which had formerly been reserved for the central government. The American Communist Party, which has always faithfully followed the desires of Moscow, dissolved itself as a political party and came out with an extremely mild political and economic program. The American Communists now profess acceptance of the two-party system and of free enterprise for the United States, although they presumably favor the one-party system

and a state-controlled economy for the Soviet Union.

Now each of these moves, considered individually, was capable of creating some confusion and divided interpretations abroad. But taken together, I believe these moves fit in with the pattern of a coherent and logical policy, a policy which Stalin has pursued for some years. Compared with Lenin twenty-five years ago, the present Soviet dictator is much less inclined to preach a crusade for international revolution. On the other hand, he is much tougher and more intransigent on questions of Russian nationalist ambitions and strategic interests.

There is little or no evidence in recent years that Stalin has been advocating anywhere, even in Germany, violent social revolution of the 1917 Russian Bolshevik model. The lamblike transformation of the American Communists speaks for itself. The so-called Union of Polish Patriots, the pro-Soviet Polish group which Stalin has been fostering in Moscow, has issued a program rather more moderate in phrasing than the program of the Polish Socialist Party, which is represented in the Polish government-in-exile.

The Free Germany Committee, which began to issue manifestoes in Moscow in the summer of 1943, obviously with Stalin's approval and authorization, has been emphasizing not communism but anti-Hitler nationalism. Soviet propaganda beamed to the Balkans has been of a sentimental Pan-Slav type. It could have been borrowed from some of Russia's Slavophile publicists of the nineteenth century.

On the other hand, Stalin has been uncompromising in his insistence on the retention of all the territory he took during the period of Soviet-German agreement after the pact with Hitler in August, 1939. The only modification he has admitted is a possible slight rectification of the Soviet-Polish border; this is apparently conditional upon the organization of a Polish government to Stalin's liking.

As the tide of battle has flowed more in favor of the Red Army, the Soviet government has made it increasingly clear that neither the non-aggression treaties which it signed with its Western neighbors in the thirties, nor the Atlantic Charter, nor the agreements of Moscow and Teheran will prevent it from organizing an exclusive sphere of influence in Eastern Europe which will extend considerably beyond its political frontier. The claim to remake the Polish government is one significant straw in this connection. The veto on federation plans for the states of eastern and central Europe is another.

A government that changes its composition in response to dictation from outside can no longer be considered genuinely independent. A

concession of this kind is especially difficult for the Poles, who have suffered so much in the past from the interference of stronger neighbors in their affairs. The opposition to federative plans among the smaller countries that lie between Russia and Germany, announced in *Izvestia* after the Moscow Conference last autumn, clearly reflects the Soviet preference for concluding individual treaties with those countries which are not marked for outright annexation. This procedure has already been followed in the case of Czechoslovakia.

The recent grant of control of military affairs and foreign relations to the constituent republics is interesting and significant for considerations both of foreign and of domestic policy. The immediate practical effects are likely to be felt more in the former field than in the latter.

A constitutional set-up that is looser and more flexible, at least on paper, is more convenient for the purpose of covering territorial expansion. It will be an excellent talking point for the type of foreign commentator on Soviet affairs who regards the Soviet Constitution of 1936 as an accurate description of the actual state of political, civil, and personal liberty in the Soviet Union.

The extension of autonomy, if it is fully and genuinely implemented, might be expected to exert a favorable effect on the Baltic peoples in the way of reconciling them to inclusion in the Soviet Union. And it may, in time, develop into a standard type of political relationship with the countries of eastern, central, and southeastern Europe which Stalin, in all probability, does not propose to Sovietize, but wishes to keep in political leading-strings. A list of such countries would include almost certainly what remains of Poland, Finland, and Rumania, together with Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, and Yugoslavia, in whatever form this last state may emerge from its present turmoil. Possibly this Soviet sphere of influence will expand to take in Hungary and Austria, Greece, and Turkey.

The immediate practical change in the internal relationship of the Soviet republics as a result of the new autonomy is not likely to be great. Comparisons with the British Commonwealth of Nations are wildly wide of the mark. It will be a long time before the Prime Minister of the Ukraine will criticize openly the speech of a Soviet Ambassador in another country, as the Canadian Prime Minister Mackenzie King recently took issue with Lord Halifax's Toronto speech.

The fact that the Soviet Union is a continuous land mass, with a centralized transportation system and no natural frontiers between its republics makes for closer trade and economic relations than one

finds in the British Commonwealth, where Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa are separated from Great Britain by thousands of miles of sea. Moreover, the British Dominions inherited from England itself a tradition of parliamentarism and self-government. This tradition is deficient in Russia and completely absent in such Asiatic republics as Uzbekistan, Kazakhstan, Kirghizia, Turkmenistan, Tadjikistan.

One may, to be sure, anticipate that the cultural autonomy which the non-Russian peoples of the Soviet Union have enjoyed will bring, after a long lapse of time, a certain measure of political self-government and local economic initiative. Local nationalism is a reality, strongest probably in the more advanced republics, in the Ukraine and White Russia, in Georgia and Armenia, existent to some degree in the more primitive and economically backward regions of the country.

But before any very genuine decentralization can take place in the Soviet constitutional arrangements, the one-party dictatorship must be scrapped or at least very considerably modified and relaxed. For the one-party dictatorship, as it has functioned up to the present time, is centralist in the highest degree.

Every Communist, whether he be a Russian, an Ukrainian, a Caucasian, a Central Asian by race or nationality, is subject to the orders and discipline of the central organs of the Party in Moscow. This situation makes genuine national independence for the constituent republics impracticable. While the Prime Minister of the Ukraine or White Russia or Georgia is, as a general rule, an Ukrainian or a White Russian or a Georgian, his first loyalty is to the Communist Party Political Bureau or to its chief figure, Stalin, not to his nominal constituents. Should he transgress the "Party line," he would disappear from office with lightning speed.

So what is really important for the future evolution of the Soviet Union is not the formal wording of the Constitution or of new decrees, but the maintenance or relaxation of the Communist Party dictatorship. So long as the dictatorship remains, the wording of a diplomatic note may be in Ukrainian or in Armenian, but the controlling direction will always come from Moscow.

It would be unrealistic to expect an extensive lightening of the centralized rule in the immediate post-war period, although the Soviet government will probably do what it can to relieve the terrific physical strain and privations to which the Soviet peoples have been subjected during the war. Even in England, classical country of parliamentarism, voices are raised in favor of a continua-

tion of the coalition system of government after the war, on the ground that problems are too urgent and necessary sacrifices are too great to permit a resumption of the battle of parties. Similar considerations will certainly weigh heavily with the rulers of the Soviet Union, who have no parliamentary "prejudices" to overcome.

However, as the present desolation yields to reconstruction there may well be, partly as a result of the war and the intimate part which the whole people took in the war, some loosening of the tighter Soviet state controls. There may be more freedom to choose and quit a job, more assertion, in one way or another, by the workers and peasants of their direct class interests.

One element in the situation that may make a return to the pre-1941 Party bureaucratic rule impossible is the new greatly enhanced power and prestige of the Red Army. In the Army one finds the centre of the nationalism that has so largely displaced the old slogans of international communism. It is the heroes of Old Russia, Alexander Nevsky, Suvorov, Kutuzov, who are the heroes of the present-day Red Army. The political commissars, formerly the eyes and ears of the Party in the Army, have lost their former status. The younger men who have come to leadership in the huge, strongly disciplined army of the Soviet-German War can hardly be denied a strong voice in the determination of Russia's future.

Stalin, with his usual political intuition, has adjusted himself to the new situation by emphasizing the military, rather than the political side of his leadership. It was in his Marshal's uniform that he met Roosevelt and Churchill. Not long ago he was awarded the Order of Suvorov, a development that would have seemed incongruous and grotesque in the first years of the Soviet régime, when all association with the Tsarist past was vehemently repudiated.

One could imagine two alternative effects of the increased power of the Army. The more politically minded officers may be drawn into the Communist Party bureaucracy and absorbed. Or the Army leadership may prove to be a force that will lead to the weakening, perhaps to the ultimate downfall of the Party régime. It may be assumed that Stalin will make every effort to see that the first of these alternatives is realized.

It may be expected that Russia will resume its drive toward industrialization after the elementary task of repairing the havoc of war has been completed. One inevitable trend in Russian life that has been speeded up by the war is a shift of population to the East. Many of the refugees from the Ukraine, White Russia, and the regions of European Russia, which were held by the Germans two years, will

never return to their shattered homes. They will remain in the Urals, in Siberia and Central Asia, regions that are certain to be much more important in population and industrial productivity in the future.

As Wendell Willkie and other foreign visitors to the Soviet Union have observed, the Revolution released a good deal of unsuspected ability in the Russian masses as it extended education and opportunity. But it also imposed a harsh discipline on the individual, supposedly in the collective interest. Only the present unparalleled war has claimed more victims than the first years of social upheaval and civil war and the later rigors of the First Five Year Plan and the subsequent purges.

Assuming that Russia will now enjoy a fairly long period of peaceful development, it will be interesting to see whether the restraints that are justified by defenders of the Soviet system on the ground of acute peril from foreign enemies will be eliminated. Will the cruel system of forced labor and concentration camps be abolished? Will Soviet newspapers and magazines begin to reflect normal differences of opinion and interest? Will genuine checks and balances begin to modify and moderate the totalitarian political and economic organization of the country? Will Soviet citizens be able to mingle on normal social terms with foreigners at home and abroad without being afraid of denunciation as spies and saboteurs? The answers to these and similar questions will be important not only to Russians, but to the entire world in which the Soviet Union seems destined, after the war, to play such a prominent rôle.

POLITICAL ECONOMY IN THE SOVIET UNION

L. A. LEONTIEV AND OTHERS

THE teaching of economics in the Soviet Union has had several defects. First, it often failed to give a clear, complete and sharp definition of economics [which took into account production, individual and social, as well as distribution and exchange]. Therefore it is extremely important to give a definition including all the essential statements of Marxist classics on the point, so as to prevent any misunderstandings. Such a definition runs: political economy is the science of the development of men's social-productive, i.e., economic, relations. It explains the laws which govern the production and distribution of the essential objects of consumption—personal or productive—in human society in the various stages of its development.

Previous teaching of economics was at fault too in its treatment of the primitive communal system. These errors were: first, it violated the principle of historical materialism, according to which a given form of productive relations is determined by the character of the productive forces; and second, it idealized the primitive communal system in clear contradiction of historical fact.

The basis of the misinterpretation was the familiar remark of Engels in the introduction to *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State,* to the effect that in the period preceding civilization, the social structure is determined not only by the conditions of the production of material goods, but also by the conditions of the production of man himself, that is, by the form of the family. On the contrary, there is not the slightest reason to depart from the monistic view of history which Marx and Engels worked out and to replace it by dualism in the field of primitive communism.

For many thousands of years tools were very rudimentary, and the primitive means for obtaining goods made necessary a common, collective system of labor. Only in common could people cope with nature; only by work in bands could they assure their existence.

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Social, collective labor in the field of production gave rise to the social, collective property of primitive society, extending to land and other means of production and to the products themselves. They worked in common, possessed in common, consumed in common. The development of the productive forces at the disposal of men conditioned the whole course of development of the productive relations of primitive society.

A second mistake in our teaching of economics in the field of primitive communism was the romantic idealization of that system, which led students to neglect the idea of the progressive character of the development of human society. The transition from the primitive social structure to class society was looked upon not as a necessary step in the path of social progress, but as a fall, an expulsion from Paradise. In this connection there arose the false notion of communism as a sort of return to the social system under which man lived in primitive times.

The classics of Marxism-Leninism, while destroying the bourgeois legend of the eternal nature of private property, of classes, of exploitative systems, showed scientifically that for thousands upon thousands of years men lived in a system of primitive communism, ignorant of all these "blessings" of civilization. But at the same time the classics of Marxism-Leninism showed us the historical limitations of primitive communism, which represented an extremely low level of development of productive forces, tools of primitive quality, a most miserable form of human life. At a certain stage, primitive communism became an obstacle to social progress. It had to yield its place to a new method of production, which gave more room for the development of productive forces.

A third error in our teaching of economics was the neglect, when studying capitalism, of the historical method which was more or less observed in studying primitive communism, the slave-holding system and the feudal system. The study of pre-industrial capitalism must precede the study of the fundamental features of the capitalist mode of production. So too one must study first the pre-conditions for the rise of capitalism: the rise of a class of hired laborers on the one hand, the rise of large sums of capital on the other, the primary accumulation of capital.

Marx, in *Capital,* began his exposition with the analysis of the commodity. This gave him the basis needed for the discovery of the

secret of surplus value, which is bound up with the transformation of labor power into commodities. The logical rigor of the exposition of the problems which Marx gave in *Capital,* is a natural consequence of the fact that he was charting out new paths in science, . . . but it is quite obvious that in the study of the bases of this science, and still more in going through an elementary course in it, it is vain to conserve the same rigor unchanged. That would be harmful pedantry, contrary to pedagogic needs.

Commodity production, exchange and money precede the rise of capitalist production. The rudiments of commodity production appear many thousands of years before the beginning of the capitalist era. At the end of the Middle Ages the production of commodities and the circulation of money had already attained a high degree of development. And yet commodity production becomes the dominating form of production, acquires an all-pervasive character only under capitalism.

It follows that in teaching economics on the historical principle, concepts like money and the commodity should be treated not only in the section of the course devoted to capitalism, but also in the preceding sections. However, the full analysis of the commodity, and in particular of the double quality of labor embodied in the commodity, should be given in the section devoted to the fundamentals of capitalist production.

The most important topic in the teaching of economics is, of course, the one devoted to the socialist system. In accordance with the historical principle, this section too must be divided into two parts, one treating the preliminary steps to the socialist mode of production, and the second devoted to the fundamental properties of this mode of production. The first part contains the transition period from capitalism to socialism, i.e. to the first phase of communism. Here will occur the description of the great economic transformations which have been carried out by the Soviet power and have led to the building of socialism in the U.S.S.R. The second part is devoted to a description of the socialist system of economy, i.e. its most important aspects and characteristics.

In accordance with the Constitution of the U.S.S.R., the economic basis of the U.S.S.R. consists of the socialist system of economy and socialist property in the tools and means of production. The advantages of the Soviet system in conditions of peaceful economic con-

struction enabled the Soviet Union to wipe out centuries of economic and technical backwardness at a tempo something like ten times that of the development of the most important capitalist countries. Furthermore, these advantages of socialism over capitalism are especially obvious in the unwavering improvements in the material welfare and the cultural level of the laboring masses.

The socialist economy of the U.S.S.R. withstood nobly all the trials of war. The advantage of the Soviet system enabled it to repel the ruthless enemy. The unbreakable moral and political unity of Soviet society, which was a consequence of the socialist mode of production, frustrated all the piratical hopes of the Hitlerites for discord between workers and peasants, among the nations. The Soviet system saved the country.

The first step in the study of the socialist mode of production must be an elucidation of the character of the economic laws of socialism. As is well known, various enemies of socialism tried to extend the laws of capitalist economy to socialist economy. They instilled the poison of mistrust in the success of socialism, and spread the misconception that every attempt to modify the laws which ruled under capitalism could lead only to economic disturbances. This enemy position was discredited by the rich practice of socialist construction, and by the enormous historic successes of socialism.

In the teaching of economics, in the curricula and textbooks, the superficial and erroneous idea was often expressed that as the economic laws characteristic of capitalism disappeared with the liquidation of capitalism, therefore there are and can be no economic laws in the socialist scheme of economy. In essence, such a fundamentally erroneous approach excluded the possibility of understanding the actual relations of the Soviet economic system, since where there are no laws, no regularity of development, there is no room for science. At the root of the idea that there is no place under socialism for the action of economic laws, there lies the quite un-Marxist view that only those laws can be considered economic laws which operate independently of men's will and consciousness, acting, as Marx says in one place, after the fashion of a house falling down on your head. This description of economic laws is quite in place when speaking of capitalist economy, and quite out of place when speaking of economic laws in general.

It is an elementary fact that a society, whatever its form, evolves

in accordance with definite laws which are based on objective necessity. This objective necessity operates differently under different forms of society. Under capitalism objective necessity acts as an elemental economic law manifesting itself through an infinite number of fluctuations, by means of catastrophes and cataclysms, by means of disruption of productive powers. Objective necessity acts quite differently under socialist conditions of production. There it acts like an economic law which is conditioned by the whole internal and external state of the given society, and by all the historical prerequisites of its evolution; but it is an objective necessity known by man, working through the consciousness and will of men. The economic laws of socialism derive from the real conditions of the material life of socialist society, from the total internal and external state of its development. But these laws are not realized automatically, but operate as known laws consciously applied and utilized by the Soviet government in the practice of socialist construction.

The question of the character of the economic laws of socialism is closely connected with the question of the economic role of the Soviet government. In all aspects of society, including economic life, the Soviet government has played a part essentially different from that of any other government. Some superficial observers, for instance many foreign journalists and economists, try to reduce this difference to one of quantity only. The Soviet government, they argue, "interferes more" in economic activity than do other governments. Of course, there is more to it than that. There is a basic qualitative difference, the essentially different role of the government under socialism as compared to that under any preceding mode of production.

To be sure, under capitalism too the government often engages in the most serious interference in economic life, as in the period of primary accumulation of capital and during the present war. But the part of government under capitalism is always such that the rule of private property remains untouched, even though interference of government is in the interests of some groups of private owners and against the interests of other groups.

Under socialism the economic functions of the government are essentially different. The means of production are in the hands of all society as socialist property, and for the most part in the form of

national property, belonging to the Soviet government. The Soviet government is the most powerful economic force responsible for the planned administration of the national economy, for managing the national budget, for the control over the amount of work and of consumption, for the provision of the economic needs of the country's defense, and for protection of public property.

This work is colossal not only in the period of peaceful economic construction but in war time as well. Such a huge undertaking as the transfer of industrial life to the East, the evacuation of many hundreds of enterprises to eastern districts, the establishment of a great number of new enterprises, and the provision for their raw materials, labor power and technicians would have been completely unrealizable under private ownership of the means of production. The Soviet system is the most progressive, the most advanced system. The study of the economics of socialism should therefore strengthen the students' feeling of Soviet patriotism.

In Soviet teaching and textbooks, the unsound idea was deeply rooted that in socialist economics there is no place for a law of value The law of value began to operate long before the rise of capitalism; Engels estimated the age of this law at some five or seven thousand years. After the abolition of capitalism, socialist society through its government takes over the law of value and consciously makes use of its mechanism (money, trade, price, etc.), in the interests of socialism, of the planned direction of national economy. The notion that the law of value is non-operative under socialism is, in essence, contradictory to Marxist economics. Marx, it is well known, held the opposite view, as in the *Critique of the Gotha Program* for instance.

Of course, it would be naive and pedantic to think that Marx and Engels could foresee and prescribe the concrete practical way of administering the law of value in the interests of socialism. This way was worked out in the course of the extensive experience of socialist construction in the U.S.S.R. Stalin contributed a great deal to this theory, interpretations that could not have been foreseen by Marx or even Lenin, theorems that could be formulated only on the basis of the socialist construction in the U.S.S.R.

The former defective interpretation of the question of the law of value under socialism prevented the correct understanding of these problems which confront the Soviet people sharply not only

theoretically but as practical questions of economic policy. Under socialism the guiding principle of social life is distribution according to the quantity and quality of work. That is, labor remains the gauge of social life. Naturally, it follows that the law of value is not abrogated under socialism, but it remains, although it acts under different conditions, and with essential changes from the way it functions under capitalism. To see how value functions under socialism, we shall have to ask the question: how shall the Soviet government exercise the strictest accounting and control over the measure of labor and consumption of each member of society?

At first glance it might seem that the simplest way out would be to measure labor in hours or days. But the labor of the citizen of a socialist society is not qualitatively uniform, differing in this respect from the work of members of a communist society. Under socialism the opposition between city and country is undermined, the basic difference between the working class and the peasantry has been wiped out, but some differences continue to exist between city and village, between industry and agriculture, between worker and farmer. These differences extend to the payment of labor, inasmuch as the workers receive a fixed wage—by the piece in the majority of cases—, while the collective farmer is paid in work-days, with a part of his payment in kind; in addition, the collective farmer has his personal auxiliary source of income. Again, under socialism the deepest roots of the old opposition between mental and physical work are disappearing, but differences continue to exist. Work of one category requires more training than that of another, and differences exist between skilled and unskilled work and also between work of various degrees of skill. One sort of occupation is better equipped technically than another; the level of mechanization and electrification of production is not uniform in various branches of production.

All this signifies that the hour or day of work of one worker is not equal to the hour or day of another. Consequently, quantities of work and quantities of consumption in socialist society can be calculated only on the basis of the law of value. The calculation and comparison of various kinds of labor are not realized directly by means of the "natural measure of labor," labor time, but indirectly, by means of accounting and comparison of the products of labor, commodities. The work of the members of socialist society creates

commodities. These products, in a socialist economy, are *use values,* i.e. material goods needed for the satisfaction of various needs of society, but the products of socialist labor also have *value;* and thus such instruments as trade and money are used as tools of a planned socialist economy. The products of socialist production reach the consumer in the course of trade, i.e., by means of money. To a certain extent the work days of the collective farmer are also paid in money. Besides this, he receives money from the sale of a part of the products obtained as payment in kind for his work days or from his auxiliary private farming. The workers buy commodities with their money income.

Commodities in the planned socialist economy of the U.S.S.R. are bought and sold. They have prices which are money expressions of their value. Here the possibility has already arisen that the price of an article will not coincide with its value. The basic mass of commodities put up for sale belongs to the government and its organs, and to cooperatives. This includes all the production of completely socialist enterprises and that portion of the production of the social economy of collective farmers and artisan cooperatives, as well as of the personal auxiliary occupation of collective farmers, of single farmers and non-cooperating artisans, which accrues to the government and the cooperatives in the process of required deliveries, payment in kind, and purchases. All this mass of goods is sold at prices set by the government. However, a certain part of the goods is sold on the unorganized market by single citizens. This includes the production of the personal auxiliary occupation of collective farmers and of single farmers and craftsmen, as well as that part of the production of the socialized economy of the collective farms which is distributed in kind according to work days and then is sold by the collective farmers on the market. As is well known, these wares are sold according to prices set in market trading. Thus, two markets and two sorts of prices exist in fact in Soviet economy.

Utilizing the law of value, the Soviet government sets as its goal the establishment of commodity prices based on the socially necessary expenditures of their production, taking into account the tasks of socialist accumulation as well as the tasks of raising the standard of living and the cultural level of the laboring masses. Commodity prices are set with definite deviations from their values, in correspondence with the various tasks facing the Soviet government, and

depending on the quantity of commodities of various kinds which can come into the market, given the scope of production and of social needs actually existing at the time.

A conflict goes on between the organized market, which is in the hands of the Soviet government, and the chaos of the open market. In order to control all trade and to be able completely to determine market prices, the Soviet government would have to have at its disposal enormous masses of commodities, enormous reserves of all sorts of goods.

The circumstance that the commodity produced in socialist society has both a *use value* and a *value* is an essential factor in planned socialist economy. The government economic plan provides that each enterprise produce a definite quantity, i.e., definite use values. At the same time, performance of the plan requires a definite level of expenditure of labor and materials, i.e., it requires a definite cost of production. The plan defines the productive program of the enterprise according to natural and value indices, inasmuch as it deals both with *use values* and with the *value* of commodities.

Economic bookkeeping is an indispensable method for the planned leadership of economy under socialism. It is based on the conscious use of the law of value. Socialist economy is based on an accurate correlation of the expenditures of labor and materials on the one hand with the results of production on the other. Such a correlation is realized in every socialist enterprise. Comparison of the expenses of the firm in a given period with the whole mass of production for the same period presupposes reduction of both expenses and results of production to a single denominator. Such a denominator exists: it is the *value* of the commodities. Economic bookkeeping is based on the fact that expenses and results of production are carried in *value* form, i.e., are expressed in the form of definite sums of money.

The *value* of a commodity in socialist society is defined not by the individual expenditures of work which are in fact expended on its production, but by the quantity of work socially necessary for its production and reproduction. A strict observance of economic bookkeeping is the means for the discovery and eradication of all sorts of unnecessary, unproductive outlays and losses, all sorts of

waste; it is the means of keeping the production costs of the individual firm to a minimum.

In socialist society the product of labor is a commodity; it has *use value* and *value;* this means that labor in socialist society has two sides, on the one hand concrete labor producing *use value* and on the other hand abstract labor, a definite part of the totality of labor, expended on social production.

But this dual character of labor is no longer bound up with the contradiction between private and social labor which characterizes commodity production on the basis of private property. The work of individual workers in socialist enterprises has an immediately social character. That property of commodity production disappears by which labor spent on the production of useful objects may prove useless to society, in that it finds no social recognition, the commodity it produced being unsold. In socialist society all work useful to society is rewarded by society.

The commodity which is the product of socialist production no longer contains in itself those contradictions which cannot be divorced from the commodity as product of small business or capitalist production, the contradiction between *use value* and *value,* between private and social labor. That is to say, it no longer is the bearer of those contradictions which, as they evolve, inevitably lead to the rise of capitalist exploitation and to crisis.

Summing up: there is no reason to believe that the law of *value* disappears in socialism; it acts, but in altered form. Under capitalism the law of *value* acts as a chaotic law of the market, inevitably tied up with the destruction of productive powers, with crises, with anarchy in production. Under socialism it acts as a law consciously applied by the Soviet government in the course of the economic plan, free from crises. The law of *value* under capitalism acts through the law of average profit, which has lost its meaning under socialism. Under capitalism this law results in the collapse of a firm that yields a lower profit than the average and in the end it disappears. The capitalists and their capital move toward those branches of production where the rate of profit is high. On the other hand, for a long time Soviet metallurgical plants ran at a loss. The first profitable year in the Kirov plant at Makeev was 1935. The Magnitogorsk and Kuznets plants became profitable even later. For the initial period metallurgy was subsidized by the government. If this

country had had a bourgeois instead of a Soviet system, the land would have been left without a shred of heavy industry. And that would have meant that when war came it would have been an easy conquest for the enemy. We broke the law of capitalism, the law of average profit.

There has been a certain confusion in the previous practice of the teaching of economics on the subject of the surplus product under socialism. The matter has been often presented as though the surplus product does not exist under socialism, which is of course quite wrong. In point of fact, surplus labor (labor over and above what is necessary for the immediate personal needs of the workers) must always exist, under any system of society. Socialism destroyed the exploitation of man by man in the Soviet Union; it liquidated the appropriation of surplus labor and surplus product and surplus value by parasitic exploiting classes. But at the same time socialist society is confronted by tasks on a colossal scale, whose solution is unthinkable without the expenditure of the surplus labor of each work, peasant, intellectual of the Soviet Union.

A certain part of the product of social labor must be systematically devoted to purposes of accumulation, even under socialism. This is the principal condition for expanding production, whose necessity is dictated by the continually rising demands of the working masses, as well as by the natural growth of the population. Furthermore, a certain part of the surplus product goes to cover the current needs of society as a whole. It is sufficient to recall the significance for the country of the expenditures for strengthening the armed forces of the U.S.S.R. A certain portion of the surplus labor goes toward realization of such rights of Soviet citizens as the right to education (the maintenance of schools, universities and libraries), the right to rest (sanatoria and rest homes), the right to security during sickness and old age (hospitals, pharmacies and homes). Thus, in socialist society, the surplus product is at the disposal of society as a whole, for the satisfaction of all social needs and demands.

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Church and State in Russian History

Russian Review
January, 1944

Church and State in Russian History

By Michael Karpovich

In the early sixteenth century an acute struggle was going on within the ranks of the Orthodox Church in Muscovy. The immediate issue was the question of church land possession. Like the Western church during the Middle Ages, the Russian Church had accumulated, in the course of the previous centuries of its existence, enormous wealth in land which for the most part belonged to the monasteries. It was against this state of affairs that a small but determined group of church reformers raised the voice of protest. Known as the "Trans-Volga Elders,"[1] the protestants were grouped around the hermitage of Sorsk, a center of ascetic monasticism, highly respected for the purity of life and the devotional zeal of its members. They had for leader a remarkable man—Nilus of Sorsk, himself an ascetic and a mystic, a man of deep convictions and of a great strength of character. The Trans-Volga Elders, who also were referred to as the "noncovetous" monks, loudly called upon the church to give up its worldly possessions in order to achieve the Christian ideal of poverty and humility. In their eyes, a truly monastic life and management of big land estates were fundamentally incompatible.

On the other side stood the so-called "Josephites," by far the larger of the two groups, and one that enjoyed the support of the church hierarchy. To them the material wealth of the church was one of the indispensable conditions for the proper performance of its functions. The head of this faction, Joseph of Volokolamsk (hence the name of the Josephites) was the abbot of one of the richest and most influential monasteries in Muscovy. Throughout the sixteenth century this monastery played the part of a "nursery of bishops," and many of the most prominent hierarchs of the period had received their training there. Profoundly different from Nilus of Sorsk in character and outlook, Joseph too was a remarkable man, in his own

[1]The term "Elder" was used in Russia to designate a peculiar type of religious authority, exercised by a man (usually a monk) in virtue of his personal saintliness and wisdom, and irrespective of his rank or age.

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pages 10–20.

way. An outstanding church administrator, he defended the retention by the monasteries of their land possessions on purely utilitarian grounds. One of his typical arguments was that the poor monasteries could not attract the better class of people, and these were needed for the building up of an educated and influential hierarchy.

Behind this controversy over the problem of church lands lay a more fundamental difference between two distinct religious types. The Josephites stood for a strict adherence to tradition, emphasized the importance of the ritual and were inclined towards a literal interpretation of religious texts. The followers of Nilus represented the spiritual trend in Russian Christianity, assigning first place to personal piety and assuming a much more liberal attitude towards the dogma and tradition.

Of particular importance was the difference between the two groups with regard to the problem of Church and State relationship. The Josephites wanted the Russian Church to be in an intimate and indissoluble alliance with the State. Preaching a doctrine of absolute loyalty to the secular power, they expected in return a full measure of state support and protection for the Church. In particular, they did not hesitate to invoke the assistance of the secular arm in the suppression of heresies. The Trans-Volga Elders differed sharply from the Josephites on this point. With a degree of tolerance surprising for their time, they rejected compulsion in matters of faith. Those who strayed away from the path of true Christianity should be brought back by persuasion, not by force. The realm of the Church, unlike that of the State, was one of spirit, and in the solution of its problems only spiritual methods could be used. Therefore, it would be better for the State not to interfere with the Church, just as the clergy should refrain from interfering in politics.

The Russian government of the period was bound to be vitally interested in this controversy within the Church. It was particularly concerned with the problem of church lands. Precisely at that time the Moscow rulers were engaged in reorganizing the system of national defense in their dominions. The new system was based on the principle of military service in return for land grants, and the government needed a sufficiently large land fund at its disposal. This is why it viewed the growth of church landownership with some alarm, and why at times it even contemplated secularization of church estates. With regard to this issue the government found itself in agreement with the followers of Nilus of Sorsk who, as is known, demanded the voluntary relinquishment by the church of its worldly

possessions. And yet it could not enter into an alliance with the Trans-Volga Elders because of the other tenets held by that group. The spirit of individual freedom in which they approached the religious problems, their liberal attitude towards those deviating from Orthodoxy, and, above all, their endeavor to protect the Church from state interference and control, were hardly compatible with the centralizing and absolutist tendencies of the rising Russian autocracy. On the contrary, the government was in full sympathy with the traditionalism of the Josephites, their strict adherence to Orthodoxy, and, in particular, their advocacy of a close alliance between Church and State.

And so, a sort of unwritten concordat was concluded between the Moscow government and the leading faction of the Russian Church. For the time being, the government gave up its plan of secularizing the church estates,[2] limiting itself to enacting legislation that tended to prevent their further growth, and in return it received the unqualified allegiance of the church hierarchy. With governmental support, the opposition movement within the Church was effectively silenced, and the Josephites achieved a complete victory over their antagonists. Under their leadership, the Orthodox Church finally became, by the middle of the sixteenth century, the official national Church of Russia, thus winning a position that it was destined to hold until the Revolution of 1917.

II

At that time the Russian Church already had over five centuries of existence behind it. In the course of this long period it played a great and creative part in the history of Russian culture and the State. Not only did it control the spiritual life of the people, being the only educational agency in the country, but it also became the chief guardian and exponent of the slowly growing idea of national unity. When, in the later part of the Middle Ages, the princes of Moscow undertook the political unification of Russia, it was the Church that rendered them the most determined and particularly effective support. It contributed to the rise of the Tsardom of Moscow by lending it its own moral prestige and, in the persons of some of its outstanding representatives, it took a direct part in the

[2]The secularization was largely achieved, by degrees, in the course of the eighteenth century, and from that time on the Russian Church possessed only a small fraction of its former landed wealth.

work of national consolidation. Moreover, it supplied the young Russian monarchy with a ready-made theory of divinely ordained royal absolutism which it borrowed from its spiritual parent, the Church of the Byzantine Empire.

One could expect that in virtue of this contribution the Church would emerge an equal partner in the alliance between Church and State in Russia. And yet, in reality, almost from the outset the Church became a subordinate member of the alliance, with the State firmly retaining full measure of control. In a large degree, the very nature of political theories preached by the clergy was responsible for such a result. True, in Byzantium there existed a doctrine which emphasized the equality of the spiritual and the secular power and envisaged a harmonious balance between the two, and that doctrine, too, found its way into Russia. But on the whole the main tradition of the Byzantine Empire was that of the imperial domination over the Church, and it was this tradition that was particularly familiar to the Russian hierarchs. At any rate, neither in Byzantium nor in Russia did the Church as a whole ever exhibit either a strong tendency to assert the supremacy of the spiritual power over the secular, or such a tenacity in defending itself against the encroachments of the State as were characteristic of the Roman Catholic Church in the West.

Of even greater importance were, perhaps, the specific conditions of Russia's historical development. In comparison with the relatively slow progress of royal absolutism in Western Europe, the Russian autocracy succeeded in establishing itself in a surprisingly short period of time. It arose in the process of a rapid territorial expansion of the Tsardom of Moscow, under the constant pressure of foreign menace, and it consolidated its position within the country before any of its potential domestic rivals could become strong enough to successfully challenge its supremacy. Unlike Western European absolutism, the rising Russian monarchy did not have to face either a fully developed and firmly established feudal system, or (after the early fall of the city-republic of Novgorod) any strong and prosperous urban communes. The Russian Church merely shared the fate of other social forces in the country. In spite of its riches and its privileges, it too had not developed into an independent feudal body, and in the end, it succumbed under the sway of the Tsar's autocratic power in the same way as did the other social groups and organizations.

In the early centuries of its existence the Russian Church remained in canonical dependence on the mother Church in Byzantium, and

its head had to be appointed or at least confirmed in office by the Patriarch of Constantinople. Gradually, however, this dependence grew weaker and weaker, and since the destruction of the Byzantine Empire by the Turks in 1453, the Russian Church, to all practical purposes, became an independent national Church. This independence was given formal sanction with the elevation, in 1589, of the Russian Metropolitan to the dignity of the Patriarch of Moscow, recognized as an equal by the other Eastern Patriarchs. In the process of this gradual emancipation from canonical dependence on Constantinople, the practice was established of electing first the Metropolitan and then the Patriarch of Moscow at a Russian Church council. Theoretically, the Church was free in the choice of its head, but there is enough evidence to show that from the outset the elections were controlled by the State. It became customary to submit the names of the candidates for the Tsar's preliminary approval.

No wonder, therefore, that as a rule the Patriarch was not and could not feel himself to be the Tsar's equal. During the whole seventeenth century, there were only two cases when it was otherwise, but both these cases can be viewed as exceptions proving the rule.

The first of these cases was that of Patriarch Philaret (1619-33) who was the virtual co-regent with Tsar Michael (the first of the Romanovs) and was officially recognized as such. But, in addition to his outstanding ability and personal prestige, Philaret owed his exalted position to the fact that he was the Tsar's father. Two decades later a similar position was attained by Patriarch Nikon who, for a while, also acted as the Tsar's co-regent and was given the use of the sovereign title. This time the exaltation of the Patriarch was due to the remarkable ascendency that Nikon had succeeded in gaining over the mind of Tsar Alexis. Nikon, however, began to lose ground the moment he ceased to enjoy the personal favor of the Tsar. Significantly, the cause of his ruin was precisely his uncompromising insistence on the prerogatives of his office, in which, in the opinion of the Tsar, he overstepped the boundaries of the permissible. Practically alone of all the Russian hierarchs, Nikon attempted to advance in Russia the medieval Western doctrine of the supremacy of the spiritual over the secular power, but in this he was not supported by the Church. Finally he was deposed by a church council and died in disgrace. His fall might be viewed as a prelude to the final subordination of the Russian Church to the State, which took place in the reign of Peter the Great.

III

In the light of the previous development, Peter's ecclesiastical reform appears less revolutionary than it might seem at first glance. It was a consummation of a long historical process rather than a sudden break with the past. It consisted in a thorough reorganization of the central administration of the Church. The office of the Patriarch was abolished, and its place was taken by an ecclesiastical body called the Synod (established in 1721), the members of which, subsequently always chosen from among the bishops, were appointed by and responsible to the government. To watch over the interests of the state, a lay official, known as the High Procurator (*Ober Prokuror*), was attached to the Synod, and in the course of time he became the real master of the church administration.

The political intent of the reform was unmistakable: Peter was aiming at the elimination of the very possibility of a parallel authority in the State. In his opinion, an ambitious and able Patriarch, enjoying great personal prestige, could present a potential danger to the unity of imperial control while, with the Patriarch replaced by a Synod, the government could be sure of retaining this control unimpaired. Under the new organization, church affairs could be managed in the same way as any other branch of governmental business.

The synodal period in the history of the Russian Church, which lasted until the Revolution of 1917, has usually been described as a period of the Church's complete decline. It has been asserted that, in the course of the last two centuries before the Revolution, the Russian Church had degenerated into a subservient tool in the hands of the government, devoid of any inner vitality, and into a privileged body, which could maintain its outwardly predominant position only with state support and protection.

While unfortunately there is an element of truth in these assertions, they cannot be accepted without reservations. To begin with, the indisputable weakening of the Church in the modern period of Russian history cannot be ascribed fully to the change in its organization. With or without the Patriarch at its head, the Church was bound to lose some of its former power and influence. It had entered the modern period greatly weakened by the schism which had been caused in its ranks by Nikon's reform of the church ritual and the revision of prayer books and other religious texts. The schism resulted in the permanent seccession of millions of the so-called Old Believers who refused to accept the "Nikonian innovations," and among whom there were many of the most devout and zealous

church members. The Church also was losing many of its members to the various religious sects which, beginning with the eighteenth century, were meeting with considerable success among the popular masses of Russia. Simultaneously, the rapid westernization of the upper groups of society and the corresponding secularization of Russian culture led to the loss by the Church of its former exclusive influence in the intellectual life of the country. Before long, an indifferent, if not a hostile, attitude towards religion became a common phenomenon among the educated class.

It would be a grave historical error, however, to assume that because of these circumstances the Church ceased to be an important factor in Russian life and culture. To a large degree, it succeeded in retaining its hold over the soul of the nation. In spite of all its weaknesses and shortcomings, it remained a depository of spiritual forces deeply rooted in national consciousness and tradition. There was still a genuine Christian piety among the millions of Orthodox believers, and the Church still had many worthy servitors in its ranks. Even during the synodal period of its history, the Russian Church possessed some important centers of religious learning and of earnest spiritual endeavor. And the rich heritage of Orthodox religious thought and art still could serve as a source of inspiration. Gogol, Dostoevsky, and Leskōv, among the outstanding nineteenth-century writers, the thinkers of the Slavophil school, the philosopher Vladimir Soloviev, the idealists and the mystics of the early twentieth century—none of these cultural phenomena would have been possible outside the great Orthodox tradition. Many modern Russian composers and painters also borrowed from the same source.

The conventional idea of the Church and State relationship, during the modern period of Russian history, also stands in need of revision. The extent of the state control over the life of the Church, as a rule, has been greatly exaggerated. The situation has been often described as one of "caesaropapism." The term, I believe, is a misleading one. It implies that the Tsar occupied in the Russian Orthodox Church the same position that in the Roman Catholic Church belonged to the Pope. Such, obviously, was not the case. The Tsar never had the doctrinal power of the Pope nor was he a bishop of the church endowed with the so-called "power of order." His only ecclesiastical power was that of jurisdiction, and even this was of an indirect supervising nature. True, the Law of Imperial Succession, promulgated by Emperor Paul in the end of the eighteenth century, spoke of the Russian sovereign as the "head of the Church." But subsequently this was interpreted by the Fundamental Laws to mean

that the Emperor was "the supreme defender and protector of the dogmas of the Orthodox faith, the guardian of Orthodoxy and of all good order in the Holy Church." As a matter of fact, no Russian Tsar ever legislated in matters of dogma or ritual. No articles of faith and no prayer books were ever passed or approved by the imperial government.[3]

Neither was the pre-revolutionary Russian Church such a highly privileged body as it has been so often pictured. As pointed out above, most of its estates had been secularized in the course of the eighteenth century, and on the eve of the Revolution its wealth was by no means excessive. The financial support it received from the government was insufficient to cover its expenses, and the parish priests, in particular, were maintained almost exclusively by payment for ministrations. The rank and file of the clergy were of democratic origin, and were forced to live in very modest circumstances. Contrary to a widespread opinion, pre-revolutionary Russia was not a priest-ridden country, and in proportion to the total population, the number of clergy was far from being unreasonably high. In fact, one of the serious problems the Church had to face a few years before the Revolution was the actual scarcity of priests.[4]

While representing the official state religion of the Russian Empire, the Orthodox Church did not enjoy a complete monopoly of spiritual guidance of the country. The law recognized the existence of other denominations, and some of them, like the Roman Catholic and the Lutheran Churches, for instance, though somewhat discriminated against, on the whole were guaranteed normal conditions of religious life. The situation was worse with regard to the so-called "sectarians" and, in a lesser degree, the Old Believers. But even here periods of persecution alternated with those of a more liberal attitude. A considerable improvement was introduced by the Decree on Religious Toleration, promulgated in 1905, on the eve of the constitutional régime. But one can say that even before this welcome change, all the religious denominations in imperial Russia enjoyed far greater freedom of action than subsequently was allowed any of them by the religious policy of the Soviet government.

[3]In this respect, the English government certainly was more "caesaropapist" than the Russian.

[4]For factual corroboration, I refer the reader to *Church and State in Russia: The Last Years of the Empire, 1900-1917*, by John S. Curtiss, a book highly critical of the pre-revolutionary Russian Church.

IV

The fall of the imperial régime opened a new chapter in the history of the Russian Church. The new Provisional government of Russia proclaimed the principles of freedom of conscience and of religious toleration, and began taking the first steps towards a complete secularization of the Russian State. Simultaneously, a reform movement within the Church itself resulted in the convocation of a Church council (the first to meet since the seventeenth century) with the purpose of reestablishing the Patriarchate and reorganizing the life of the Church in accordance with new conditions. To be sure, there was no complete accord between the Provisional government, on the one hand, and the leading church circles which dominated the council, on the other. While the former was moving in the direction of a complete separation of Church and State, the latter apparently envisaged for the Church a status similar to that which the Roman Catholic Church had in France under the Napoleonic concordat. There was no reason, however, to expect that this difference would lead to a sharp conflict, and hope could be entertained for the establishment in Russia of normal and mutually beneficial relations between Church and State. Before these hopes could be realized, however, the Provisional government was engulfed by the second revolutionary wave, and the Church, with the newly elected Patriarch at its head, had to face the new Soviet régime, with its openly professed hostility to religion in general and to the Russian Orthodox Church in particular.

The general history of the Church under the Soviet régime does not enter into the scope of this article.[6] Here I limit myself to the discussion of the Church and State relationship. Officially, the situation as it became established under the Soviet régime has been described as separation of Church and State, and this description has been uncritically accepted and spread abroad by many foreign writers. In reality, this is as misleading as the term "caesaropapism" so often used with reference to pre-revolutionary Russia. Under the system of separation of Church and State, the State does not patronize or associate itself with any of the religious denominations existing within its boundaries, but it maintains an attitude of benevolent neutrality towards all of them, and it guarantees to each of them freedom of activity and conditions of normal life. It is quite

[6]For a brief account, see N. S. Timasheff's article, "The Church in the Soviet Union, 1917-1941" in *The Russian Review*, Vol. I, No. 1.

obvious that such a state of affairs did not exist in Soviet Russia. Instead of benevolent neutrality, the State assumed an attitude of open hostility to all and every religion—a hostility that for years was expressed in acts of direct persecution and discrimination. As a matter of fact, the government associated itself with the militant anti-religious creed of various atheist organizations, to which it gave full measure of support, thus making atheism a kind of state religion in Russia.

Moreover, even in so far as the Church was tolerated, it was by no means guaranteed normal existence or given that amount of freedom for its activities which it is customary to find under the system of the separation of Church and State. Even by the letter of the Soviet constitution, the only freedom that the Church possessed was that of worship. It had no right to engage in any missionary activity or even to defend itself against hostile attacks, while the freedom of anti-religious propaganda was specifically mentioned in the constitution. It had no right to maintain schools of its own or to organize religious instruction in any form whatsoever, while the teaching of atheism was introduced into the state-controlled schools. Needless to say, the Church could not have its own press, and could not publish any religious literature. At the same time it was specifically prohibited from engaging in any social activities such as organizing youth clubs or mutual aid and charitable societies. It should be kept in mind that all these limitations were applied equally to every religious denomination in the country.

As far as the Orthodox Church was concerned, its freedom of action was greatly impeded still in another way. The law recognized individual parishes only, treating them as private groups of believers who could register with the local authorities and ask for permission to use church buildings as places of worship. But it did not recognize the Church as a national body, and it simply ignored its hierarchical structure. One can easily see what this meant to the bishops in their dioceses and to the central church authority in Moscow. They had to lead a precarious existence, having no rights guaranteed by law and being able to exercise their functions only in the measure in which that was tolerated by the government. Moreover, after the death in 1925 of Patriarch Tikhon, the government refused to permit the Church to hold a council for the election of his successor. For almost two decades thereafter the Church was headed by a *locum tenens* who again did not have an officially recognized status, and who repeatedly, and for a long time vainly, tried to obtain from the government legalization of his administration.

Since the late 1930's, the situation of the Church in the Soviet Union began to improve due to a more conciliatory policy on the part of the government. Direct persecution of the clergy and the believers was discontinued, and some of the worst features of the discrimination against the Church also were abandoned. Simultaneously, militant atheism ceased to be the official governmental policy, and its manifestations even were discouraged, in an apparent effort to placate the believers. Dictated by a desire to consolidate national sentiment in the country in the face of a growing foreign menace, this "new religious policy" was greatly strengthened by the actual outbreak of the war. In this national crisis, the Church unhesitatingly took a strong patriotic stand, and, as if in recompense for this loyalty, the government went a step further in its policy of reconciliation. By permitting the convocation of the council[6] at which the *locum tenens* Metropolitan Sergius was elected Patriarch, the government finally recognized the existence of the national church administration.

The importance of this act should not be either minimized or exaggerated. It undoubtedly represents a great improvement over the previous state of affairs, but it is still far from fulfilling all of the Church's legitimate demands and aspirations. Latest news from Russia tells of the projected opening of a Theological Academy in Moscow, and of schools for the training of priests in the dioceses. But it remains to be seen whether the Church will obtain that degree of freedom which is required for the proper performance of its fundamental functions.

A good deal will depend, of course, on the inner vitality of the Church and the strength of its prestige with the Russian people. It seems that the Orthodox Church has emerged from the period of persecutions with its spiritual force unimpaired and perhaps even strengthened. It seems also that by associating itself with the struggle for Russia's integrity and independence, it succeeded in regaining a position of importance in national life. But that alone is not sufficient to guarantee its normal development in the future. For the Church to be able to realize its creative possibilities, a radical change in the Church and State relationship in Russia is needed. And this, in turn, is not likely to happen until certain general conditions prevail in the country. I do not know of any better way of summing up these conditions than by using the famous formula of Cavour. What is to be hoped for in Russia, is "a free Church in a free State."

[6]Unlike the council of 1917, in which both the clergy and the laity were fully represented, the council of 1943 was a council of bishops.

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The Balkans and the USSR

By MILAN VLASOV

WITH Rumania and Bulgaria under Nazi occupation, with Yugoslavia under heavy diplomatic and military pressure of the Axis powers, with Greece deeply involved in the war, with the Turks silent about their recent talks with the British and the Germans, with a dozen daily rumors about imminent new moves and countermoves—the classic theater of European troubles once more draws general attention. And, as at each turn of the war, the question arises: "What is the Soviet Union going to do in these circumstances?" The mere fact that this question is asked shows clearly how immensely the weight of the USSR has increased in recent years and months, how important is the role which the great socialist power is playing in world affairs, and how hollow are the theories about the "weakness of the Soviets."

As usual there is much talk about the "riddle" of Soviet Balkan policy; but the Balkan policy of the USSR is no more enigmatic than the general foreign policy of Moscow. It is merely the concrete application of the general principles of Soviet foreign policy to the special Balkan situation. As the general principle is the maintenance and fostering of peace and the defense of the territory of the USSR against attacks and involvement in war, so in the Balkans Soviet policy has been directed solely toward trying to check the further spread of the war and protecting the Soviet borders. There is of course nothing left of the old imperialistic Balkan policy of tsarist Russia; neither the "march on Istanbul" according to the "testament of Peter the Great," nor Pan-Slavic slogans and tendencies are any part of Soviet policy. The USSR has solemnly stated:

> The ideas of Russian Pan-Slavism from their first appearances have always been thoroughly reactionary. They served the interests of tsarism and the Russian bourgeoisie in their policy of expansion into the Balkans. . . . The instigators of war, spreading these libelous rumors to the effect that Soviet foreign policy has gone over to Pan-Slavism, are trying to create among the Slavic peoples of the Balkan countries distrust of the peaceful policy of the USSR. (*Tass*, official Soviet news agency, May, 1940.)

Both the Axis and the British group have imperialistic aims with regard to the Balkans, although their actual intentions are opposed to each other. Germany hoped to control the Balkan area and draw on it for certain raw materials and food stuffs without its becoming a battlefield; whereas Britain's effort has been directed toward opening new war fronts in order to split the German-Italian forces and to gain time.

At the moment these lines are written it is impossible to foresee whether Germany will succeed in forcing Yugoslavia and Greece into line without heavy and costly fighting or whether Britain will succeed in widening the small Albanian war front into a larger one. We can only suggest the main outlines of the Balkan situation.

The sharp contrast between the diplomatic moves and the behavior of the governments and the ruling classes and their fascist or semi-fascist movements, and the real mood of the large popular masses must be clearly understood. This difference is very manifest in the instability of all Balkan regimes (with the relative exception of Turkey).

In Rumania, popular pressure compelled Hitler's man, General Antonescu, to turn against the Iron Guard which had so ardently supported him. When Antonescu's firing squads executed several hundred Iron Guardists they shot away a good deal of the base holding up Antonescu and his regime. The meagre uncensored news trickling across the border tells of constant unrest among the peasants and of a similar agitation among the workers in the Ploesti oil district. "Since the news of the expropriation of big estates in Soviet Bessarabia has spread throughout old Rumania" reads a report in the Croatian paper *Novosti*, "the hunger for land and the spirit of sedition are expanding silently but steadily like an oil stain on paper."

In Bulgaria the sympathy of the great majority of the population towards the Soviet Union was obvious to all foreign observers and journalists who have been in that country in the last few years. The signing of the pact with the Axis and the opening of the borders to the German army by the reactionary Piloff government resembles in many aspects the capitulation of the government of Czechoslovakia under the inner pressure of the bourgeoisie and the big estate owners who preferred "to be swallowed by Hitler rather than to be defended by Voroshilov."

Attempts are being made not only to blame the USSR for the Nazi occupation of Bulgaria, but to revive the canard that the Soviet Union never intended to fulfill its obligations to Czechoslovakia. On this the historic facts are clear and incontrovertible.

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In "Betrayal in Central Europe" G. E. R. Gedye relates that immediately after Berchtesgaden, Dr. Benes, President of Czechoslovakia, sent for Alexandrovsky, Soviet Minister to Prague. Here is Mr. Gedye's account of the interview as told him by a friend of Dr. Benes:

> To Alexandrovsky, Benes formally put the following two questions.
>
> "If we are attacked and France comes to our assistance in accordance with the terms of our two treaties, will Russia also fulfil her obligations and furnish military aid to France and Czechoslovakia?"
>
> Alexandrovsky replied without hesitation. "Instantly, and with all her strength. Why do you ask?"
>
> Then Benes said, "If France dishonors her signature and refuses to help, what would be Russia's advice to this country as to the right course to pursue?"
>
> Alexandrovsky replied, "Denounce Germany immediately as the aggressor before the League and call for League support. Germany will automatically be branded as aggressor by refusing to obey the League's summons to state a case, as of course she will refuse. Russia will then fulfil her obligations under the League Covenant, and come to your assistance regardless of what the other League Powers may do."
>
> After this there was a long silence between the two, broken at last by Alexandrovsky saying:
>
> "M. le President, is there not another question you wish to ask me regarding Russia's action should an appeal to the League be made impossible by some trickery or other?"
>
> Benes looked at him for a long time very steadily, but did not open his mouth. Silently Alexandrovsky rose, shook his head sadly, bowed and left.
>
> Thus did the man whom the Goebbels propaganda machine was denouncing daily as a "Red" refrain from calling in the direct aid of Russia which he knew was available for him and which might have saved his country's independence.

Dr. Benes corroborated this after his arrival in this country when in an interview with Erika Mann (*Chicago Daily News,* April 18, 1939) he stated that "he was assured by Russia that it would have sent military assistance even though France and Britain failed to do so."

With regard to Bulgaria it is well to remember that its ruling class had so little love for the Soviet Union that it did not even establish diplomatic relations with it until 1934, and that it failed to join its neighbors in adhering to the treaties defining aggression initiated by the USSR. Indeed, it was not until January 1940 that Bulgaria began to seek friendlier relations with the USSR.

The Soviet Union made clear its disapproval of Nazi occupation of Bulgaria long before it actually took place. Refuting reports to the effect that the USSR had "replied by consent to an inquiry of the Bulgarian government concerning the dispatch of German troops to Bulgaria," *Tass,* as far back as January 12, announced officially:

> "First, if German troops really are present in Bulgaria and if the further dispatch of German troops to Bulgaria really is taking place, then all this occurred without the knowledge and consent of the USSR, since the German side never raised before the USSR the question of the presence or dispatch of German troops to Bulgaria.
>
> "Second, in particular, the Bulgarian government never approached the USSR with an inquiry regarding the passage of German troops in Bulgaria, and consequently could not have received any reply from the USSR."

On March 3, *Tass* issued the following statement:

> On March 1 the representative of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Bulgaria, Altynoff, made a statement to the USSR's minister in Bulgaria, M. I. Lavrischev, that the Bulgarian government gave its consent to the dispatch of German troops in Bulgaria, having in view the "preservation of peace in the Balkans."

On March 3, Deputy People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs A. V. Vyshinsky, conveyed to Bulgarian Minister Ivan Stamenoff the following reply:

> "In reply to the communication of the Bulgarian government conveyed March 1 of this year through the USSR's minister in Bulgaria, Lavrischev, by the representative of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Bulgaria, Altynoff, to the effect that the Bulgarian government agreed to the dispatch of German troops to Bulgaria and that this action pursues peace aims in the Balkans, the Soviet government deems it necessary to state that:
>
> "1. The Soviet government cannot share the opinion of the Bulgarian government as to the correctness of the latter's position in this matter, since this position, irrespective of the desire of the Bulgarian government, doesn't lead to the consolidation of peace but to the extension of the sphere of war and to Bulgaria's being involved in it;
>
> "2. In view of this the Soviet government, true to its policy of peace, cannot render any support to the Bulgarian government in the application of its present policy."
>
> The Soviet government is compelled to make this statement especially in view of the fact that the Bulgarian press freely circulates rumors fundamentally misrepresenting the real position of the USSR.

In Yugoslavia there is a similar situation to that in Bulgaria. The Regent, Prince Paul, is married to a princess of the Romanoff family and influenced by the most reactionary groups of the Serbian bourgeoisie and many Russian White Guards. Along with the pro-fascist government of Cvetkovitch and Marinkovich, he would certainly have turned over the country to Hitler long since but for the strong anti-fascist tendencies of the popular masses in Serbia, Croatia and Dalmatia, coupled with deep sympathies for the Soviets going back to the time of the brothers Radic and their movement towards a revolutionary change of the existing agrarian system. Today throughout Yugoslavia there is a surging movement of workers, peasants and intellectuals advocating a course of peace and independence for their country supported by close, friendly relations with the Soviet Union. But the Government suppresses all organizations urging such a course.

Turkey although equipped with a more stable and stronger ruling apparatus and in a better strategic position than Bulgaria, Rumania, Yugoslavia and Greece, now suffers heavily from the mistakes of her foreign policy at the beginning of the war. The government and the ruling National Party now recognize with horror the fateful error of refusing the mutual assistance and non-aggression pact proposed by the USSR in the fall of 1939 and of having permitted themselves to be tempted along the slippery road of an imperialist policy by Anglo-French promises of territorial recompenses in the Caucasus. Today Ankara knows that Molotov was right when he said in October, 1939, that with the conclusion of the Turkish-Anglo-French pact Turkey "entered the orbit of the developing European war." A year ago the Turkish Minister of Foreign Affairs declared that Turkey was not neutral but non-belligerent. Now he declares more cautiously and with close attention to the peace policy of the Soviet Union that Turkey has now a policy of "armed neutrality." But if the Balkans are drawn deeper into the war or remain as they are just on the verge of war and under the heavy shadow of its terror, the weight and the importance of the Soviet Union and her peace policy cannot but increase in the minds of the Balkan people.

THE SOVIET WOOING OF . . . .

PALESTINE

Russian-British Competition in the Middle East

ELIAHU BEN-HORIN

It is likely that from now on Americans will be more sharply observant of Soviet foreign policy than they have been in the past. For twenty years practically all discussion about the Soviet Union in the United States was devoted to the question of whether or not the Soviet "experiment" was the hope of mankind or a conspiracy of devils.

It is different now. The Soviet Union has ceased to be an experiment. Russia will emerge from the conflict the largest nation in the western world, the most spectacularly victorious and aggressive, and presumably the most expansionist in its foreign policy. From now on that foreign policy will be the concern of every American interested in the fate of the world—a world in which America finds itself constantly included.

By now Russia's intentions in respect to the Baltic states and Poland are tolerably clear. Russia's postwar predominance in the Balkans is accepted as a fact. But Russian plans about the Middle East are not clear at all. It is in this area that the aspirations of Russia and Great Britain conflict. Britain is satisfied if somehow the balance of power can be maintained on the Continent. There she will concede, compromise, or do whatever seems best. But in the Middle East she has no choice. That strategically placed area, linking three continents, dominating waterways and land routes alike, and controlling world communications and trade, has become the most important single area in the structure of the British Empire. As the London *Times* put it recently, "No single factor is more vital to Britain's status as a great power than her power and prestige in the Middle East. . . ."

Britain is not likely to become involved in a major conflict with Russia over Poland or Yugoslavia or any other Continental country. If these two powers do clash in the future, the Middle East will be directly or indirectly the bone of contention. Back in 1892, when old Russia wanted to stake a claim in the Middle East, Lord Curzon spoke out in unmistakable language: "It can only be prosecuted in the teeth of international morality, in defiance of civilized opinion, and with the ultimate certainty of a war with this country that would ring from pole to pole." Today, as in 1892, without the Middle East there is no British Empire.

Under these circumstances the recent rapprochement between Russia and Palestine merits more than casual notice, especially in view of the steady deterioration

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in British-Zionist relations. The Palestine policy of Great Britain, set forth in the White Paper of 1939, cancels past pledges and calls for a stoppage of Jewish immigration into Palestine. Furthermore, it severely restricts Jewish land purchase in ninety-five per cent of western Palestine. As a result, the Zionists and the Zionist supporters are up in arms against Britain's colonial policy, and the way is open to the Russians.

II

For years Zionism was taboo in Soviet Russia. All through the Bolshevist revolution, the Red terror, and afterwards, Zionism was persecuted more severely than any other national movement. The beloved epithet of the Soviet official literature and propaganda for the designation of Zionists was "the lackeys of British imperialism." Zionist leaders were sent to prison and Siberia, or driven out of the country. Furthermore, the Hebrew language held the distinction of being the only language considered by the Bolsheviks as counter-revolutionary *per se*. Hebrew, the language of the Bible, had been revived in Palestine and formed one of the main spiritual ingredients of Jewish national renaissance as sponsored by the Zionist movement. For this reason the Soviet regime, among the many languages spoken and studied by the peoples of Russia, officially outlawed Hebrew. In 1920 the Commissariat for Public Education issued an order prohibiting the teaching of Hebrew in all schools. Offenders were subject to imprisonment and exile. Needless to say, the Jewish religion was as relentlessly persecuted as other religions.

The reasons for the special attention paid by the Bolsheviks to the Jewish national movement were clear. From the Bolshevist viewpoint the Zionist enterprise in Palestine represented a deal between Jewish nationalism and British imperialism. There was no denying the fact that Zionism was to function under the aegis of Great Britain and in harmony with British imperial interests. Soviet Russia, on the other hand, laid much emphasis in those years on revolutionary propaganda among the backward masses of the East. In fact, for a number of years, the main efforts of the Comintern were directed toward the East, and this was the chief source of irritation in British-Soviet relations. Britain could not forgive the Moscow revolutionaries their attempts to undermine the established order and British prestige in Persia, India, Afghanistan, and other lands of the East and the Middle East.

With the liquidation of all internal anti-Bolshevist forces in Russia, Zionism had become the only movement with external connections officially maintaining a kind of an alliance with Great Britain. This in itself would suffice to prejudice the Soviet regime badly against Zionism. But there were also other factors at play. In February, 1917, after the democratic revolution in Russia, there was a burst of pro-Zionist sentiment among the millions of Russia's Jews. With the Bolshevist revolution the halfway ideologies and political parties lost all ground with Russian Jewry. Only two forces remained, competing for the souls of the Jews: Zionism and Bolshevism. Given an equal chance, Zionism would probably have won the day, both numerically and spiritually. But very soon Bolshevism had all the power, and Zionism was driven underground. The Communist Party, and particularly its "Jewish Section," entrusted with the management of Jewish affairs, never forgot nor forgave the Zionists their past competition.

In addition, the Soviet regime encountered considerable difficulty in applying the Bolshevist doctrine to Jewish realities in Russia. The three million Jews in Soviet Russia had no territory of their own. Accordingly, they could not be treated as a separate national group. On the other hand, however, they undoubtedly formed a very distinct group not easily assimilable among the Ukrainians, White Russians, Great Russians, and the other numerous peoples of the Soviet Union, among whom they lived as minorities. Traders and middle-class people in overwhelming majority, the Jews, given full equality of rights and economic opportunity by the new regime, soon flocked into the factories, free professions, government employment, the schools and universities. Anti-Semitism was outlawed by

the Soviet government, but there was little doubt that an increasingly disproportionate participation of the Jews in the government machinery and in free professions would lead to a new upsurge of anti-Jewish feelings. The Soviet government then decided to revise its Jewish policy, and embarked on an experiment which had all the earmarks of an imitation Zionism. They tried to establish autonomous Jewish settlements, first in the Crimea, then in Biro-Bidjan, which, if successful, would have brought about a territorial concentration of the Jews. The Crimean and Biro-Bidjan ventures failed, while at the same time the Zionist colonization in Palestine was flourishing. This added fuel to the flame of anti-Zionist feelings.

In line with this definite anti-Zionism of the Soviet government and Russia's natural objection to British predominance in the Middle East, Soviet Russia backed the Palestinian Arabs against the Jews. Comintern funds were lavishly spent to foster anti-Zionist and anti-British intrigues and revolts in Palestine. Acts of hooliganism and murder performed by Arab bands under the leadership of the Jerusalem ex-mufti were welcomed in official Bolshevist publications as legitimate deeds of "the vanguard of the Arab liberation movement fighting against British-Zionist capitalistic exploitation. . . ."

It seemed as if no bridge could ever be built over the abyss dividing Soviet Russia from Zionism.

III

It is a long way from Bolshevist political comment of this character to the remarks made in 1943 by a leading Soviet diplomat to a Jewish delegation. "Back in the twenties," he is reported to have said, "we could not but consider Zionism as an agency of British imperialism. And we were bound to treat you accordingly. Now, however," the Soviet diplomat continued, "the whole situation has changed. Not only Britain and Zionism seem to be at a constant variance, but our outlook, too, has undergone a serious evolution. Should Soviet Russia be interested in the future in the Middle East, it would be obvious that the advanced and progressive Jews of Palestine hold out much more promise for us than the backward Arabs controlled by feudal cliques of kings and effendis."

This was a very important pronouncement, and was soon followed by several other indications of Soviet Russia's changing interest in Palestine and Zionism. Early in October, 1943, Ivan Maisky, the former Soviet Ambassador to the Court of St. James's and now Vice-Commissar for Foreign Affairs, visited Palestine, a significant event in itself. It was the first time a Soviet dignitary had paid a visit to what the Russians had formerly called the land of "Zionist-British capitalistic exploitation." And it was not a purely formal visit. Mr. Maisky toured the Jewish colonies, settlements, and industries, and discussed with Zionist leaders the problem of Palestine's absorptive capacity and the postwar solution of the Jewish problem. There is little doubt that, upon his return to Moscow, he submitted a comprehensive report both on Jewish achievements in the Holy Land and on Palestine's potentialities. It is also worth mentioning that according to rumor Stalin raised the Palestinian question at the Teheran Conference, thus serving notice on Churchill that henceforth Soviet Russia is no longer disinterested in the future disposition of Palestine and the Middle East.

A series of earlier developments had helped to break the ice in Soviet-Zionist relations. With the German invasion of Russia and the marked changes of the spirit of the Soviet regime, Russian Jewry had been allowed—for the first time since the Bolshevist revolution—to acknowledge and openly proclaim the ties linking the Jews of Russia to world Jewry. If it were not for the fact that the progress of the war absorbed so great a share of popular interest, this revolutionary change in the Jewish policy of the Soviet regime would have, no doubt, attracted considerable excited attention. Appeals of Russian Jewry to world Jewry were published and given much prominence. Later, in June, 1943, a special Soviet Jewish delegation was dispatched to America and England. Even if their primary aim was to mobilize help for the Soviet Union, there remained the significant fact that they spoke "in behalf of the Jews of the

Soviet Union to their American brothers." In their numerous statements and speeches, in the United States and in England, the Soviet Jewish delegates spoke of that brotherhood as of an undeniable fact. One had to live through the revolution in Russia and closely follow the developments there since, as I did, to appreciate fully the significance of this change. Soviet delegates, whether Jewish or otherwise, do not indulge in impromptu pronouncements. What Professor Solomon Michoels and Colonel Itzik Feffer, the Soviet Jewish delegates, declared in New York had been previously approved by Moscow.

The Michoels-Feffer delegation was not the only expression of this radical change of attitude. The Soviet government has given numerous other signs of its mounting interest in Palestine. Late in 1943 it was announced that a special Soviet Jewish delegation may soon visit Palestine. Early in January, 1944, an exhibition showing the progress of Jewish colonization in Palestine was admitted into Russia. This in itself was an extraordinary concession to Zionism, as the Soviet government had not previously allowed any demonstration of Zionist achievements. The courtesy of the Soviet authorities went so far as to have the Palestinian exhibits flown in a Russian plane to Moscow. A few days later, Moscow announced the establishment of a special Bureau for Jewish Religious Affairs. Another small news item may be even more indicative of Russia's revived interest in the Middle East. Late in January, 1944, the Soviet government opened negotiations with the Egyptian government with regard to the status of eight hundred Russian Jews living in Egypt. If we bear in mind that these eight hundred Jews have been living in Egypt many years, the timing of the negotiations is not without interest.

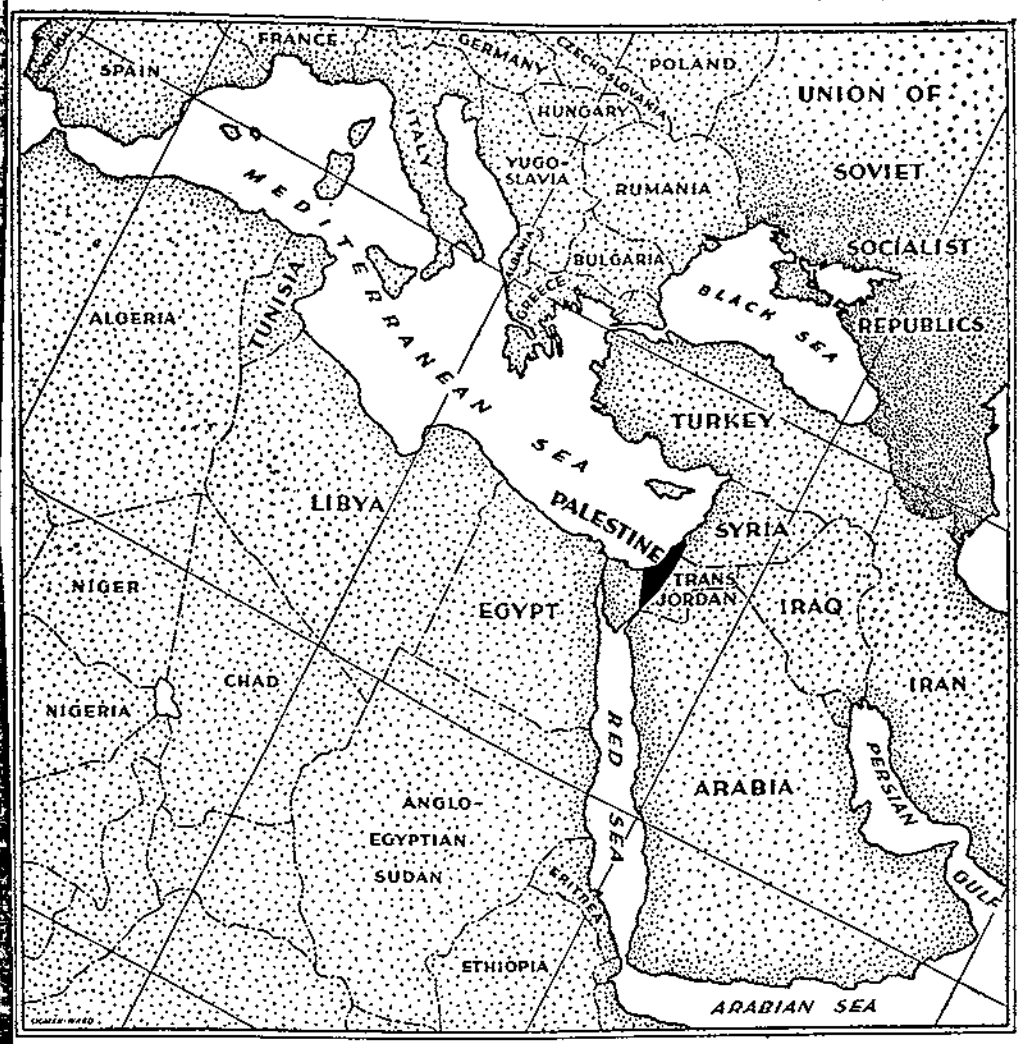
IV

AN OUTLET to the warm seas is one of the main traditional objectives of Russia's foreign policy, both in Europe and in Asia, where the policy dictated the acquisition of Port Arthur. No state of Russia's size and interests can agree to be at the mercy of another power in such a vital matter as free admission to the waterways of the world. This, however, is the situation in which Russia finds itself in southern Europe: the Bosporus, the only opening in the Black Sea, leading through the Sea of Marmora, the Dardanelles, and the Aegean to the Mediterranean, is controlled by Turkey. Hence the traditional and persistent scheming and fighting of Russia for the possession of the Straits, and Turkey's fear of Russia more than of any other power under the sun.

In the general postwar settlement, Russia may get a certain preferential position in the Straits that will safeguard the freedom of Russian navigation in war and peace, and secure the shores of the Black Sea. Soviet Russia may also succeed in obtaining free access to the Mediterranean via the Adriatic. If one assumes that Yugoslavia may be granted her demand for the annexation of Trieste and Fiume, and that postwar Yugoslavia will be both Pan-Slavic and pro-Soviet, Russia may be able to use the Yugoslav harbors almost as her own. Yet even under these very favorable circumstances Russia will still lack a foothold or a sphere of influence anywhere along the shores of the Mediterranean. Russia has no standing whatsoever either in Africa or in the Middle East.

As it is today, the Mediterranean is likely to be after this war, more than ever before, a "mare nostrum" of Britain. With the collapse of Mussolini's empire, Britain took full possession of all ex-Italian colonies in Northern Africa, including Abyssinia. AMG administration, based on an American-British partnership and envisaging a wider co-operation of all Allied powers, was introduced in Sicily and Italy, namely in liberated Europe, not in Africa. There the administration is exclusively British. Abyssinia, by the terms of her treaty with Great Britain, was made practically a British protectorate.

A look at the map will make clear the unbroken line of Britain's complete predominance in the Mediterranean up to the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf. From Tunisia all along the African coast to the Suez Canal, then along the Canal and the Red Sea to the Arabian Sea, the whole area will be under British control. The same applies to the strategically placed



PALESTINE: COLLISION POINT OF EMPIRE

slands in the Mediterranean and to Palestine. Furthermore Syria and Lebanon, with the weakening of French prestige and influence, are bound to depend on Britain and fall under her influence. The map also shows that in the general Middle Eastern picture, Palestine occupies a position of singular strategic importance. Palestine, small as it is in size, is the virtual link between the three continents; it not only lies on the Mediterranean but is close to the Suez Canal; it serves as an outlet for Arabian oil and is the natural harbor for all the outgoing and incoming trade.

It is obvious that any demand by Russia for a share in the African continent would encounter great opposition on the part of Britain and the other powers dominating Africa. This opposition would be strengthened by the fact that Russia never had any interests in Africa and has no direct maritime access to Africa. One may assume that Russia will not raise such demands at present.

The situation is totally different as far as the Middle East is concerned. The Middle East offers to Russia all she wants—a foothold on the Mediterranean, a central place in world trade and communications, and an enviable strategic position. The southeastern possessions of Russia extend to the borders of the Middle East. Russia is the only great power situated so close to the Middle East. Furthermore Russia has always been very active in Persia, where she has had con-

siderable political and economic interests. As to Palestine, prior to the revolution Russia was very diligent in building religious institutions there. The number of Russian pilgrims to the Holy Places was very large in pre-Bolshevist days.

Certain other objective conditions may favor a Russian penetration via Palestine into the Middle East. One of them is the social structure of the Jewish colonization in Palestine; another is a matter of language and culture.

The Jewish colonization in Palestine was predominantly socialistic in character. Many agricultural settlements are built either on communal or co-operative principles. In fact, Palestine can boast of better achievements in the field of economic communism than Soviet Russia. Certainly the "Kwutzah" settlements in Palestine, based on absolute comity of property and income, were a more perfect performance than the "Kolkhoz" in Soviet Russia. In industry, transport, banking, and trade, co-operative methods also were widely applied. The labor movement is strong in Palestine, and the Labor Party is predominant in world Zionism. If Palestine were independently Jewish today, she would have, like Australia and New Zealand, a Labor government.

The second consideration, language and cultural heritage, is also of importance. Of the 550,000 Jews in Palestine, those born in Russia or in countries of Russian culture form probably the largest group among the foreign born. Russian is still widely spoken and read in Palestine. A Paris Russian newspaper—the *Posledniya Novosti*, edited by the late Paul Miliukov—before the war had a daily circulation of about 8,000 in Palestine, which approximately equaled the average circulation of a Hebrew daily in Palestine. The Zionist leaders of distinction, almost without exception, have been Russian born. In the past there were Vladimir Jabotinsky, Nahum Sokolov, Leo Motzkin, and Menahem Ussishkin—all Russian Jews, as are Chaim Weitzmann, David Ben-Gurion, and most of the other contemporary leaders of Palestinian Jewry. If language and culture have had a share in America's alliance with Great Britain in this war, they may yet play a part in Russian-Jewish rapprochement over Palestine.

In conclusion, one more factor, and not the least important, should be mentioned. Unfortunately, British imperialistic policy has been disposed to align itself with the most reactionary and backward elements in the colonial world. In the Middle East, British conservatives have preferred an alliance with the feudalistic cliques of Arab notables to an alliance with the European colonizer, the Jew. These circumstances may push Soviet Russia into an active alliance with Palestinian Jewry, giving unconditional support for a Jewish Palestine. By pursuing such a policy, Soviet Russia might not only gain the everlasting gratitude of many Jewish groups throughout the world and the approval of the various nations in Europe interested in the emigration of the Jews living in their countries, but would also create for itself an excellent position in the Middle East.

The latter argument would probably count most in the calculations of the Soviet statesmen.

GOVERNMENTS-IN-EXILE *in* *Crisis*

by LOUIS DOLIVET

"COME in, Mr. Ambassador from the Underground."

The doors of foreign offices and of the state departments of the United Nations are being opened more and more widely to the most extraordinary ambassadors representing the most extraordinary political power that has ever existed—the Underground. Under the cover of darkness emissaries from the Underground are arriving in Cairo, Moscow, London, Algiers and in neutral cities. They come with ragged clothing—sometimes with torn bodies—but they are coming in greater and greater numbers.

These ambassadors do not come alone. They are being joined by men who have traveled by different roads but who have taken the same risks—military attachés, representatives from the Underground's secret service and its departments of economic warfare. These diplomatic missions do not represent regular governments but they control a given territory and represent harassed men and women, each of whom is destined to die if captured by the Axis or its puppet authorities. And, though they represent no government, their voice is beginning to be more respected than that of many a government. The influence of these diplomatic missions is very great with the major United Nations but it is even greater with the governments of their own countries. There is no more important visitor to General De Gaulle or President Benes, to the Prime Minister of Norway or Belgium, than the representatives of the Underground. Despite the fact that the representatives of the Underground sometimes bring with them bitter criticisms of this or that government policy they are always welcome in any government headquarters because the very fact that they are still arriving is proof that the ties with the people at home have not been broken. Unhappy are those governments-in-exile which no longer receive criticisms from the Underground, which are no longer visited by these extraordinary diplomatic missions from people in bondage.

Within the last few months, even before the Allied armies had set foot upon the decisive bridgeheads leading to the heart of Europe, some of the governments-in-exile were already tottering badly. One can easily imagine what the situation will be like in the coming months when military and political events crash like an avalanche, sweeping before them everything not firmly built on the only solid and lasting foundation there can be for a government—the confidence of the people.

A superficial examination of this situation might lead to the conclusion that the governments-in-exile are of no great importance and that the best way to handle the present situation would be for the major powers to act in line with their own aspirations and, while bowing politely to the governments-in-exile, to take no real notice of them.

But such a conclusion would be completely wrong; because in no case can the major United Nations governments make decisions for other peoples without their consent. Therefore the question remains: with whom should the major powers negotiate? Should they limit themselves to dealing with the established and recognized governments-in-exile or should they get in touch with the representatives of the various Underground movements?

There is no doubt that the governments-in-exile rendered invaluable service to the Allied cause when in 1940, despite the apparent hopelessness of the situation, they preferred continuing the fight beside the Allies to coming to an understanding with Germany. The decision of the various governments-in-exile to go to London then showed great courage. It was not a gay trip to security and comfort. It was a dangerous undertaking, both the trip and the stay in London.

Therefore the governments-in-exile cannot simply be tossed aside now when their usefulness is not as great as it was at one time. Those who have rendered services must receive the political recompense they deserve; and the United Nations should not hesitate to let the people of the occupied countries know the services rendered by the governments-in-exile. This recognition, however, must not lead us to ignore the political realities within the various countries; it must not transform gratitude into servitude on the part of both the major powers and the respective peoples.

Distinctions among the Various Governments-in-Exile

THE situation of the various governments-in-exile differs so far as their legal, political and international policies are concerned. Only four governments-in-exile—those of Norway, Belgium, Holland and Luxemburg—can be considered, from a strictly legal point of view, as democratic governments continuing the functions with which they were entrusted by their respective parliaments.

The situation, however, becomes much more complicated when we analyze the governments of Yugoslavia, Greece and Poland. The last "legal" Yugoslav Government, presided over by the pro-fascist Stoyadinovich, was itself, from a parliamentary point of view, illegal because it was a continuation from King Alexander's coup d'état of 1929. This government was overthrown in 1939 by Cvetkovich. Then in 1941, through a pro-Allied military coup d'état, a new government was established under the Presidency of General Simovich. It was this government which went into exile and which, after many modifications, became the present government-in-exile, headed by Bozidar Pouritch. Despite the fact that this government was recognized by the Allies it suffered from the very beginning from a number of handicaps, especially from the hostility displayed by the people—not only by Croats and Slovenes but also by Serbs, who were dissatisfied with the absolutist, monarchic regime and the pro-fascist government it supported. General Mikhailovich, whose announced determination to resist the Germans and their Serbian and Croatian satellites in the beginning aroused a certain measure of popular enthusiasm, quickly lost the sympathies of the people. These were soon transferred to Marshal Tito's dynamic and democratic movement.

The Yugoslav Government-in-Exile, stubbornly refusing to cope with the new situation, continued to recognize and to back its Minister of War, General Mikhailovich, in spite of his inactivity and his treasonable dealings with the enemy and its puppets.

The Greek Government-in-Exile is in a similar position. As the successor to the cruel and hated dictatorship of Metaxas it must pay for the faults of the past. And the King, who has never been very popular in Greece, is especially under attack. The most important Greek Underground forces are as determined to oppose the return of the King and of his henchmen as they are to fight Germany. Almost all the political Underground leaders to come out of Greece recently have made it clear to the British and other Allied authorities that the Greek people want to determine their fate during the absence of the King; they are unwilling to risk even his temporary return. The struggle among the various Greek Underground groups should not be held against the Greeks but against some of the Allied leaders who favor King George for reasons which they alone understand.

The Polish Government-in-Exile is also the "legal" successor to the dictatorial regimes of Pilsudski and Beck (which took office in 1926 and 1935 respectively). True, the present Polish Government includes many more liberal elements than have any of the regimes since Pilsudski. The Prime Minister, Mikolajczyk, is the leader of the Peasant party, which has always had strongly democratic leanings. An important number of other democratic leaders, socialists

and trade unionists are represented in the Polish Government in London. Nevertheless its position is complicated by its inclusion of General Sosnokowsky as Minister of War—a man whose pro-fascist sympathies are well known.

It is understandable that many democratic elements inside and outside Poland fear lest men like General Sosnokowsky and the other innumerable fascist officers and officials in the Polish hierarchy will not remain faithful to their present apparent democratic allegiance and that, once back in Poland, they will return to the Pilsudski or other backward methods. The Polish Government-in-Exile's position is further complicated by Russia's opposition to the presence of any anti-Russian element within the Polish Government. Moreover the Polish Underground is divided, with one element supporting the Polish Government-in-Exile and the other rallying around the pro-Soviet Union of Polish Patriots.

From a strictly legal point of view the positions of the Government of the Czecho-Slovakian Republic, presided over by Eduard Benes, and that of the French Committee of Liberation, presided over by De Gaulle, are highly complicated. President Benes resigned after Munich and his present government is an outgrowth of the Czechoslovak National Committee, established in Paris in 1939. But, despite the legal difficulty, there is no doubt that President Benes and his government enjoy the confidence of the people and that they can unhesitatingly be entrusted to direct the affairs of Czechoslovakia during the transition period and until elections can be held freely. President Benes' popularity in his own country, strong in the past, has grown during the years of exile. The majority of his countrymen do not recognize his resignation as valid, because they feel that it was not caused by a lack of confidence on the part of the people or by an electoral defeat. It came as a result of the catastrophic policy adopted by the Western democracies at Munich.

The position of the Czechoslovak Government is stronger than that of the French Committee of National Liberation because it is recognized by the United Nations as a full-fledged government.

The French Committee of National Liberation, the outgrowth of a one-man decision taken in June 1940 to resist the Bordeaux and Vichy Governments of Pétain, cannot claim any legal continuity with the past. But, without any doubt, the Committee of National Liberation represents the will of the Underground and that of the majority of the people of France. The very fact that General de Gaulle and his Committee have recognized the French constitution and republican institutions as their basic code of law has established a *de facto* legal continuity with the past. The continuation of uninterrupted resistance, the support given the Allied military effort by the Committee and De Gaulle's faithful adherence to French traditions are further evidence of the fact that this Committee is maintaining the legal continuity of France in the international scene.

Despite the fact that the French Committee of National Liberation enjoys only restricted recognition from the United Nations governments, every day brings fresh evidence that it is perfectly well fitted to prepare, in cooperation with the Consultative Assembly of Algiers, the necessary instrumentalities for a free expression of the will of the French people, once the enemy is driven out. The very fact that General de Gaulle and the Algiers authorities are doing their utmost to keep in daily contact with the Underground and to respect its will guarantees the integration of the Algiers institution with the French Republic. An analysis of the political background of most of the members of the Committee of National Liberation and of the Consultative Assembly indicates that those men will never accept any departure from traditional French democracy.

The Crisis is Reduced to Three Governments-in-Exile

IT is evident from the foregoing that Yugoslavia, Greece and Poland are the real problem-countries.

In the case of Yugoslavia the Allies are more and more coming to realize that the only genuine military and political entity in that country is the federative regime established by Tito. The sooner the Allies recognize the forces which Tito represents

the better it will be for the Allied cause. The Tito regime will certainly accept any suggestions for broadening its political structure to include all of the democratic elements within Yugoslavia. But no reproach should be leveled against its refusal to cooperate with the ultra-reactionary forces clustering around General Mikhailovich and now represented in Cairo.

As for Greece, the present formula cannot last long. It is vitally important that the Allies help establish a democratic regime representative of the various militant Underground forces. King George would do very well not to try to force the issue—to resign himself to the fact that his dealings with Metaxas have lost him popular support, perhaps forever.

The Polish Government-in-Exile, too, must realize that it will be increasingly difficult to maintain a coalition of democratic elements and of the pro-fascist forces to which Soviet Russia and sectors of the Polish people are opposed. The best course, for the Allies and for the Polish Government itself, would be to get rid of these pro-fascist elements and reach an agreement with Soviet Russia. Such an understanding is of vital importance to Poland's future.

Many people are surprised that liberal public opinion does not place greater credence in repeated declarations from the Yugoslav, Greek and Polish Governments promising to respect the will of the people as expressed in free elections after Germany's defeat. All who know the political history of the last two decades should understand the deep popular mistrust of any, however high-sounding, promise which emanates from representatives of the old regime.

The Greek and Yugoslav and Polish peoples have so often been disillusioned, they have endured so much from regimes which were virtually as cruel as that of the Nazis, that they will no longer accept promises from men whom they know to have violated guarantees time and again. The United Nations will reap no benefit from allying themselves with reactionary forces which have never been particularly helpful in any attempt at serious international cooperation or the protection of human rights and dignity—which on the contrary, have subjected minorities to brutal persecution and have refused their own peoples the right to criticize governmental institutions.

The popular upheaval against the Axis is more than a revolt against the outside enemy; it is also marked by a strong admixture of revolt against internal oppression. Anyone failing to understand this aspect of the nature of the Underground risks making a tragic mistake. This popular revolt is not directed against this or that man in a given government; the people are struggling to put an end to governmental methods and institutions which have deprived them of even a minimum of freedom and happiness. Slight alterations in the structure of this or that government will not help bring about the fundamental change desired by the overwhelming majority of the men and women of Europe.

Whether they like it or not the major United Nations powers are in a position where they must make up their minds on the fundamental political issues and decide whether they are ready to transform the theory of democracy—which is the basic foundation of the anti-Axis alliance—into a political reality. In the case of Greece, Yugoslavia and Poland the United Nations —particularly the big powers—must act as a unit in helping to effectuate solutions which will contribute to winning the war and winning the peace alike. Those solutions can be found only in the establishment of truly democratic regimes.

The peoples of the United States and Great Britain should not look upon the crises of these various countries with dismay or irony. Nothing is more painful to representatives from unhappy, poor and struggling countries than slighting comments such as "political mess" or "they don't know what they want themselves." The peoples of those countries do know what they want. They want that same freedom and security which other, happier peoples enjoy. They are not the only peoples marked by political divisions. The spectacle of deep political cleavages is to be seen in every country. It is only that in the tortured countries of Europe the political rifts go deeper because the anti-democratic elements have employed methods of violence and terror to silence the people. But those people are our allies. They are the only allies, and the best allies, the United Nations have in this war.

A Message To Soviet Jews

Jewish Writers and Artists send greetings to the Anti-Fascist Committee

THE Committee of Jewish Writers, Artists and Scientists, born and forged in the sacred flames of the anti-fascist war, extends the hand of solidarity and comradeship to our brother Jews in the Soviet Union, on the occasion of the plenary session of the Jewish Anti-Fascist Committee.

The Jews of America, in common with the entire American nation and the democratic peoples of the world, are profoundly grateful to the masterful and magnificent Red Army for its singular and outstanding role in the war of the United Nations against the Hitlerite masters. The sustained and titanic offensive of the Red Army which has beaten the Nazi armies to the verge of collapse and which has driven the Hitlerites beyond the Western Bug, the Carpathians and the Pruth, has paved the way for the complete destruction of the Nazi enemy. The entire civilized world owes a special debt of gratitude to the Red Army and the Soviet Union.

We American Jews are proud of our Jewish brothers and sisters in the Soviet Union who, united with all the Soviet peoples, have played such an honorable part in the fight for the liberation and security of the Jewish people and humanity the world over. Through you we embrace the united Jewish people of the Soviet Union, who have inspired the Jews throughout the world by their vanguard role on the battlefields, on the home front and in the guerilla bands, in the fight for the survival and the future of the Jewish people.

Your passionate messages to the Jews the world over for unity to destroy Hitlerism have strengthened the fighting spirit and the unity of the American Jews. We speak to you as brothers in arms, as partners and collaborators. Our practical collaboration was sealed in the hearts and minds of hundreds of thousands of American Jews of all walks of life and of different political tendencies by your magnificent delegation, consisting of Professor Solomon Michoels and Lt. Col. Itzik Feffer, to the United States.

As you know, the Committee of Jewish Writers, Artists and Scientists was born in the midst of the war, in response to the first appeal to the Jews of the world by the Jewish Anti-Fascist Committee in the Soviet Union. At that time we started to build a bridge to unite the two greatest Jewish communities in the world, the American Jews and the Soviet Jews. This effort was fully in keeping with the interests, the needs and the policies of our Government and your Government, who at Teheran, forged a fighting alliance in the war and common agreement for continued cooperation for generations to come. Since then the bridge has become a broad and mighty two-way road.

The activities of our Committee were instrumental in the creation of the Jewish Council for Russian War Relief—with which we maintain the most cooperative relations—a representative Jewish organization uniting every single section of American Jewish life, with the absence only of the clique which dominates the Jewish Daily "Forward." Nobody is absent from the Jewish Council of Russian War Relief or from the Committee of Jewish Writers and Artists because of any hesitation, reluctance or refusal on our part to unite all forces in American Jewish life in the cause to which we are dedicated. Our Committee is an embodiment of all-inclusive Jewish unity, embracing every anti-fascist force and tendency in the American Jewish community.

It was our honor to sponsor the tour of Professor Michoels and Itzik Feffer in the United States. Their visit to America immediately revealed the love of American Jews for the Soviet Union and the desire of the American Jews to collaborate with the Jews in your country. At their first public appearance in the United States, Michoels and Feffer were greeted by the largest gathering of Jews which ever assembled in New York City—by 47,000 Jews in the Polo Grounds. Michoels and Feffer spoke to audiences of hundreds of thousands of Jews through the length and breadth of the United States and met with respresentatives of various Jewish organizations in our country.

All sections of American Jewish life united to greet the delegation of the Jewish Anti-Fascist Committee. The response to the work of our Committee by the leading writers, artists, scientists, community leaders in the United States, workers, religious Jews, Zionists and non-Zionists, proves that those few who persist in their hostility to cooperation with the Soviet Union and the Soviet Jews, do not speak for the great masses of Jewish people in the United States.

During the tour of Michoels and Feffer, which was sponsored jointly by our Committee and the Jewish Council of Russian War Relief, American Jews con-

New Masses, Dec. 26, 1944 p. 26, col. 3-5

tributed $150,000 to the Jewish Council of Russian War Relief. Since the tour of Michoels and Feffer the Jewish Council has continued to grow and expand and is increasingly winning the support and help of the major Jewish organizations in the United States.

In our tribute to, and publicizing of, the anti-Nazi achievements and contributions of the Soviet Jews our chief concern has always been to arouse the American Jews to make their greatest contribution to victory. Your efforts have been an inspiration to us in the enhancement of our contribution to the entire American nation's participation in the war of the United Nations and your glorious example of all-inclusive unity has inspired our efforts here.

To bring our program to the American Jews our Committee now publishes a Yiddish magazine "Einikeit", copies of which must have reached you already. "Einikeit" aims to reflect the anti-fascist sentiments, activities and tasks of the American Jews.

At the same time our Committee has taken over the publication of the monthly English magazine "New Currents." Leading Yiddish writers and Jewish writers whose language is English are contributing to those two journals and are participating in the work of our Committee.

The last Conference of the members of the Committee of Jewish Writers and Artists met shortly after the historic conference between the leader of our country, President Roosevelt, the leader of your country, Premier Stalin and the British leader, Prime Minister Churchill. Our Committee recognized the deep and fargoing significance of the decisions of the Teheran Conference for joint military action in the East, the West and the South, for the speedy winning of the war and for lasting collaboration to win a durable peace. The road charted at Teheran is the only road which leads to any secure future for the Jewish people, to the realization of the national rights of the Jewish people, and the outlawing of anti-Semitism. Our Committee has decided to do everything in its power to popularize the decisions of the Teheran Conference and explain their significance to the Jewish people, and is helping to rally the American Jews to support and help carry out these fateful decisions. In the spirit of Teheran we look forward to lasting collaboration between the American Jews and the Soviet Jews long after the fascist armies will have been destroyed.

One of the practical fruits of the visit of Michoels and Feffer in the United States was the agreement to join with the Jewish Anti-Fascist Committee in the preparation of the Black Book, the Jewish indictment of the Nazis for their multitudinous crimes. You have paid a heavier price in lives and blood than any other people to the Nazi Moloch. Your statements, and the speeches of Michoels and Feffer in the United States, have brought to every American Jew a deeper consciousness of the inhuman, unprecedented ghastliness of the Nazi tortures of the Jewish people. Together with you, we solemnly pledge that we shall not rest until all of the foul crimes of the Nazi fiends are properly avenged. The preparation of the Black Book of World Jewry against the Nazi criminals occupies a central position in our program of work. When Michoels and Feffer were in America, both the Committee of Jewish Writers and Artists and the World Jewish Congress agreed to cooperate with the Jewish Anti-Fascist Committee and with representatives of Jewish communities of other countries to prepare the material for the Black Book. The Committee of Jewish Writers and Artists is proceeding with its preparations for the Black Book and is looking forward to the cooperation of the World Jewish Congress, so that widespread activities can be initiated among the American Jews to rally support for the Black Book. We hope to be able to report progress in this direction in the immediate future.

Friends and dupes of Hitler in America, enemies of the Teheran decisions, foes of American-Soviet collaboration and opponents of President Roosevelt's war program are fomenting anti-Semitism in our country. We are supporting agencies in America which have launched a growing movement to combat anti-Semitism in our country.

Our Committee, at its last Conference, launched a campaign to help reconstruct the Jewish libraries destroyed by the Nazi foes of culture, by replenishing the books with the assistance of the American Jews.

The last conference of the Committee of Jewish Writers and Artists joined with the entire Jewish community in the United States in calling for the abrogation of the Chamberlain White Paper.

The Committee of Jewish Writers and Artists is vitally interested in facilitating the rescue of as many Jewish people as possible from the clutches of the Nazi sadists. We recognize that the rescue of Jews cannot be separated from the winning of the war. The surest way to rescue the Jewish people is to hasten the total extermination of Nazis. At the same time, we recognize that with concentration and effort there are Jews in Europe who can be rescued now. We hail the efforts of President Roosevelt, a great champion of the Jewish people, who has set up a War Refugee Board in the United States, and who recently warned the peoples in the Hitler-occupied countries of Europe

TO SOVIET JEWS

(Continued from page 17)

that all those committing crimes against the Jewish people will be punished. The American Jews and the Jews of the world will cherish eternal gratitude to the Soviet Union for its epic rescue of approximately two million Jews in the midst of your heroic war against the Nazis. The Committee of Jewish Writers and Artists pledges to bring the full story of this unprecedented feat of human rescue to the entire Jewish community of America.

Together with the great majority of American Jewry we look forward with anticipation and eagerness to the decisions of your plenum and we pledge to continue our efforts to cement the unbreakable unity of action and purpose of the Jewish people of our country and yours.

COMMITTEE OF JEWISH WRITERS AND ARTISTS.
Albert Einstein, Sholem Asch, Benzion Goldberg.

ALLIED UNITY MOTIF OF SOVIET MAY DAY

Speakers Also Will Stress Isolation of Germany as a Basis of Russian Policy

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By Wireless · THE NEW YORK TIMES.

MOSCOW, April 29—The dominant themes for Russia's third wartime observance of May Day are that the Soviet Union is fully committed to the principles of the Moscow and Teheran conferences and is doing everything possible to fulfill the decisions taken there; that Russia is seeking to strengthen its coalition with Britain and the United States and to anticipate the enemy's attempts to sew discord between the Allies, and that the Soviet Union aims at a diplomatic wall of military isolation for Germany.

This outline of foreign policy is being given to tens of thousands of speakers who will address meetings Monday. It appears in the May Day handbook issued in an edition of 178,000 by the propaganda and agitation department of the Moscow Communist party.

Other features of guidance to speakers in the article, written by Dmitry Z. Manuilsky, former member of the Comintern and an old Bolshevik, are the following:

"The Red Army sees its duty today to clear the enemy completely from Soviet soil, to pursue and defeat its armed forces not only on the territory of satellite and occupied lands but in Germany itself and, in close cooperation with the Allies, to complete their destruction.

Reconstruction Urgent

"Two current tasks for Soviet workers are an increase in labor productivity to lay the foundations for a post-war economy by hastening capital construction and to speed reconstruction in liberated regions, which, despite the development of the Urals, Siberia and Kazakhstan, are of prime importance to the Soviet war effort.

"The Germans still pursuing their plans to spin out of the war. They are trying to mislead public opinion in Britain and the United States by explaining that their defeat in the east is due to their preoccupation in the west, hoping thus to delay the opening of a second front in western Europe. They are specially aiming at making the war last until the Presidential elections in the United States, hoping thus to handicap President Roosevelt. They hope to rally the support of elements in America and elsewhere opposed to the bombing of Germany. They are relying on Polish reactionaries to cloud inter-Allied relations. They are continuing to play their main card—the Bolshevik bogy."

The speakers who follow the Manuilsky line, however, will say that all the leaders and men in responsible positions in Europe are astute enough to see through the German plans.

Peaceful Aims Underlined

They will cite the Soviet handling of the Rumanian, Polish and Finish situation as evidence of the futility of the enemy's charges that the Soviet Union has an aggressive or Bolshevizing policy, and will point to the treaty with Czechoslovakia as evidence of Russia's desire to establish relations of mutual benefit with small border States.

They will cite the recent agreement with Japan as an outstanding Soviet diplomatic success and the handling of the Italian situation as having been motivated solely by the importance of raising the value of Italy's contribution to the war effort.

Gen. Draja Mikhailovitch, head of the Royal Yugoslav forces, will brand as one in the enemy's service—"a piece of orange peel the Germans hoped the Allies would slip on."

In short, the Soviet public this May Day will be told that inter-Allied relations are flourishing and that the enemy is taking signally to sow discord.

Moscow in Gay Spirits

MOSCOW, April 29 (AP)—Flags flying from every official building and thousands of apartment houses literally wrapped Moscow in red today as the Russians prepared to celebrate the happiest May Day since the war started.

Residents have donned their best clothes, theatres are packed and thousands are visiting stores, buying for the holidays, which will be observed Monday and Tuesday.

"We are selling every kind of article," one manager said. "Our people will have the best celebration this May Day since Hitler invaded us. There will be many banquets. I know. I see the food they are buying."

On this, the twenty-seventh May Day celebration observed officially in the Soviet Union, the Russians will have many reasons to celebrate. Leningrad, Novgorod, Smolensk, Kiev, Odessa and most of the Crimea, the Ukraine and White Russia have been won back from the Germans and the Red Army is fighting in Rumania and at the entrances of Czechoslovakia.

Since 1899 when the International Congress of Socialists at Paris established May 1 as an international working class holiday, it has been observed here, but in the early days it was accompanied by strikes and bloodshed. May Day strikes and demonstrations before the revolution became a political school for millions of toilers.

This is a clipping from page 16 of the New York Times for April 30, 1944
Clipped at the Seat of Government.

U.S. PRIEST MARKS DECADE IN MOSCOW

Rev. Leopold Braun Tells of Roman Catholics in Red Army Coming to Worship

By RALPH PARKER

By Wireless to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

MOSCOW, April 29—Ten years of uninterrupted ministration to Moscow's Roman Catholics is the record of the Rev. Leopold Braun of the Augustinian Order of the Assumption. The 40-year-old native of Massachusetts is priest of the Saint Luis des Français Church, built on land granted to the French Catholics of Moscow by Catherine II in the eighteenth century.

Sent to Moscow as a result of the religious protocol to the mueual recognition agreement signed on Nov. 16, 1933, by former Foreign Commissar Maxim M. Litvinoff and President Roosevelt, Father Braun, as spiritual adviser to American Catholics in the U.S.S.R., succeeded to the apostolic administration when Mgr. P. Eugene Neveu, French Bishop in the U.S.S.R. left in 1936, and took sole charge of the French church, a small graystone building in central Moscow, attended traditionally by the French Embassy and today by Roger Garreau's Free French diplimatic mission.

Here in an unbroken sequence every Sunday Father Braun has held two services 9 o'clock for English-speaking worshippers and an hour later for Russian and French speaking Catholics. Father Braun is also a fine German scholar.

Requiem for Warriors

Every morning at 8 the church is open. It is visited on weekdays mainly by Moscow office workers. The first Monday of each month the priest holds divine services for the souls of deceased combatants.

Father Braun, high-strung, scholarly son of a composer, Leon P. Braun, has had opportunities for seeing contemporary Russian life granted to few foreigners. He estimates that there are about 25,000 Catholics in the Moscow area, some descendants of French Eighteenth-Century settlers but the majority Russians, White Russians and Ukrainians.

Thus the Sunday congregations at Saint Louis des Français are cosmopolitan, including about twenty members of the United States Embassy and Maj. Gen. John R. Deane's American military mission as well as many members of the swelling number of Moscow's other foreign diplomatic missions.

Father Braun told me this evening that his Russian worshippers included members of the Red Army. Several of his former altar boys are officers in the services, he added. Believers travel 200 to 300 miles with their children for christenings and confirmation and he has regular visits to the confessional from Red Army men on leave from the front.

Aided by City Authorities

Municipal authorities showed him the greatest courtesy in enabling him to administer the sacraments to Russians in hospitals, Father Braun said. He has officiated at funeral services for believers on consecrated ground given by Catherine II for burial at the Moscow suburb of Lefortova.

The priest said that he had noted a powerful recrudesence of faith and more intense appeal to moral virtues during this war. His church is crowded every Sunday.

The Soviet Government, he said, is faithfully carrying out the conditions of the Washington protocol, which guaranteed that there would be no molestation of any American Catholic priest in Moscow on account of religious status.

Father Braun, who has quarters in the French Embassy building, in other respects lives a life much closer to that of the average Russian than of a foreign diplomat. He is not a member of the diplomatic corps and hence is not in the category of persons entitled to generous rations that Soviet authorities give diplomats.

in Like ordinary citizens here, he has to spend considerable time coping with the day-to-day problems created by the war. The task of keeping his church heated and lighted in the early stages of the war when Moscow was hard pressed was not easy.

The priest stayed on in Moscow when the diplomats quit the city in the fall of 1941, and kept his church open.

The war has brought to the Soviet Union several Catholic colleagues for Father Braun. Each division in Gen. Zigizmund Berling's Polish Army in Russia has a Catholic chaplain. One of them called on Father Braun. The Yugoslav volunteer unit has a Catholic among its three spiritual advisers. Travelers from Odessa have said that the Rumanians instaled two Catholic priests who offiiciated after the Russian liberation of the city.

This is a clipping from page 17 of the New York Times for April 30 1944
Clipped at the Seat of Government.

NASH URGES RUSSIA TO REJOIN THE ILO

World Group Cannot Function Without Soviet Affiliation, He Says at Philadelphia

ITALY'S PLEA TO GO OVER

Britain Proposes Committees of Employers, Workers to Aid Living Standards

By WALTER W. RUCH
Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

PHILADELPHIA, April 28—Declaring that the International Labor Oroganization simply could not function for any length of time without the affiliation of the Soviet Union, Walter Nash, president of the International Labor Conference, delivered a strong plea today for Russia to come back into the ILO.

Mr. Nash indicated, however, that he had little hope that Russia would resume its role as a member of the ILO until the world organization of the United Nations had been established with the ILO as an affiliate. This was one of the conditions for Russia's return as contained in an editorial published earlier this week by Izvestia, official Soviet newspaper.

Unlike the attempts of the British and American Governments to persuade Russia to send a delegation to the current conference, Mr. Nash's statement represented the first direct attempt by a conference authority to bring the Soviet Union back into the fold. It was delivered to about forty correspondents representing newspapers throughout the world.

Calls Editorial Conciliatory

Asserting that the Izvestia editorial, contrary to original reports based upon excerpts, was "conciliatory" and an "appreciation of the ILO," Mr. Nash said that it Russia cabled tonight that she wished to re-enter the ILO he would use all of his power to speed an acceptance through the conference.

"I'd say, 'Come along.' There might be some debate about it, but I don't think so," Mr. Nash said.

"The ILO can't work without the Soviet Union. The ILO can't work indefinitely without the membership of any one important nation, but it would be almost impossible to get along without the Soviet Union."

Mr. Nash stated that an examination of the complete text of the Izvestia editorial showed that Russia had not called the ILO a "bankrupt" association of nations, but had merely quoted an independent author who had made such an observation.

Russia, he said, did not suggest that the workers' delegation be increased to equal the total of the government and employers' delegations—that is, three, instead of one workers' delegate to match government's two and the employers' one. The editorial, he stated, again was only quoting another source.

About the only obstacle, Mr. Nash declared, was the fact that the ILO was affiliated with the League of Nations instead of with the United Nations.

Nash Looks to the Future

"When the war is over, we'll have a United Nations' organization," he said. "It looks as if when we are affiliated with it, Russia will come back into the ILO."

Mr. Nash said that as opposed to the League of Nations, which did not make a test of the character of the government of the member nations, the United Nation's post-war organization should be composed only of those democratic countries which fought for freedom.

Turning to the application of the Italian government headed by Marshal Pietro Badoglio for readmission to the ILO, Mr. Nash indicated that no action would be taken on the matter at this conference. The note from Marshal Badoglio would be acknowledged by the governing body, he intimated, and that would be the end of it until another session.

In the meantime, the British Government, through Sir Frederick William Leggett, a government delegate, announced that it would propose the establishment of joint committees on an international basis made up of employers and workers for each major industry with a view to guaranteeing certain minimum living standards for the world.

The details of the plan were announced following their submission to the governing body of the ILO at a meeting in London three years ago.

Each committee would make recommendations periodically to the governing body, with the proposals to be carried out through the machinery of the ILO. The aim of the committees, Sir Frederick said, would be to raise working standards in the matter of wages and health and allied subjects.

Howard Myers, American employers delegate and connected with the Committee for Economic Development, introduced before the Employment Committee a two-point resolution on the attainment of full employment and production. The resolution calls upon each government to formulate now a comprehensive program for prompt and cheerly reconversion and economic expansion to be put into effect as war needs diminish, and to take all appropriate measures to maintain a high level of employment and a steadily expanding volume of production.

This is a clipping from page 6 of the New York Times for April 29, 1944
Clipped at the Seat of Government.

SOVIET-LEBANON TIE VIA ARMENIA IS SEEN

Moscow Move to Aid Emigre From Turkey Is Indicated

By Wireless to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

CAIRO, Egypt, April 27—That Soviet Russia is planning to widen the area of its diplomatic representation in the Middle East by establishing relations between the Armenian Soviet Republic and the governments of Syria and Lebanon is indicated by press reports reaching Cairo from Beirut, Lebanon. Such a move would open up the entire Armenian question and would suggest a desire on the part of Russian statesmen to take a hand in solving the plight of those scattered and homeless people who have been reduced to poverty in certain sections of the Middle East.

The best available estimates place the present Armenian population in Syria and Lebanon at slightly more than 200,000, a considerable section being refugees from Turkey who were involved in the 1939 transfer in which Turkey acquired areas in the Sanjak of Alexandretta in a treaty concluded with the French.

According to Beirut messages printed here, Nikolai Novikoff, Russian Minister to Egypt, plans to leave for Lebanon and Syria early in the summer, and it is said he is charged with negotiating diplomatic relations between those countries and the Soviet Armenian Republic. Another report, however, indicates that these negotiations may be carried out through the Soviet Embassy in Ankara.

This is a clipping from page 4 of the New York Times for April 28, 1944
Clipped at the Seat of Government.

Soviet Trend To Nationalism Emphasized

Dr. Wesley M. Gewehr, head of Maryland University's history department, said yesterday the Soviet Union now wants only national security, based on international cooperation, supplemented by a sort of an "East European Monron Doctrine."

Addressing the adult classes on current problems at All Souls' Unitarian Church 16th and Harvard sts. nw., he cited the abolition of the Comintern, renewed recognition of the Greek Orthodox Church and the significant change in the Russian national anthem as examples of the Soviet's trend toward "democratic nationalism."

"There are unmistakable signs," stated the professor, "that our Russian ally has passed that point in the revolutionary cycle when she demanded conversion of other peoples to her own beliefs."

Another optimistic straw in the wind, the speakher pointed out, is that one of the three latest medals established for the Red army honors a medieval Russian saint.

"The Russian Church in America" was discussed last night by the Rev. Paul Lutov, pastor of St. Nicholas' Russian Orthodox Church, in a talk before the youth group at Epiphany Episcopal Church, 1317 G st. nw.

This is a clipping from page 1-B of the WASH. POST ~~New York Times~~ for

April 24, 1944

Clipped at the Seat of Government.

PRAYERS FOR STALIN SAID BY MGR. SHEEN

In Address Here He Says We Can Hate Ideology but Not Reds

Remarks of J. Edgar Hoover, director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, at the recent national congress here of the Daughters of the American Revolution, expressing his concern over divisive forces in American life, were cited yesterday as reason for new emphasis on love of one's neighbors, in an address by Mgr. Fulton J. Sheen of the Catholic University of America, Washington.

Mgr. Sheen spoke at the annual communion breakfast of the Catholic Teachers Association of the Diocese of Brooklyn, attended by 2,500 members and friends. Guests included officials of Protestant, Jewish and interfaith groups.

"The gravest danger to America is from within," Mgr. Sheen declared. He said he remembered that Lincoln once said America probably never would be captured but might be thus betrayed. He added that history indicated the majority of perishing civilizations had disappeared because of internal weakness.

"The enemies of man are usually they of his own household," he continued. "One reason for this danger of decadence that Mr. Hoover points out is the development of class hatreds, name calling and bigotry.

"Hatred in America is terrific," he added, predicting new domestic hate forms at the war's end similar to the Ku Klux Klan. He said he had received 800,000 letters in three years in which the increases in violent letters had been from 300 to 400 per cent and some came from Communists. He added that "we can hate communism without hating Communists" and for that reason he wrote "kindly letters" to abusers.

"Every morning after low mass I pray for Joe Stalin and for Russia, as does every Catholic priest in the world," he said.

This is a clipping from page 22 of the New York Times for April 23 1944
Clipped at the Seat of Government.

Soviet Journal Says: It's Time to Invade

(By Wireless to Inter-Continent News)

MOSCOW, April 21.—War and the Workingclass, the Soviet trade union periodical, devotes its main editorial here today to a review of the Soviet victories, and concludes with a call that "the time has come to destroy Germany's plan for protracting the war."

The Soviet journal notes the immense achievements of the Red Army in the past year, which have effectively buried Hitler's hopes of world domination.

It then declares that the irreparable losses which the Nazis are suffering on the Soviet front, amounting to hundreds of thousands of men in recent weeks, have shattered all their claims of a retreat from the East "according to plan."

"It is obvious that not only were the Germans unable to withdraw any troops from the Soviet-German front but as a matter of fact were compelled to dispatch reserves from Germany as well as units from the West and South to the East.

"Yawning gaps in the eastern wall of the European fortress compelled the German command to still further denude other walls of this fortress which can now be taken in final assault.

TIME TO STRIKE

"No little time has elapsed since the world has learned of the Allies' intention to strike out at Hitlerite Germany from the east, west, and south," War and the Working class says.

"Crushing blows weren't long in coming from the east, but this cannot be said regarding blows from the west and south."

Noting that the Allies' air campaign is undoubtedly a "forerunner of the invasion," the Soviet journal nevertheless declares that the "**military forces of our Allies on the European continent have not yet been deployed,**" and cites the stale-mate on the Italian front.

"The enormous armed forces built up by our Anglo-American allies will have to be brought into action," the Soviet paper insists, emphasizing the impatience of the peoples of Europe, and the eagerness for victory in all peoples of the anti-Hitler coalition.

"It is hardly possible to imagine a more favorable combination of conditions for striking the final blow at Germany that the situation which now exists as a result of the victorious operations of the Red Army," the editorial concludes.

This is a clipping from page 2 of the Daily Worker for April 22, 1944 Clipped at the Seat of Government.

FOREIGN POLICY BULLETIN

An interpretation of current international events by the Research Staff of the Foreign Policy Association

FOREIGN POLICY ASSOCIATION, Incorporated

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NATIONAL REGIMES NOT A.M.G. TO RULE LIBERATED COUNTRIES

AS the belligerents gird themselves for the showdown of invasion of Western Europe, the governments of the conquered countries perfect their arrangements for that moment when they will have the opportunity of resuming administrative functions on their own soil. At an earlier stage in negotiations between Britain and the United States, on the one hand, and the exiled governments on the other, it had been assumed—especially in Washington—that during this transitional period the liberated countries would be administered by an Allied Military Government which, on the restoration of public order, would transfer its authority to native civilian administrators freely chosen by the people of each nation. This procedure, however, did not prove acceptable to the governments representing countries which had stubbornly resisted Nazi rule for several years, and had no intention of being treated on a par with Germany and its satellites.

PREPARING FOR LIBERATION. It now seems settled that, when Allied forces enter the countries of Western Europe—France, Belgium, Holland and Norway—they will be accompanied by civilian affairs units composed of the citizens of these countries, specially trained for a wide range of administrative duties. In anticipation of this moment, all four countries have set up special agencies concerned with internal reconstruction, which have not only mapped out plans for political readjustments, but also for relief and rehabilitation coordinated with the work of UNRRA. Similarly, the government of Czechoslovakia, whose liberation has been brought appreciably nearer by Russian advances in the Carpathian region, has worked out detailed plans both for collaboration between the Czechoslovak underground and the Red Army, and for the reconstruction of the country on the basis of close understanding with the U.S.S.R., Britain and the United States.

AGREEMENT IN WESTERN EUROPE. The formulation of such plans by the representatives of the countries of Western Europe and Czechoslovakia has been greatly facilitated by two factors. First, except in the case of France, a considerable measure of agreement had been achieved within each of them before the German invasion concerning the fundamental issues of national life—an agreement that has been cemented by sufferings endured in common during the war years, and enhanced by continuous communication between the governments-in-exile and the movements of resistance in their homelands. Second, owing to this very cohesion, the governments of Belgium, Holland, Norway and Czechoslovakia look forward with confidence to their return following Germany's defeat. King Haakon of Norway and Queen Wilhelmina of Holland have indicated that they will consult the wishes of their peoples in any political reorganization that may be undertaken during the post-war period; while Prime Minister Piérlot of Belgium (who expects King Leopold to resume the throne) and President Benes of Czechoslovakia have pledged themselves to submit their governments to popular plebiscites.

EASTERN EUROPE IN TURMOIL. In contrast to Western Europe and Czechoslovakia, where hope exists for an orderly transition from Nazi rule to free administration of a democratic character, the exiled governments of Poland, Yugoslavia and Greece continue to be rent by divergences which mirror the cleavages within their conquered homelands. These cleavages, in turn, have created serious doubts as to the return of the governments-in-exile to their countries unless they meanwhile undergo drastic reorganization. It now seems clear that Britain and the United States will have little to do with the liberation of these countries, that there will be no Anglo-American invasion of the Balkans (except possibly for British operations in the Greek islands and conceivably on the mainland of Greece), and

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that Russia, rather than its Western Allies, will play a decisive role in that area. While some Western observers continue to believe that Russia will seize this opportunity to advance the cause of communism in Eastern Europe and the Balkans, evidence available so far would indicate that the Russians are willing to work with any group, whatever its political complexion, which is ready to speed the end of the war and to collaborate in a friendly spirit with the U.S.S.R. in the post-war period. This policy has already been followed by Moscow with respect to the Badoglio government, whose broadening—through the admission of representatives of the six-party junta which includes Communists—was advocated by Soviet Assistant Commissar of Foreign Affairs Vishinsky on April 16. The following day the Badoglio cabinet resigned, thus clearing the way for the formation of the wider coalition urged by the Allies.

At this critical moment, when the groups that are to participate in the reconstruction of Europe are coalescing or emerging from hiding, it is important for Americans to bear three considerations in mind. First of all, our experience in Italy clearly demonstrates the difficulties that would be faced by any Allied commission in trying to take over the administration of liberated countries. It is therefore highly desirable that the civilian administration of the United Nations in Europe should be carried out to as great an extent as possible by native administrators, provided, of course, that they do not interfere with military operations. As it is, Allied administrators will have their hands full in trying to rule, even temporarily, over Italy, Germany, and Axis satellites.

In the second place, it is important for Americans of European origin to realize that the future of their former homelands must be determined primarily by those who live there, not by Americans. It seems unfortunate, for example, that citizens of Italian origin should threaten the present Administration with loss of their political support because the American government, in conformity with public opinion here, has sought to broaden the base of the Badoglio government. The sooner the Italians themselves can administer their own affairs, the better. But there is considerable confusion among those Americans who, one day, berate the United States for strengthening the position of Badoglio, and the next attack it for urging the inclusion of other elements in the Badoglio government—just because they happen not to approve of some of these elements.

And, finally, we must be prepared for many disappointments and deceptions in the return of Europe to non-Fascist and non-Nazi forms of administration. Years of repression and terror, the execution or imprisonment of active or potential leaders of democratic movements, sheer physical fatigue and moral discouragement, have taken their toll of Europe's populations. Time and patience will be required before we can see the flowering on the continent of institutions and practices resembling those of Britain and the United States. The most tragic thing that could happen now would be for us to become discouraged about prospects for democracy in Europe. These prospects exist, the seed of liberty is strong—but whether it will grow and burgeon will depend on the measure of faith we can show in the peoples of that ravaged continent, and the degree of assistance we are ready to give those groups which show themselves genuinely concerned with the welfare of their peoples.

VERA MICHELES DEAN

~~Stronger~~ Soviet Tie Urged 9

LONDON, April 20 (AP)—Sir Edward Grigg, former Under-Secretary of State for War, proposed in the House of Commons today a stronger alliance with Russia, with definite post-war military commitments, as the only means of preventing some future "Pearl Harbor" assault on this island from the Continent.

Britain already has a twenty-year alliance with the Soviet Union, drawn in May, 1942, providing for military and all other mutual aid in the war against Germany and her satellites and for common action to preserve peace after the war. The post-war commitments, however, are vague regarding straight-out military assistance.

Sir Edward, long-time Under-Secretary for War, declared:

"If any power were to acquire domination of the European continent nothing could prevent this island from being 'Pear Harbored' in a night. We must think of some organization which would act promptly enough to prevent it. Distant countries could not help very much. What would matter would be the countries on the spot."

This, apparently, was a reference to the United States.

In the same discussion Capt. John Dugdale, Labor Member of Parliament, said:

"The empire of Chamberlain, Kipling and Lord Beaverbrook is dead. Our new empire is part Socialist and the other part is rapidly ~~becoming~~ so."

This is a clipping from page 9 of the New York Times for April 21, 1944
Clipped at the Seat of Government.

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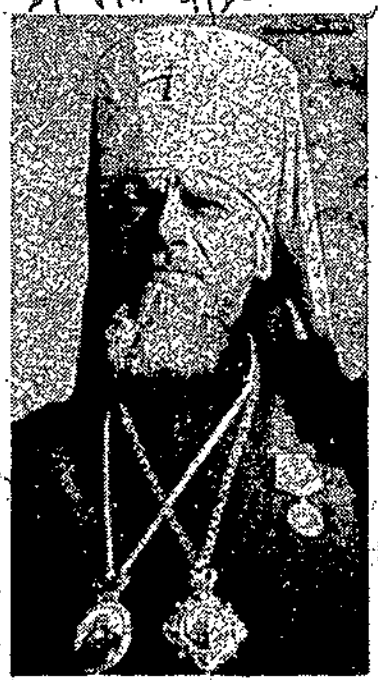

Metropolitan Alexei wears the medal For the Defense of Leningrad, awarded him by the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet for his part in collecting funds for the Red Army.

Russian

Religion

This is a clipping from page 24 of the PM for April 20, 1944

Clipped at the Seat of Government.

United Nations Council

Churchill's Statement Viewed as Evidence Of Allies' Opposition to Such a Body Now

By ARTHUR KROCK
Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

WASHINGTON, April 18—The statement made by Prime Minister Churchill in the House of Commons today that, while the thirty-four United Nations are constantly engaging in "preliminary exchanges of opinion on post-war questions," there is no immediate prospect of announced agreements, was accepted here as a fresh proof that the establishment of a United Nations Council continues to be contrary to the high policy of the chief allies—the United States, Great Britain and Soviet Russia.

Creation of this council, to function during the war, has been widely urged by American and British critics of foreign policy, most insistently by Wendell L. Willkie Sumner Welles, former Under-Secretary of State. It has been understood also that the idea is popular in some overseas quarters of the British Empire and in Chungking. But thus far no encouragement of the plan has been given by Washington, London or Moscow, and officials have maintained silence on the subject except for indirect suggestions that it is contrary to policy, such as those implicit in Mr. Churchill's remarks today.

In the final speech of his campaign for the 1944 Republican Presidential nomination at Omaha on April 5, Mr. Willkie said:

> What does a Frenchman in France, for example, or a Belgian in Belgium, or a Chinese in the conquered parts of China, or—for that matter—a Russian in the Soviet Union think of our failure to set up a United Nations Council? * * * The United States is the one country with enough strength and prestige and disinterestedness to take the leadership in setting up such a body.

Inquiry develops that in the official Washington view there are numerous sound reasons why the establishment should not be made, certainly until the Axis is in collapse, and then should be the framework of a permanent structure of international peace and security. Among the reasons offered for this attitude, to which Mr. Churchill appeared today to subscribe, are these:

1. The position of the United States is that boundaries and related issues should not be taken up until the war is won. The British hold that no attempt should be made now to settle certain other post-war problems and that every concentration should be on the prosecution of the war. Moscow, until a new European invasion front is opened and its effectiveness tested, is not greatly interested in most of the questions that would arise before a United Nations council.

2. If the council were established now, or at any time while the war is in an acute stage, disputes among the Allies would divide the anti-Axis group and weaken the United Nations front. Nothing could be settled, partly because certain exiled governments may not find themselves in a position to sustain their views or commitments after their nations have been freed, partly because there is as yet no agreement on some issues among the three Allies who are bearing the brunt of the fighting.

3. The result of a functioning council at this point would be to color the solutions and management of post-war problems which should properly be assigned to the forthcoming world league, or society, or association, which is one of the chief war aims.

4. The period of hostilities might suddenly be succeeded by a long armistice, during which the first steps would be taken to build the new international order. An evisting council, already split by disputes, would be an obstacle to, and in some senses a competitor of, the eventual world establishment.

These objections seem for the present to be controling in Washington against the council plan that has been urged and the surface signs are that hey are equally persuasive in London and Moscow.

This is a clipping from page 4 of the New York Times for April 19 1944
Clipped at the Seat of Government.

CHURCHILL DEFENDS LEAGUE OF NATIONS

Asserts It Would Have Been Successful if It 'Had Been Properly Backed Up'

By Wireless to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

LONDON, April 18—At question time in the House of Commons today Prime Minister Winston Churchill said that details of the plans that are being made for the establishment of machinery to maintain peace would have to await the conclusion of the war for final decision but he indicated a hope that something might be salvaged out of the League of Nations.

The recent speech of Cordell Hull, American Secretary of State, Mr. Churchill found "most helpful" and he added that there was "a common building up of thought between the British Government and the United States." The whole subject is one, he said, on which Britain and the United States are constantly exchanging views with each of the other United Nations, all of whom are kept constantly informed of opinion "on a topic which will not suffer at all from thought or well considered discussions.

[Mr. Churchill was quoted by The Associated Press as saying: "Preliminary exchanges of opinion on post-war questions are constantly taking place between various members of the thirty-four United Nations, but I cannot hold out the expectation that any agreed statement on the subject will be made in the near future."]

The subject came up for discussion in the House of Commons when Capt. Frederich John Bellinger, Laborite, asked the Prime Minister what consultations had taken place between the United States and the British Government regarding the nature and extent of the international organ for preserving peace ~~reformed~~ to by Mr. Hull in his broadcast of April 9.

Churchill Defends League

Maj. Maurice Petherick, a Conservative, expressed the hope that nothing would be done to revise the League, which he said "sank under its own weight" but Mr. Churchill retorted, "I think that if the League had been properly backed up it would have been successful."

Later in the session Anglo-American relations came up again in another form when Sir Oliver Simmonds, a Conservative, asked what Lord Beaverbrook meant when at a recent press conference he said that Britain had been forced to make "concessions" to the United States in connection with post-war civil aviation.

The Prime Minister said that the conversations between Lord Beaverbrook and Adolf A. Berle Jr., Assistant Secretary of State, had been "informal" and "exploratory" and had for their primary purpose an exchange of views on the desirability of holding an international conference. It was an opportunity for a discussion of the form of the corporation that each country would advocate at such a conference, he said.

Mr. Churchill went on to say that it was decidedly worth while to arrange such a conference, at which final decisions might be reached, and added that concessions were made by the United Kingdom and the United States and they related only to the basis on which the discussions would be launched at an international conference.

Britain and the United States were hopeful that discussions could begin this year, Mr. Churchill said. It would not be "quite appropriate or useful" for him to make any detailed statement in anticipation of the conference, the Prime Minister said. He said he expected the Russian Government was being kept informed regarding the program of preliminary decisions.

This is a clipping from page 4 of the New York Times for April 19 1944
Clipped at the Seat of Government.

STETTINIUS SEEKS RUSSO-POLISH TALK

Said to Have Paved the Way for Renewed Negotiations to End Border Dispute

By E. C. DANIEL

By Cable to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

LONDON, April 17—The visit of United States Undersecretary of State Edward R. Stettinius Jr., to London has set the stage for a renewal of the efforts to re-establish diplomatic relations between the Soviet and Polish Governments. It was widely reported today that Mr. Stettinius and Prime Minister Churchill had regretfully but firmly informed Polish Premier Stanislaw Mikolajczyk their governments could not support him in continued antagonism toward Moscow. In these circumstances it is believed that Premier Mikolajczyk must again attempt some compromise with Russia's territorial and political demands.

The need for the Polish Government to salvage something from its political misfortunes becomes more urgent each day that the Russian Army advances into former Polish territory. The possibility still exists that the Mikolajczyk regime's position may be usurped by the Union of Polish Patriots in Moscow that the Moscow correspondent of the Times of London asserted today was supported by 80 per cent of the Poles in Russia.

While disputing the accuracy of this assertion the Poles in London are conscious of its potential effect on public opinion.

While the Anglo-American Governments cannot uphold the Poles against the Russians they will not withhold their good offices from the two governments. United States Secretary of State Cordell Hull said as much last week.

A beginning might be made in the resumption of Polish-Russian relations by agreeing first on military collaboration. An auspicious precedent for such an agreement was set when formal contact recently was established between the Russian Army commander and the Polish Underground Army leader at Vohynia.

Turning from political problems such as those of Poland, Mr. Stettinius devoted himself today to economic issues such as neutral trade, supplies for Britain and the post-war feeding of Europe. He spent the morning with Winfield Riefler, head of American Embassy's economic warfare section; lunched with Oliver Lyttelton, Minister of Production; was received by King George VI at Buckingham Palace this afternoon and met Col. John Jestya Llewellin, Minister of Food, this evening.

This is a clipping from page 3 of the New York Times for April 18, 1944
Clipped at the Seat of Government.

PRELIMINARY SESSION OF ILO IS POSTPONED

Failure of Some Delegates to Arrive Causes Delay of Day

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES. 38

PHILADELPHIA, April 17—Because of the failure of several British, Indian and Dutch delegates to arrive on schedule, the first preliminary session of the twenty-sixth meeting of the International Labor Organization was postponed today until tomorrow.

The main sessions of the conference will be held at the Temple University and will start Thursday morning.

The failure of the Soviet Union to reject or accept an invitation to the conference continued to be a major topic of discussion among the delegates on hand.

The status of Luis Ghirola, labor delegate from Argentina, the latest Government of which has not been recognized by the United States, was in doubt, with the possibility that his seating would meet opposition on the ground that any labor representative from Argentina would not be free to follow wishes other than those of the Government.

Conference authorities expressed the opinion that there would be no contest of the right of the Argentine Government and employer delegates to be seated.

This is a clipping from page 38 of the New York Times for April 18, 1944
Clipped at the Seat of Government.

RUSSIANS STILL OUT AS ILO ASSEMBLES

Preliminary Talks Begin Today in Philadelphia Without Word From Moscow

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

PHILADELPHIA, April 16 — With preliminary sessions of the first war-time conference of the International Labor Organization beginning here tomorrow morning, no word had been received tonight as to whether the Soviet Union would avail itself of the opportunity to be represented at meetings where a post-war social policy will be drawn up for the United Nations.

Although Russia, since her expulsion from the League of Nations in 1939, when she went to war against Finland, has been ineligible to attend ILO meetings, every means has been employed to let the Soviets know that they would be welcome back to the ILO if it chose to send delegates to Philadelphia.

Officials of the ILO were still hopeful that Russia would send a delegation. Although the conference proper would begin Thursday, there remained plenty of time, they said, for a delegation appointed from the staff of the Russian Embassy in Washington to be designated and to arrive in Philadelphia for the start of the conference.

The failure of Russia to make known her intentions has had a disheartening effect upon the ILO staff and upon members of various delegations which arrived in the city during the week-end. Many persons connected with the conference said it would serve little purpose to draw up the post-war plans that are contemplated should Russia, one of the "big four" of the United Nations, not be a party to them.

Argentina, Italy Disputed

Two other controversial issues—the question of seating the Argentine delegation and the application of the Badoglio Government in Italy for readmission to the ILO—seemed likely tonight to lead to sharp argument. It was reported here, without confirmation, that group of labor delegates from various countries would attempt to prevent the seating of the Argentine representatives.

The application from Italy has not been received by the ILO headquarters in Montreal, officials said here, but news stories from Italy several days ago said that a delegation would seek readmission. The Badoglio Government still has not been recognized by the United States and England.

The governing body of the ILO, comprising sixteen Government delegates and eight employer and eight labor delegates, will meet in Mitten Hall at Temple University (scene of all the meetings) tomorrow at 11 A. M. to begin the preconference work. Carter Goodrich, one of the Government delegates from the United States and Professor of Economics at Columbia University, is chairman of the governing body.

Additional sessions will be held by the governing body on Tuesday. The next day has been set aside for caucuses of the three groups of delegates—Government, employer and labor.

Campbell Ballantyne, information officer of the ILO, said that the conference would receive the greatest attention in history from the press and radio. More than seventy newspaper correspondents, including many from foreign countries, are expected to attend.

Delegations from India, Sweden, France (representing the French Liberation Committee at Algiers), Canada, England, Chile and Mexico, were in town tonight, and others were arriving almost by the hour. In all, about 350 delegates and advisers from forty countries are expected to attend, augmented by about seventy members of the permanent staff of the ILO.

This is a clipping from page 12 of the New York Times for April 17, 1944.
Clipped at the Seat of Government.

NEW SOVIET TENETS SEEN MISREAD HERE

Russians, Insisting Socialism Is Not Dead, Find No Barrier to Working With Us

By RALPH PARKER

By Wireless to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

MOSCOW, April 16—The joint press-reading service set up here by representatives of the English-speaking countries has now had made a complete translation of the article "Under the Banner of Marxism," of August, 1943, a version of which was referred to in THE NEW YORK TIMES editorial columns on April 3 under the heading "Russia's New 'Capitalism.'"

When foreign observers read THE TIMES editorial in the American bulletin issued by Ambassador W. Averell Harriman they wondered if they had missed a significant change in Soviet economic theory. The translation of the Soviet article has now given them an opportunity to study whether the opinion expressed in the editorial that a "new doctrine" had emerged to throw overboard "the theory of surplus value" was justified by the article in question.

The consensus is that this was not justified and that recent trends in Soviet economic policy had been misread. At the same time, these observers qualify their criticism of THE TIMES' interpretation by remarking that although Russia remains faithful to Marxist principles, her leaders see no obstacle to cooperation between her and capitalist lands.

Collective Security Favored

To this most of the Russians with whom the writer has discussed the editorial agree. They express surprise at reading in American newspapers the suggestion that the Soviet Union, most active proponent of a policy of collective security, had in the past raised "dogmatic obstacles" to cooperation between Socialist and capitalist countries.

Some of them were angered by the article in THE TIMES and suggested that, after some of their ideological enemies had failed to wipe out the Red Army with their pens, a campaign was now in progress to "annihilate" our socialism with their pens.

With regard to the economic ideas expressed in the August, 1943, article, it was pointed out that there was nothing new in the practice of Soviet enterprises evaluating goods beyond the cost of production. Part of the profits are taxed, part invested in the expansion of social services to the workers. Now, as at all other times since the revolution, the Soviet worker knows that the surplus value of goods goes not to a class of owners, but to those who work, and only to them.

Furthermore, there is nothing new in the system of incentives, according to which payments are made according to results obtained, though with a minimum wage fixed by the trade union and industry in negotiation.

Incentives Long Offered

For many years the workers have been encouraged to show initiative and enterprise by offers of premiums, honors and promotion. Accounts of good work in factories and farms fill columns in the daily press—quite as many as in other countries are devoted to police court reports.

Where THE TIMES conclusions are considered most misleading, is in contrasting the attitude of American labor unions with that of Soviet labor organizations. It is maintained here that there can be no fair basis of comparison between the attitudes of workers in capitalist and Socialist counties toward the system of payment, for those in a Socialist land know that a planned national economy has guaranteed them constant work, while the others know from experience that methods of forcing the production level up may bring the day of a lay-off a little nearer.

In short, the impression that the editorial has created here is that in its eagerness to see Russian socialism buried and to put capitalism in its place the author composed an obituary notice for a youth who still seems to thrive in the Russian climate and who has got through his growing pains successfully.

IN NEW SOVIET POST

Alexander E. Korneichuk, recently appointed Foreign Commissar of the Ukrainian Soviet Republic. He is the first person to hold this office following the recent decision to establish foreign affairs commissariats for the sixteen Soviet Republics.

The New York Times (Sovfoto Radiophoto)

This is a clipping from page 9 of the New York Times for April 17, 1944
Clipped at the Seat of Government.

Communists the World Over

COMMUNISTS were in the news all over the world this past week-end. And we don't mean the Soviet armies, tossing the Nazis into the Black Sea from every corner of the Crimea. We refer to the Italian, French, Chinese Communists who figured in the headlines as fighting for the interests of their own peoples and the general cause of the United Nations.

There's food for thought in all three cases. In Italy, for example, the Communist proposal that all democratic parties unite in a new government with Marshal Badoglio has now been accepted. The Allied Advisory Council, after the strong stand of the Soviet Union, finally put the skids on the King. He will retire as soon as Rome is liberated, and to speed that day, a new, unified, anti-Hitler government is being formed.

As everyone understands, only such a government can rally the people for the war and oust the fascists who still plague southern Italy. Such a government is what the Moscow conference promised. It is what Cordell Hull spoke about hopefully a week ago Sunday. Now it is coming about, and Communists have helped bring it.

Then there is France. Two Communist leaders had entered the Committee of Liberation, but just before they did, a decree was passed without the sanction of the Consultative Assembly. The decree would postpone local elections after French territory is liberated. It doesn't allow free play for the resistance groups. It tends to leave too many strings in Algiers. So six Communist deputies, fully united on the general aim of the French Committee, stand up and say they disagree. The people back home is their chief concern. They see eye to eye with President Roosevelt. They oppose any dealings with Vichymen, but they are equally opposed to any dictatorial tendencies in the French Committee itself.

Case number three is far-off China, where a remarkable speech by the liberal Kuomintang leader, Dr. Sun Fo, admits what the Chinese Communists have been saying and what all well-informed people know. Not enough democracy in China, says Dr. Sun Fo. And he points to China's friendly critics abroad and their sympathy for the Chinese Communists. The issue is not Communism but democracy, he says, and we had better heed those friendly voices who advise the Kuomintang to live up to its pledges, to cease blockading the democratic forces within China.

Three cases, then, of how Communists in their own countries are upheld by fellow non-Communists who have come to appreciate the importance of democratic unity.

Who disagrees? Only Luigi Antonini, the Italian American Social-Democrat. He is the same one who wins "Ja" elections in Local 89 of his union. He is one of the crowd that insisted on ruling or ruining the American Labor Party. Antonini was up to his neck in embraces with Marshal Badoglio last autumn when that meant to perpetuate the Italian deadlock; now that a new government will be formed in which Badoglio is only one factor, and the Italian deadlock will be broken, Antonini objects.

He blames Cordell Hull, exactly the way Hitler does, for "throwing Italy to the Bolsheviks." Antonini claims to be a socialist and a liberal, but neither the Italian Socialist Party nor the Italian liberals ~~pay any~~ attention to him at all. Anti-Communism from the "Left" is played out all over Europe, just as the architect of anti-Communism—Hitler—is being shattered all over Europe. His blind hatred for unity leads Antonini into mental telepathy with Mussolini's radio. It leads him into a desperate blackmail of President Roosevelt and Cordell Hull.

Unity for victory and democratic reconstruction—such is the program on which Communists and non-Communists can unite. Let the Antoninis foam in the frenzy of their anti-Communist epilepsy. The world is passing them by.

Daily Worker April 17, 1944 p. 6

Russia in the Balkans

BY BOGDAN RADITSA

THE Russian armies are hurtling across the River Prut, ready to strike at the heart of Rumania. It seems probable, therefore, that it is the Russians—aided by the various national armies of liberation—who will bring about the collapse of German military strength in the Balkans, and not England and America, although the Western Allies are giving substantial assistance to the Partisans in Yugoslavia. Moreover, the great people's movements emerging from the chaos of Balkan politics have derived inspiration and courage from Russia's example and will reinforce Russia's influence on the peace.

Resistance to fascism in the northern Balkan states has been less articulate than among the Greeks and South Slavs. When Rumania fell to the Nazis, the king and his military clique submitted to all Hitler's demands and abandoned the wise foreign policy which had been formulated by Nicholas Titulescu. (Eduard Benes and Titulescu were the only statesmen in the Little Entente who understood that friendship with Russia could be of enduring value to Southeastern Europe.) No vigorous popular movement has developed in Rumania, although an underground certainly exists there and large numbers of Rumanians have joined Marshal Tito's Partisans.

The amount of resistance in Hungary is something of a mystery. Count Karolyi broadcast from London an appeal to Hungarians to join Tito's armies, and lately many have done so. The deep abyss between the ruling class and the masses of the people in both Hungary and Rumania has unquestionably heightened the significance of Russia for the masses. For them the Soviet government is the embodiment of the people's will, and when the present rulers of Hungary and Rumania go down, as they inevitably must, Russia's influence on the new political structure to be built will be profound.

The Bulgarians, like other Balkan peoples, have been frustrated by a foreign king, a military caste, and an aggressive bureaucracy, but they have made their will known. Strongly pro-Russian, they have organized an active resistance movement and outlined a concrete program of political action. Although Bulgaria is in the Axis camp, it maintains diplomatic relations with Russia; the Soviet legation is still in Sofia. It is possible that the government allows this incongruous situation to continue as a concession to the Bulgarian people and in the interest of domestic peace.

The main stream of Balkan energy flows of course from Yugoslavia. The Yugoslav National Army of Liberation has become a powerful instrument for the coordi-

Note 3rd page with the
a yugoslav
now seen out of
Russia + will fight under
the leadership of
Tito

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nation of Balkan resistance and the unification of Balkan aspirations. Its growth is proof of the revolutionary character of this war, for it expresses not only the people's resistance to German domination, but their repudiation of the policy pursued by the Yugoslav government between the two wars.

An understanding of the political and military forces at work in Yugoslavia and throughout the Balkans will be furthered by a brief review of some recent political happenings in this storm center of the European continent.

Up to the end of 1940 Yugoslavia had not recognized the Soviet government, and only the constant pressure of democratic elements upon Prince Paul induced him finally to send an envoy to the Kremlin. Behind this intransigent anti-Soviet policy were the late King Alexander, Nicholas Pachich, leader of the Serbian Radical Party, and his successors, part of the Serbian Orthodox church, the Foreign Office, and the army officers, all of whom despised the Soviet system as much as they had respected the Czarist regime. For twenty-three years after the Revolution the old Czarist Ambassador, Baron Strandmann, remained in Belgrade as Russia's accredited representative. He was actually on the diplomatic list until 1940.

Strandmann was for years the most influential personality in Belgrade society and diplomatic circles. He lived in the old Russian legation, across the street from the royal palace, just as in former days when Russia considered itself the guardian of Serbian interests. He disposed of 30,000,000 dinars a year (approximately $600,000), provided partly by a special item in the Yugoslav budget and partly by the secret funds of the Foreign Office. This enormous sum of money was spent primarily for the dissemination of anti-Soviet propaganda in Yugoslavia and abroad.

Immediately after the Russian Revolution the Czarist General Wrangel established two military-cadet schools in Yugoslavia, where young White Russian exiles were instilled with rabidly anti-Soviet doctrines. The banners of General Wrangel's army waved ostentatiously in the center of Belgrade. These same White Russians have a strong grip on the puppet Belgrade government, and after the collapse of Yugoslavia an effective German fifth column, quite ready to cooperate with the Gestapo, was recruited from among them.

During the First World War, Frano Supilo, a Croatian politician, visited St. Petersburg, the capital of Czarist Russia. The Russian Foreign Office, he learned, had no dossier on the Croats and Slovenes and no interest in the formation of a "Yugoslavia." It was concerned only with the Serbs, Bulgarians, and Macedonians, who could form a bulwark against the Austro-Hungarian Empire. When Supilo told Sazanov, Russia's Foreign Minister, of the growing feeling for a great Yugoslavia, Sazanov was reluctant to accept the idea. He had already signed the London pact, which militated against the vital interests of Croats and Slovenes and temporarily paralyzed the efforts of the South Slavs to achieve a united nation.

In 1924 the popular Croatian democratic leader Stefan Radich visited Moscow, the capital of Soviet Russia. He found a vastly changed attitude at the Foreign Ministry from the one Supilo had described. When Radich returned, he told his people—and his words have become a slogan—"With Russia we are something; without Russia nothing." Soon afterward Radich was arrested, and later killed, by the men who were preparing King Alexander's dictatorship under the influence of White Russian émigrés and other reactionaries.

Official relations between the Yugoslav government in exile and Soviet Russia have always been strained. The former has consistently followed the old pre-war line and has built up Mihailovich to lead the struggle against Russia. In 1942 Molotov proposed a friendship pact to the Yugoslav government in exile, but Foreign Minister Ninchich turned the offer down, actuated either by his belief in Hitler's victory or by his fear of Bolshevism.

After the Moscow and Teheran conferences it was clear that the Big Three recognized Tito's army as the real fighting force in Yugoslavia. Churchill virtually abandoned the Yugoslav government in exile. Bewildered and apprehensive, Prime Minister Purich turned to Russia. He offered a pact of friendship. He even thought of transferring the government from Cairo to Moscow. But any hope of obtaining support for King Peter's Cabinet from that quarter was blasted. The Soviet government reminded Dr. Purich that the question of a Soviet-Yugoslav pact had been raised during the spring of 1942: "The Yugoslav government, then located in London, did not give the pact the same importance that it seems to attach to it now." Dr. Purich's proposal was flatly rejected.

The Yugoslav people have been and are unalterably opposed to the policy of their government. They regard an alliance with Russia as a logical necessity for the Slavs in the Balkans, not as a mere expedient. The interest of the Soviet government in a united Slav nation was made clear to them by Radich. His words have been confirmed by the subsequent activities of the All-Slav committees in Moscow.

Recently the Yugoslav Ambassador to Russia, Stanoye Simich, severed his connections with the Purich government. Mr. Simich is an extremely capable young Serbian diplomat, an ardent anti-fascist, and a consistent supporter of the concept of Yugoslavia. He explained in a letter to Marshal Tito that his resignation was prompted by the refusal of the government in exile to organize "Yugoslav army units to fight on the Soviet-German front against the common enemy." A Yugoslav unit has now been equipped in Russia. It will fight under the flag of Marshal Tito and under the command of Lieutenant Colonel Mesich, who deserted from the army sent by the puppet Pavelich to aid the Germans on the eastern front.

The restoration of the Russian Orthodox church has done much to overcome distrust of Soviet Russia's attitude toward religion. The Partisans have deep respect for their bearded priests. There is, indeed, a saying in Yugoslavia today that "a beard is worth a brigade." Tito's Minister of the Interior is a Serbian Orthodox priest. Other church dignitaries have not only refused to condemn the Partisans but have joined their fighting forces.

Since the Yugoslav people found their leader in Marshal Tito, his army has become a rallying-point for all the democratic forces of the Balkans. On March 26 the Free Italian radio, Milano Libertà, announced that the general staff of the National Liberation Army of Yugoslavia, the British, American, and Russian military missions, and representatives of the Rumanian, Bulgarian, and Hungarian liberation armies had held an important conference at Tito's headquarters. The aim of the meeting was to coordinate all liberation movements and their armies in the Balkans under Marshal Tito. The Greek resistance, under the inspiration of the left wing of the E. A. M.–E. L. A. S. group, has recently formed a provisional governing committee modeled after Marshal Tito's committee.

The old Balkans, with their oppressive ruling classes, their semi-legitimate monarchies, their unscrupulous politicians and ambitious generals, and their diplomats who permitted their countries to be used as tools by the great powers, are dying. All these elements became puppets of the Germans when their countries were invaded. Now they have accepted German occupation without a murmur, because it is their only bulwark against advancing Soviet armies and Soviet influence. But that bulwark is doomed. And the people, led by new leaders with a new understanding of the popular spirit, will make their will felt.

Dr. Benes said some days ago that Stalin was "definitely opposed to the imposition of communism upon the Balkan countries." The Balkan problem does not demand such a solution. The Balkan masses have seen how fragile was the structure of a world made up of small ultra-nationalistic states. They realize that their security lies in union, plus the friendly support of Soviet Russia. The Balkan peoples have come to understand that the dam which Europe built against Russia was an essential cause of their own collapse, as well as of the collapse of all pre-war Europe; they know that Europe cannot live in peace if that dam is rebuilt.

American economic support will be greatly needed throughout the region, and in making political decisions the Balkans will lean heavily upon the Allies. Thus a full understanding among Great Britain, the United States, and Russia—before the Balkans have been liberated—is of the utmost importance, not only for the Balkan peoples but for the general settlement of Europe when peace has come. After Italy, the Balkans will be the test of what the United Nations consider their mission in this war.

SOVIET-JAPANESE AGREEMENTS AID UNITED NATIONS

The increasingly sharp tone adopted by the Soviet press in referring to Japan emphasizes the diplomatic defeat suffered by the Japanese on March 30, when they signed an agreement in Moscow giving up their oil and coal concessions in northern Sakhalin. The island of Sakhalin, lying north of Japan proper, parallels Russia's Far Eastern coast for some distance. It was incorporated in Russian territory in the last century, but the southern half was ceded to Japan following the Russo-Japanese war of 1904-1905 and is known by the Japanese name of Karafuto. The northern part, which remained in Russian hands, was occupied by Japanese troops in 1920 during the period of foreign intervention in Soviet territory, and was not evacuated until 1925. Tokyo then received valuable oil and coal concessions for a period of 45 years, and it is these concessions which have now been surrendered 26 years before their expiration date.

Certain details of the agreement are worth noting. The U.S.S.R. is to pay Japan 5,000,000 rubles for the return of the concessions, a sum which amounts to less than $950,000 at the official rate of exchange. Provision is also made for closing down the Japanese consulate-general at Alexandrovsk and vice-consulate at Okha—both in north Sakhalin—and the Soviet consulates at Hakodate and Tsuruga in Japan. Finally, the Russians are to supply Japan with 50,000 metric tons of oil annually from north Sakhalin on "customary commercial terms" during five consecutive years "following the end of the present war." According to a *New York Times* correspondent, it was stated authoritatively in Moscow that these sales would not begin until the end of the Pacific war—i.e., after the defeat of Japan.

STRICT RUSSIAN TERMS. At the same time that an accord was reached on the concessions, the Soviet-Japanese fisheries agreement, whose renewal has hitherto been the subject of bitter annual wrangling, was extended for a five-year period. It has

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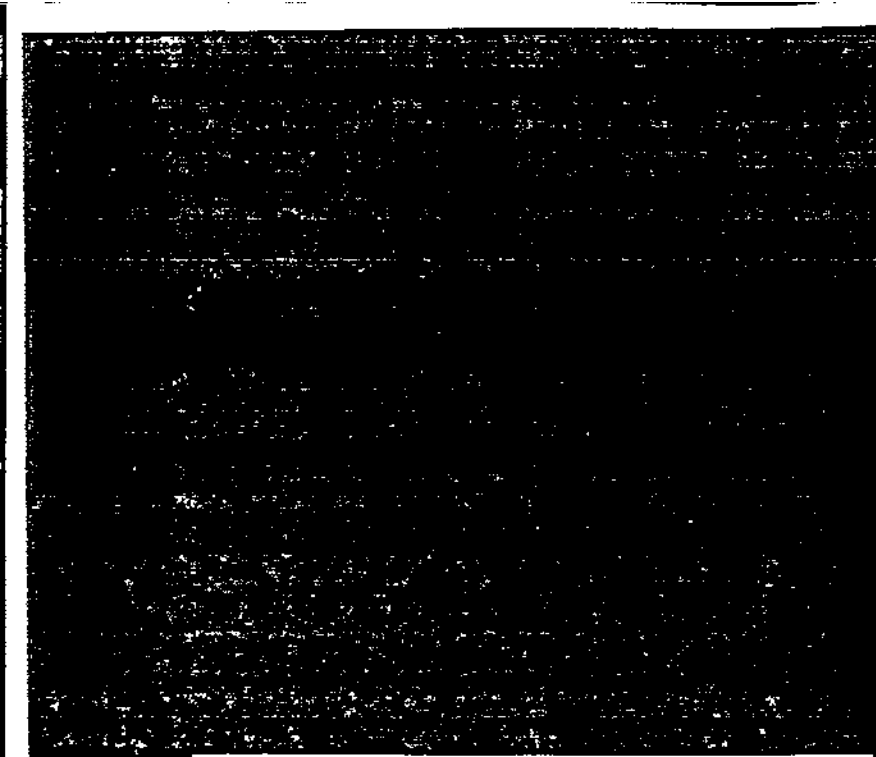


been characteristic of recent extensions of this pact, regulating Japanese fishing activities in Russian Far Eastern waters, that the Russian terms have become increasingly severe. The present accord is no exception to this rule.

Japanese payments in 1944 have been raised 6 per cent above the rents of 1943, which were, in turn, 4 per cent higher than those of 1942. Moreover, it is agreed that "until the end of this war" the Japanese may not fish "in certain fishing areas in the Far East established by the Soviet government in July 1941," i.e., shortly after the German invasion, when the possibility of a Japanese attack must have loomed large in the minds of Soviet leaders. The agreement also states that "fishing areas leased by Japanese subjects situated on the eastern coast of Kamchatka and in the Olutorski district are not to be exploited by Japanese lessees until the end of the war in the Pacific." Simultaneously, all restrictions on Soviet fishing in Russian Far Eastern waters—restrictions which the U.S.S.R. agreed to in the twenties when it had to tread softly in dealing with the Japanese—have been removed.

GAINS FOR THE UNITED NATIONS. Now that the main provisions of the new agreements have been given, it will be useful to summarize the resulting changes in the situation in the North Pacific.

1. From the Russian point of view, probably one of the most important features of the treaties is the fact that they abolish the last of the special foreign concessions on Soviet soil and the last of the restrictions on Soviet freedom of action at home, arising from the period of intervention during and after World War I.

2. The agreements will presumably increase the amount of oil and coal available to the Soviet Union in the Far East, especially since northern Sakhalin is the main Russian source of supply in this region. Increased supplies of oil and coal in Sakhalin might have a slight, indirect effect on the quantities of these raw materials available to the Russians in the West.

3. Although it is impossible to estimate the effect on Japan of the loss of oil and coal from north Sakhalin, the results will clearly be of some benefit to the Allies in the Far Eastern war. This is likely to be especially true later on, after the Japanese have been expelled from the oil fields of the Indies.

4. Of particular significance is the exclusion of Japanese fishing boats from areas that could be of military value to Tokyo in observing developments in the Soviet Far East as well as in judging American activities in Alaska and the Aleutians. The clearing out of Japanese fishermen from these zones may be of considerable value to us in assuring the secrecy of future operations in the north Pacific.

CASH ON THE BARRELHEAD. One point not sufficiently stressed in newspaper comment is the fact that the north Sakhalin concessions were actually liquidated between March 15 and 25, preceding the publicly announced agreement of March 30. The Russians clearly were unwilling to accept a promissory note from the Japanese, and insisted that the oil and coal sites be surrendered before concluding the fisheries agreement. Why the Russians were careful to deal only on this basis is clear from their past experience. For the Soviet press has now revealed that upon signing the Soviet-Japanese Neutrality Pact of April 13, 1941, Tokyo promised to give up the concessions, but later reneged. The pledge, Moscow newspapers have pointed out in caustic terms, was presumably not fulfilled because the Japanese had too much confidence in the power of the German armies that subsequently invaded the U.S.S.R. Here it is interesting to observe that *Izvestia*, official organ of the Soviet government, has declared quite bluntly that Japan's present amicability results from "the successes of the Red Army . . . and the development of the military operations of our Allies."

WILL RUSSIA FIGHT JAPAN? The agreements of March 30 naturally tell us nothing about whether the U.S.S.R. will ultimately go to war with Japan. Indeed, it may be surmised that the Japanese hope to insure continued peace with their neighbor by removing, as they have now done, some of the issues productive of friction in the past. Yet there is no doubt that the removal is being carried out at Japan's expense and that the Russians are declaring more strongly than ever before their solidarity with the Allies in the war against Japan. That these developments are appreciated in Washington and London is indicated by the favorable comment on the new treaties in dispatches from those Allied capitals.

LAWRENCE K. ROSINGER

Welles Hails Soviet Diplomacy In the Far East and the Balkans

Sumner Weles, formerly Undersecretary of State, declared in his weekly N. Y. Herald Tribune column yesterday that the Japanese withdrawal from the Sakhalin island coal and oil concessions is a tribute to Soviet diplomacy, and "of concrete advantage to the United States and Great Britain at his time."

Discussing Soviet-Japanese relations together with Vyascheslav Molotov's declaration on Romania two weeks ago, Welles was all praises for Soviet diplomatic skill.

"In the conduct of its foreign relations, and the initative which it has consistently maintained, Soviet diplomacy has been tough, resilient and wholly successful," Welles declares, noting also that it has not "missed a trick in the past year."

As for the Soviet-Japanese agreements about Sakhalin, Welles notes that the Japanese will have less fishing allotments that before, will be deprived of 10 per cent of their oil and a good deal of coal, and are prevented entirely from using the eastern coast of Kamchatka.

"I am unable to understand the reasoning of those who belittle the significance to us of this agreement," Welles declares.

He places special emphasis on the enforced withdrawal of the Japanese from the waters of eastern Kamchatka, which is directly opposite our own Alaskan bases.

Welles notes also the Soviet comment that they were "taking into consideration the specific conditions created by the military operations of our Allies in the Pacific ocean."

"This statement may well be studied by those in this country who have for so long been attempting to create doubt as to the ulterior purposes of the Soviet government once the German invaders has been hurled back out of Russian territory," the former undersecretary observes.

Discussing Molotov's declaration on Romania, which pledged no interference in the internal affairs of the Romanian people and no territorial aggrandizement, Welles says that

"It stilled—at least for the moment—the voices of those among the peoples of the United Nations who have been so persistently claiming that the principles of the Atlantic Charter, in so far as the Soviet government was concerned, were a dead letter."

This is a clipping from page 2 of the Daily Worker. for April 13, 1944
Clipped at the Seat of Government.

Soviet Jews Meet--Vow Victory, Revenge

By Sam Brown
(By Wireless to Inter-Continent News)

MOSCOW, April 11 (ICN).—It will soon be three years that the peoples of the Soviet Union have been fighting with arms in hand, day and night. The Soviet peoples have stood all the tests with honor.

And at the meeting of the Jewish People's Anti-Fascist Committee representatives of the Jewish people proclaimed to the world this week: The small forces of the Jewish people have strained all their efforts, and together with all the peoples of the Soviet Union have accomplished much. But they mean to strain their efforts still more, to achieve complete victory, and call upon all the friends of freedom, democracy and justice to do the same.

Solomon Mikhoels opened the meeting. To left and right of him were Heroes of the Soviet Union, participants in the liberation of Byelo-Russia and the Ukraine, Jewish sailors who have struck blows at Hitlerites on the sea; Jewish partisans who have their special special score to settle with the Germans, and Jewish workers and engineers of the Moscow plants.

FAMILIAR FACES

I saw many Jewish acquaintances in the hall, not personal acquaintances, but uniforms of soldiers and officers of all the services of the Red Army which were familiar to me. The Orders on their breasts were familiar to me, many of which have been introduced since the outbreak of the war for daring exploits and glory, for heroism and victory.

Many speakers took the floor, among them Ilya Ehrenburg. He cannot speak calmly. So much innocent blood has been shed. He said: "The Red Army is moving westward. Germany now trembles in the face of inevitable retribution Stalin and the conscience of the people led the Red Army to the Pruth. . . . On the day when the accursed fascism falls the followers of the stupid and brutal heresy called 'anti-Semitism' will vanish into the night. The destiny of the Jews is indissolubly linked with the destiny of freedom and progress.

"I appeal to none. The time for words has long passed. Those who have consciences know what to do. The Soviet people have paid with their blood for triumph and justice and this will never be erased from the memory of mankind."

IS THERE ANY NEED

When Ehrenburg spoke about the Hitlerite crimes, about the murderers of children, I saw tears well up in the eyes of the battle-hardened men, grey-haired officers and Red Army soldiers who have passed through the burned and destroyed towns and villages.

But the Jews of the Soviet Union have a right to call upon and demand of their brothers on the opposite side of the ocean that they contribute their full share to this struggle for the future of their people.

There were no representatives of the American Jews at the meeting. But their greetings reached the meting, not only in the form of congratulatory telegrams read out from the tribune, but particularly in the speeches of Mikhoels and Itzik Feffer, famed poet, who in detail told of the sympathy and assistance which the peoples of America and the Jews of America are rendering in the struggle against Hitlerite fascism.

But Feffer stated, still greater effort must be made, for there can be no life on earth as long as the Brownshirt plague exists.

This is a clipping from page 2 of the Daily Worker for April 12, 1944
Clipped at the Seat of Government.

Kremlin Teases Browder

After the clarification of American foreign policy by Secretary Hull some people may be wondering if a clarification of Soviet foreign policy is not next in order. There are Americans who often wonder if the object of Soviet foreign policy is to drive the editor of The Daily Worker crazy. He must be all out of breath keeping step.

In milder form the Kremlin foreign policy makes the day's work harder for the friendly non-Communist observer. Here is our inept and wrong headed Administration policy in Italy. It does its best to keep the Italian King on his throne—as the commentators see it. But here is the leader of the Italian Communists fresh from Soviet Russia declaring against the King's forced abdication.

Here in Algiers is General de Gaulle carrying on his feud with General Giraud. From the first, de Gaulle has had Moscow's friendship, but when he tries to oust Giraud from the head of the army the French Communists come to Giraud's defense. How explain such startling contradictions unless it be that Mr. Stalin's principal aim is to give the editor of The Daily Worker a headache?

Clear but Wrong

Now that Secretary Hull has clarified the Administration's foreign policy a good many people find they don't like it. We suspected this to be the case right along. Usually when people demand a clarification they want things clarified their own way. When they criticize a policy for being obscure it is because the policy does not line up definitely on their side. When they find a foreign policy tortuous it is because the foreign policy does not move straight as an arrow to their own favorite objective.

This is a clipping from page 20 of the New York Times for April 12, 1944
Clipped at the Seat of Government.

SOVIET UNDECIDED ON ILO CONFERENCE

Welcome Sign Out for Philadelphia Meeting — Displacement Pay by Germany, Issue

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

PHILADELPHIA, April 10 — The Soviet Union, uninvited but advised that a delegation of its selection to the International Labor Conference beginning here April 20 would be welcomed, has not indicated whether it would send representatives to help charp a post-war social party for the United Nations.

Edward J. Phelan, acting director of the ILO, declined comment tonight as to the position of Russia except to say that every possible means had been utilized to let the Russians know that if they wished to send a delegation it would receive a most cordial reception. From another source it was learned that Russia had not yet made its decision.

Russia, since its expulsion from the League of Nations on Dec. 10, 1939, upon the occasion of its war with Finland, has not been privileged to send representatives to ILO meetings.

Should Russia elect not to send a delegation, it would ean that one of the so-called "Big Four" of the United Nations would be unrepresented at a convention where policies bearing upon the post-war conduct of all nations are to be drawn up in quasi-official form. The United States, Great Britain and China are to be represented, along with about thirty-five other nations.

Mr. Phelan said that he regarded it a "fair guess" that the details of the foreign policy of the United States, as enunciated last night by Cordell Hull, Secretary of State, in so far as they were pertinent to the agenda of the ILO meeting, would be put before the conference by the two Government delegates from the United States.

Twenty-six nations have already indicated that they would send delegations to the conference. About forty countries in all will be represented by the time the formal sessions begin on April 20. Preliminary meetings will start April 17.

Sweden, Switzerland, Turkey and Egypt, among neutral nations, are expected to attend, Mr. Phelan said. Portugal will not be represented, while Spain may not, he pointed out. Spain is not a member of the ILO.

Mr. Phelan said the questions of social security, colonial problems and the general question of United Nations policy would be the most difficult items on the conference agenda upon which to reach an agreement.

The insurance rights of displaced workers, such as those taken from their native countries into Germany by the Nazis to help maintain war production, will be another hotly contested problem, he said, despite the apparent simplicity of its solution.

By insurance, Mr. Phelan said, he meant what "social security" means in this country. In other words, what is to be done about the lapse of payments on the account of displaced workers taken from one country into another of or against their own free will?

This is a clipping from page 12 of the New York Times for April 11, 1944
Clipped at the Seat of Government.

REVIEWS THE ISSUE OF DOGMA ON POPE

Father Parsons Gives Basis of Tenet Challenged by the Metropolitan Sergius

In reply to the recent statement in the "Journal of the Moscow Patriarchate" by the Metropolitan Sergius of Moscow, Patriarch of the Russian Orthodox Church, in which he chalenged the fundamental basis for the Pope's authority as the "Vicar of Christ on earth," the Rev. Wilfrid Parsons, S. J., professor at the Catholic University, Washington, has written the following:

By WILFRID PARSONS, S. J.

It seems to me unfortunate, at this time, that the Russian Patriarch, echoed later in this country by the Angelican Archbishop of York, should have raised the question of what they call the "Papal claims."

As a purely theological question, this has been a matter of dispute between the Catholic Church in communion with the Pope on one side, and on the other, the Russian Greek Church and the Angelican Church for many centuries. It does not come under the head of news that these two high dignitaries reject the Pope.

It might have been well, however, if the Patriarch, in rejecting "Papal claims" to be the Vicar of Christ, had put them on the scriptural basis which the Catholic Church actually adduces. The Pope claim to be the Vicar of Christ on the historical ground, admitted by the Russian Orthodox Church, that St. Peter the Apostle was the first Bishop of Rome, and that the Pope is his successor in that See, and on the Scriptural gruond that St. Peter was given a special commission as Head of the Church.

These two grounds were admitted for many centuries both by th Eastern Churches and the Church of England and were freely accepted by both the eastern and western Fathers of the Church.

It does not seem to me, however, that the "Papal claims" to be the Vicar of Christ forms the real issue raised originally by the Russian patriarch.

The present Pope has been especially active in presenting what he conceives to be the base of a just peace. In proof of his position he, and Catholics who have interpreted him, have not appealed to the Pope's infallibility or to other theological sources, but to the natural and moral law which can be, and is, accepted by all who believe in God.

The heart of the Papal plan for peace is the necessity of an international organization which shall enforce the principles of the moral law and of juridical institutions which shall interpret them. This plan was acepted by the present Archbishop of Canterbury in Englang, in a joint statement with the late Cardinal Hinsley, and the President of the English Free Churches; and also in the seven-point Pattern for Peace signed in this country by many Protestants and Jews, as well as Catholics.

It is conceivable that the Russian Government does not like the idea of such an international organization and that the Russian Patriarch shares this dislike. But it is muddying the waters to confuse these moral principles with a theological question concerning the Vicar of Christ.

One can accept the former without admitting the latter, as many who are not Catholics have done. I, for one, regret that the esteemed Archbishop of York, apparently unwittingly, lent himself to what looks like a maneuver.

This is a clipping from page 3 of the New York Times for April 11, 1944
Clipped at the Seat of Government.

Hull's Approval of Russian Expansion Startles Capital

Small Nations' Spokesmen Privately Claim They've Been 'Sold Down the River'

By ARTHUR SEARS HENNING

Secretary of State Hull's interpretation of the Atlantic Charter as sanctioning the Russian expansionist program in eastern Europe and other territorial changes at the expense of small countries burst like a diplomatic bombshell on official Washington yesterday. The diplomats of the small countries involved took refuge in silence, not, however, without confiding privately the feeling that their nations have been "sold down the river" by the Roosevelt administration to appease Russia.

Nothing to Say

The Polish Embassy had nothing to say for publication, nor did the representatives of Latvia, Estonia and Lithuania concerning Mr. Hull's statement that the Atlantic Charted "does not prevent any steps . . . necessary to achieve" its objectives of "prevention of aggression and the establishment of world security." Dictator Stalin has sought to justify his program of annexation of eastern Poland, the Baltic states and parts of Finland and Romania as a measure for preventing aggression on Russia and thereby promoting world security. The fact that Mr. Hull stipulated that such territorial rearrangments among Allies should be accomplished by agreement between Russia and the small countries involved brought small comfort to the latter, for they well know that Russia, with the backing of Britain and the United States, will be able to bring well nigh irresistible pressure to bear upon the small countries to agree to the demands.

Security Reason Given

The Russian plan is to compensate Poland for loss of the eastern half of its country with a large part of east Prussia and other contiguous territory, part of which also would be taken by the Soviets.

According to Mr. Hull's interpretation of the Atlantic Charter such transfers of territory from Germany and other enemy countries would be effected in the interest of world security. Agreement of the enemy would be obtained by force. Under this sanction Stalin proposes to annex parts of Finland and Romania.

Romania is the enemy of all the big three powers. Finland is the enemy of Russia and Britain only. It is still at peace with the United States but finds no hope in Mr. Hull's interpretation of the charter. The Finnish legation was silent on the matter yesterday.

Inquiry Suggested

On Capitol Hill interest was manifested not only in Hull's construction of the Atlantic Charter but in the Secretary's statement that "much of the work of formulating plans for the organization to maintain peace has been accomplished." Suggestions were heard that Congress inquire just what has been accomplished.

The plan is said to be a revival of the League of Nations with a formula equivalent to Article X of the Wilson Covenant for maintaining the status quo. The big three powers would dominate the League with China added for window dressing. An international police force also figures in the plan.

The Administration contemplates getting Congress to accept the League plan in advance of the national political conventions, and getting the approval by a joint resolution requiring a simple majority only of each House, instead of the two-thirds of the Senate required for consent to a treaty.

Wheeler Makes Attack

Senator Wheeler (D.), of Montana, said that Hull's speech signalized the end of the Atlantic Charter.

"Hull tossed the charter out the window," said Wheeler. "The Atlantic Charter was widely ballyhooed as the sheet anchor of liberty in a new world. Small nations were guaranteed restoration of their independence, self determination guaranteed and all that. Now we find that Mr. Hull interprets the charter in such fashion that Stalin can annex half of Poland and the Baltic republics as well as slices of Finland and Romania, and Britain can keep Hong Kong. Why, Britain went to war because Hitler wanted the Polish corridor, about 100th part of the Polish territory Stalin intends to annex. Talk about appeasement; who's appeasing Stalin and Churchill now?"

Some Senators who approved the Hull speech pointed out that the secretary's application of the Atlantic Charter to enemy countries clearly sanctions annexation by the United States of the Marshall, Carolines and other Japanese islands in the Pacific in the interest of "prevention of aggression."

Nye Is "Amazed"

Senator Nye (R.), of North Dakota, said that "it is amazing that any man can find that there can be such division of territory in Europe as is now contemplated and still call it in keeping with the Atlantic Charter."

Representative O'Konski (R.), of Wisconsin, said "it still appears that we are continuing to give plenty and not ask anything."

While noting that the Hull pronouncement sanctions American retention of Pacific islands taken from the Japs, Senator Butler (R.), of Nebraska, said he was not sure "what our position will be when some of our Allies insist on the same interpretation in retaining certain territories that they have acquired."

Opinions Varied

Senator Wiley (R.), of Wisconsin, said he gathered from Hull's statement that "this country is ready to co-operate with others, though it is doubtful that other countries are ready to work with us."

Senator Austin (R.), of Vermont, was gratified by the "many common denominators between the Administration's policy and the Republican party's policy."

"I thought Mr. Hull's speech made confusion worse confounded," said Representative Fish (R.), of New York. "I'm convinced the Administration has no foreign policy but to appease Soviet Russia."

Wash. Times-Herald April 11, 1944

PRAVDA RIDICULES TIMES WAR WRITER

Hanson W. Baldwin Is Termed an 'Ink-Pool Admiral' Who Uses German Data

By Wireless to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

MOSCOW, April 9—Pravda published today a sharp, satirical personal attack upon Hanson W. Baldwin, military commentator of THE NEW YORK TIMES, labeling him "admiral of the ink pool." Mr. Baldwin, according to Pravda, relies exclusively upon German information for news of the Soviet-German front, and thereby has put himself and his newspaper in a ridiculous position.

The author of the 1,100-word dispatch concerning Mr. Baldwin is David Zaslavsky, one of the Soviet Union's leading writers, who recently attacked Wendell Willkie and William R. Hearst.

Mr. Zaslavsky quoted from Mr. Baldwin's dispatches over the period since the Soviet-German war began, and concluded that Mr. Baldwin had made a number of incorrect appraisals and forecasts of the true situation on the Eastern Front.

"You can't explain the systematic failures of Mr. Baldwin only by his lack of information or by his limitations," Mr. Zaslavsky said. "The source of his mastakes is different, and he has disclosed it himself. On April 26, 1942, he wrote that he did not trust Soviet information and that he operated only on the basis of German information. To this he has remained inevitably true. And that's exactly why his 'prognoses' are suffering defeats, together with Germany.

"German information is misinformation. Speaking simply, it is lies. The Germans try to deceive everybody—their adversaries, the neutrals and their own people. They are deceiving very crudely, and only those who want to be deceived."

Naval Experience Cited

"The ink pool admiral—Hanson Baldwin—can say that he is also a sort of victim of German atrocities. The Germans have atrociously deceived him and put him in wrong. But he wanted it himself. The fact that he is attracted to false German sources is really a kind of political disease, so let him blame himself if he has put himself and his newspaper in a ridiculous position."

Mr. Zaslavsky began his dispatch by recalling that Mr. Baldwin was graduated from the United States Naval Academy at Annapolis in 1924 and suggested that if he had continued this way of life "he could probably now serve his fatherland with the rank of admiral in the American Navy."

But, Mr. Zaslavsky continued, Mr. Baldwin's way of life made a sharp turn in 1927, and "we see the young 24-year-old lieutenant in the editorial office of the big newspaper, The Baltimore Sun," making "a long-distance voyage with the rank of police reporter over the stormy waves of the inky sea."

"It is not known on which detective coasts Mr. Baldwin would have landed, but very soon he makes a fancy zig-zag again," Mr. Zaslavsky continued. "Mr. Baldwin becomes a constant and very fertile war observer for the newspaper THE NEW YORK TIMES. The combination in one person of a land-going sailor and a literary detective produces a curious mixture. Mr. Baldwin writes very determinedly, but flows very shallowly."

Mr. Zaslavsky said that Mr. Baldwin's book published early in 1942 had revealed extreme respect for the German Army as the strongest in the world and extreme contempt for the Red Army, and observed: "We can see now that Mr. Baldwin was mistaken."

The Pravda writer said that Mr. Baldwin repeated everything the Germans had to say about a lightning victory over the Soviet Union when the war began in 1941—forecasts that made Mr. Baldwin "look silly."

Some Prophecies Assailed

"All through 1941 and the greater part of 1942, Mr. Baldwin in his surveys was forecasting the defeat of the Red Army," Mr. Zaslavsky said. "On paper he himself was defeating the Red Army, and about him you could say, in the words of an old Russian song: 'Here, in militant zeal, Mister Hanson Baldwin defeats Russia on a map by his forefinger.'

Mr. Zaslavsky quoted a number of Mr. Baldwin's forecasts that he said did not turn out right, and that Mr. Zaslavsky said should have persuaded the THE NEW YORK TIMES commentator to "once and forever give up making brash prophecies." But, Mr. Zaslavsky added, Mr. Baldwin's tongue is h'is enemy, and he forecast with all the authority of an old seawolf that the Russians wouldn't have any big victories" in the winter of 1942-43. The Soviet author said that prophecy was faulty navigation.

Mr. Zaslavsky concluded with the assertion that if Mr. Baldwin had commanded a naval ship "along such course, with such skill, and with such brains, he would have smashed the ship long ago, and would have been thrown out of the Navy in dishonor.

"But an inky sea has its own laws," Mr. Zaslavsky said. Its admirals can for years flounder around in the pool and feel no shame at all."

This is a clipping from page 3 of the New York Times for April 10, 1944
Clipped at the Seat of Government.

The New Head Of Soviet Labor

Vassily Kuznetzov is a steel worker who studied our technique at Pittsburgh's Carnegie Institute. Like his predecessor Nikolai Shvernik, he's long been active in labor and government work.

By DOROTHY LOEB

NIKOLAI SHVERNIK, long-time secretary of the All-Union Central Council of Soviet Trade Unions, has been elected to a high government post which corresponds roughly to the vice-presidency of the United States.

Shvernik's election to the vice-chairmanship of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR might be called to the attention of Matthew Woll and William Hutcheson and their like in the AFL Executive Council, who still fight against American collaboration with Russian labor.

While they still break their heads on how to widen labor representation in government agencies, Shvernik's elevation to high office in the Soviet Union was taken as a matter of course and hardly rated special comment on the grounds that he was a labor man.

Shvernik was also recently elected chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic. In addition to those posts, he is a member of the Supreme War Council, chairman of the Soviet of Nationalities and chairman of the State Committee to Investigate German Atrocities.

Burdened with all these state responsibilities, Shvernik, who is probably the laborite best known outside of Soviet borders, recently resigned as head of the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions.

As a result, when the world labor conference convenes in London this June, the leader of the delegation will probably be not Shvernik, but Vasily Kuznetzov, the 43-year-old former leader of the Iron and Steel Workers Union, who succeeded him.

Kuznetzov, elected at the 12th convention of Soviet labor, March 10 to 15 at Moscow, will be well equipped to talk things over with American delegates at the conference. He knows the ~~United~~ States.

He studied the metallurgical industry in America's biggest

This is a clipping from page 7 of the ~~Daily~~ Worker Mag. Sect. for April 9, 1944
Clipped at the Seat of Government.

VASSILI KUZNETZOV

NIKOLAI SHVERNIK

plants from 1931 to 1933. That was when he was a student at Carnegie Institute, Pittsburgh, sent by the Peoples' Commissariat of heavy industry. Carnegie gave him a master's degree in engineering.

Son of a peasant family from the Gorky region, Kuznetzov worked in steel mills, starting as a worker, learning the industry from the ground up. At the same time he pursued intensive academic studies, graduating from technical college and winning his engineer's degree from Leningrad Poly technical Institute before he came to Carnegie. Somewhere in between he sandwiched in military training in the Red Army.

Before he came to America, Kuznetzov had worked at the Makayev Iron and Steel works in the Don Basin, in the Peoples Commissariat of Ferrous Metallurgy and in the State Planning Commission of the USSR.

On his return from Carnegie Tech, he became chief of the laboratory at the Elektrostal plant.

He managed to be active in trade union circles and in government work at the same time. At the plant, he headed the section of engineers and technicians in the union and served on the chief shop committee. He was elected chairman of the steel union's central committee in 1943.

Kuznetzov was decorated with four government orders for valuable inventions he perfected. In 1941, he got the Stalin prize for developing and introducing production of new grades of steel.

Fellow trade unionists describe him as highly energetic, bold in initiating new ideas, and tireless in applying them. He is married and the father of three children. His wife, Zoya Izumnova, who has a master's degree in science, teaches at Moscow State University.

Disputes Concept Of Vicar of Christ

MOSCOW, April 7 (UP).—Patriarch Sergei of Moscow, Metropolitan of the Russian Orthodox Church, today challenged the fundamental basis for the Pope's authority as the "Vicar of Christ on Earth."

Writing in the Journal of the Moscow Patriarchate, he said that all the Holy Scriptures are contrary to the Catholic principle and asserted that if Christ physically abandoned the earth he never had abandoned the church spiritually and was always in constant communion with it.

The uninterrupted presence of Christ in the church and the spiritual marriage between Christ and the church make inconceiveable the concept of an intermediary between the two, such as a vicar on earth, the Patriarch wrote.

He said that some central church authority to centralize and administer church affairs was conceiveable.

The Metropolitan said he could conceived of a union of churches around some chief who would not be a vicar of Christ but would be a sort of president of a universal council of bishops, and bishop of some world capital.

It might be useful and practical, he wrote, to have such a chief, but without conferring unlimited power upon a man exposed to earthly temptations.

This is a clipping from page 2 of the Daily Worker for April 8, 1944 Clipped at the Seat of Government.

MOSCOW PAPERS FREE FROM OFFICIALS' RULE

Not Everything in Them Expresses the Kremlin's View

MOSCOW, April 7 (AP)—Everything that appears in the Soviet press now is not necessarily an official expression of the Russian Government's point of view. This may help to answer the questions of some followers of Soviet foreign policy who have been puzzled by stories and editorials in Moscow papers and accepted abroad as official expressions of opinion.

The fact that editors and writers have been put on their own may explain numerous articles that have upset foreign interpreters of Soviet foreign policy.

High Allied diplomats in Moscow never believed the Russians had changed their point of view since the Moscow and Teheran conferences. Their only criticism was that they did not understand some of the things appearing in the press. The newspaper Pravda's "separate peace" rumor was one of these, the attack on Wendell Willkie was another, and the attack on the Pope was a third.

One Soviet official with authority said Russian writers expressed what they thought and the Kremlin was too busy winning the war to survey every item in the press.

This is a clipping from page 5 of the New York Times for April 8, 1944
Clipped at the Seat of Government.

Soviet Journal Raps N. Y. Judge's Ruling

MOSCOW, April 5 (ICN).—The action of an American judge in refusing to forward an inheritance of an American citizen to his two rightful heirs in the Soviet Union was deemed "as ignorance in legal matters or a hostile act against an allied country," the Soviet trade union journal "War and the Working Class" declared today.

The decision can only arouse the indignation of the Soviet people, said the Soviet trade union periodical, and is "all the more dangerous because it sets a precedent for similar cases."

The judge was guided by a law adopted in New York State in 1939 forbidding transfer of an inheritance abroad if there is no guarantee that it would be received by the rightful heir. It was directed against the Nazi government which would be inclined to seize property inherited by persons residing in Germany.

That this law should now be used against the Soviet Union is an indication that the judge was guided by "hatred of the Soviet Union or lack of understanding of the role of the USSR in the great liberation struggle against Hitler Germany" declared the periodical.

Facts in the case are:

Early in March 1944, a New York Court considered the esate of an American citizen, Alexandrov, who died in the United States. Judge Folley refused the inheritance to two Soviet citizens basing himself on the 1939 law.

"And now this law," explains 'War and the Working Class,' "justly directed against fascist robbers, the accursed enemies of democracy, a judge has decided to apply to an estate inherited by Soviet citizens. He dared to assert that he has no guarantee that Alexandrov's heirs would really receive the inheritance due them. Hence the judge's decision draws a sign of equality between citizens of an enemy state against which the 1939 law was adopted and the citizens of the Soviet Union!"

"War and the Working Class" expressed the hope that in reconsideration of the case competent American judicial institutions would reverse the biased decision.

Daily Worker
April 6, 19

Farewell To Marx

The first step in understanding the relation of Russia to the rest of the world is, it seems to us, to realize that Russia has long since ceased to be Communist or even Socialist as the words are generally understood. And this is perhaps why the Communist leaders in the United States, most of whom are now middle-aged and rather "set" in their psychological ways, have had, despite all their pious intentions, so much difficulty in trying to anticipate the latest maneuvers of policy in Moscow.

Belief in the inerrancy of the gospel, according to St. Marx, has formally been labeled heresy by the eminent Soviet theologians, who are quoted in an illuminating article by Mr. Will Lissner, published last Sunday in the *New York Times*. According to this article, Marx's theories of surplus value, which lie at the crux of his whole system, have now been condemned "naive." And the capitalistic system, so far from being an anachronism, as Marx contended, is in fact "progressive," and the only difference between it and the Stalinized socialism now orthodox in the Soviet Union is that the latter is just a little more "progressive." It may be a little bitter to have to say so, but the Rev. Father Coughlin has been much quicker to get the point of this than the editors of the *Daily Worker* and *The New Masses*. Anyway, Father Coughlin is reported to have warmly praised the new economic doctrines emanating from Moscow.

This is not at all an illogical development if examined carefully in the light of the relation of Soviet foreign policy and Soviet economic theory over the past quarter century. In the beginning, and in the heyday of the Third Internationale, when the idea of world revolution was strong, Soviet diplomacy was more or less an instrument of that idea. In the second period world communism, as represented by the Comintern, became the instrument of diplomacy. Communist propaganda, here and elsewhere outside of Russia, was no longer related to the teachings of St. Marx or St. Lenin, but to the changing exigencies of the Russian foreign office.

When it became obvious that the Comintern had become more of a hindrance than a help to foreign policy, the Comintern was dissolved. The truth is that the Kremlin was rather slow to recognize that the Comintern and the gospel of revolution had long been more of a liability than an asset. It was the fear of Bolshevism more than anything else which made possible the rise of Mussolini and Hitler and inevitably involved Russia in war. Something of this fear persists even in the nations now allied with Russia, though it is now related more to a new Russian imperialism than to a Bolshevist revolution. And this fear, as Stalin realizes, is the greatest obstacle to that *modus vivendi* between so-called Communist Russia and the so-called capitalistic powers. If a redefinition of socialism to show that, so far from being revolutionary, it is virtually indistinguishable from capitalism will help to remove that obstacle, why nothing is easier, since with Russian socialism, this has long been the case.

Wash. Post
April 5, 1944 p. 11

Molotoff Drops His Policy Of Isolation From Press

3 4/4

By Wireless to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

MOSCOW, April 3 — After making his historic announcement to the press Sunday night that the Red Army had crossed the frontier of Rumania, Vyacheslaff M. Molotoff, Soviet Foreign Commissar, volunteered that, in future, his office would hold pres sconferences as often as it seemed necessary.

His meeting with newspaper correspondents Sunday marked the first time he had met the press and permitted a question-and-answer period.

Mr. Molotoff was in jocular mood when he received the foreign press, becoming more serious later as he read the statement on the invasion. But when he encountered a question he did not want to answer, he was as pleasant and appeared almost as experienced as President Roosevelt in turning [illegible] aside.

This is a clipping from page 3 of the New York Times for April 4, 1944
Clipped at the Seat of Government.

BOOKS

:ationalizing Russia

THE ROAD TO TEHERAN—*Foster Rhea ulles—Princeton University* ($2.50).
RUSSIA AND THE UNITED STATES—*itirim A. Sorokin—Dutton* ($3).
USSR: THE STORY OF SOVIET RUSSIA—*/alter Duranty—Lippincott* ($3).
RUSSIA AND POSTWAR EUROPE—*David Dallin—Yale University* ($2.75).

Despite a few fumbling attempts to ·rbid the banns, the writers of three of ese books insist that the U.S. should epare for a golden honeymoon with stwar Russia. There is unabashed woo- in Foster Rhea Dulles' *The Road to heran.* More surprising is the headlong urtship of Pitirim A. Sorokin, the Har- sociologist who was once a member Kerenski's Cabinet and an unrelenting of Lenin and Trotsky. There is nuptial ilation in Walter Duranty's *USSR.* t there is little besides gloomy fore- ding in David J. Dallin's *Russia and stwar Europe.*

For Balance of Power. Professor Dulles' book is the least controversial. From the library and the newspaper morgue he has assembled the facts about U.S.-Russian relations during the great crises of 150 years of history. There have been four high points in these relations:

¶ When Napoleon was Europe's Hitler, the governments of Thomas Jefferson and Czar Alexander I had similar interests in opposing both British interference with neutral shipping and Napoleon's efforts to create a western European autarchy. When the Czar espoused the reactionary Holy Alliance, which planned to regain the rebellious South American colonies for Spain, the U.S. answered with the Monroe Doctrine.

¶ In the early 19th Century the fur-hunting Russians came pelting down the Pacific coast from Alaska, established a colony some 50 miles north of San Francisco. War between Russia and the U.S. might have resulted, but just then the sea-otter trade began to peter out, the Court of St. Petersburg lost interest in its California and Oregon claims.

¶ In 1863, when the North feared that Britain would recognize the Confederacy, units of the Russian Navy put in at New York and San Francisco. The Russians had really scattered their fleet to have it free for raiding should war come with France and England over the Polish question. But the North took the visit as a symbol of U.S.-Russian solidarity.

¶ The U.S. was enthusiastic about the Provisional Government that succeeded the Czar, but when the Bolsheviks took Russia out of World War I the U.S. sent "protective" U.S. forces to Archangel and Vladivostok. The Bolsheviks considered this part of a general capitalist plot against the "Workers' Fatherland," though the presence of U.S. troops kept Japan from biting off eastern Siberia.

Standing on high geopolitical ground, Dulles argues that the U.S. and Russia will always tend to remain friends since they tend to have the same enemies whenever a European or an east Asiatic power gets too big for its breeches.

For Egalitarianism. The astounding thesis of *Russia and the United States* is that the two nations tend to resemble each other in culture, morals, industry and democratic standards. Russians and Americans, says Sorokin, have a common instinct for egalitarian philosophy. He predicts that the economic systems of the two nations will converge more & more, as small-property rights come back in Russia and as big-property rights in the U.S. are subjected to increasing Government manipulations.

Russia, says Sorokin, is moving to the right even as the capitalist world moves toward its own compromise with statism. Sorokin never seems to suspect that that compromise may be saving Stalin the trouble of collectivizing the democracies.

USSR is another version of the book that Walter Duranty has been writing ever since he became the New York *Times'* correspondent in Moscow shortly after the Bolshevik Revolution. Packed with firsthand observations by a brilliant reporter of Russian life, politics, and politicians, the book is a history of the U.S.S.R. from 1917 to date. But it must be borne in mind that Author Duranty was long Russia's No. 1 apologist among foreign correspondents. He is also the man who, when Stalin deliberately doomed some 3,000,000 peasants to death from starvation by withholding grain, remarked that "You can't make an omelet without breaking eggs."

Oncoming Glacier. David J. Dallin's study is perhaps the most enlightening book that has appeared about Soviet foreign policy. Most foreign observers of Bolshevik policy are defeated at the start because they do their thinking within the context of European political traditions. European foreign policies are often ruthless and immoral in the sense that they violate the basic premises of Europe's Christian culture. Bolshevik foreign policy is always ruthless and amoral, in the sense

that it denies these premises—an important distinction. Professor Dallin, a former member of the Moscow Soviet, at best thinks like a Bolshevik, at worst understands how Bolsheviks think. Soviet foreign policy which for Winston Churchill has been "a riddle wrapped in a mystery inside an enigma" is for Dallin a sphinx without a secret.

Dallin's main point: the tactics of Russian foreign policy change with circumstances; the grand strategy never changes. The aim of that strategy: to keep all other powers in hostile balance or at war among themselves so that they will be too divided to unite against Russia, and eventually too weakened by war to resist the spread of Russian foreign policy when, in Clausewitz' phrase, it is continued by other means—*i.e.*, by the Red Army. Thus there is nothing mysterious (and from the amoral Bolshevik viewpoint, nothing perfidious) in Russia's series of sudden switches from alliance with the French-British-U.S. political cartel to the German power trust, and back again. When viewed through the Kremlin windows, the Moscow-Berlin pact was strategically impeccable. (It embroiled all Russia's important enemies except Japan and the U.S.) Tactically, it involved a miscalculation—the Allies were weaker, the Germans stronger than the Kremlin realized.

What Russia Wants. *Russia and Postwar Europe* minutely investigates (chiefly with the aid of Soviet sources) the shifts of Soviet foreign policy between 1917 and 1943—an investigation lit up by such flashes from the Bolshevik mind at work as Lenin's comment on his meeting with France's diplomatic representative, Count de Lubersac: "We shook each other's hand . . . aware that each one of us would readily hang his partner. But our interests coincided."

But most interesting for U.S. readers will be Dallin's forecast of Russia's current territorial ambitions in Europe. In the Czar's secret archives the Bolsheviks found a plan of the Russian territorial and political demands after World War I (*see map, p. 98*). They included:

¶ East Prussia and parts of Pomerania and German Silesia up to the Oder River.

¶ Galicia and northern Bukovina (now parts of Poland and Rumania).

¶ Most of European Turkey and the Asiatic shore of the Bosporus.

¶ Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia and Bulgaria to be a Russian sphere of influence, with a corridor along Austria's eastern frontier connecting the Czechs and the Yugoslavs, cutting off the Austrians from the Hungarians.

¶ Hungary and Rumania, nominally independent but surrounded by the Russian sphere of influence.

This plan, says Professor Dallin, "is still accurate." Chief differences: Turkey is not now at war with Russia, Rumania is. "Hence, the road to the Balkans now leads across Rumania and not through Turkey," while Czarist Pan-Slavism has been replaced by Partisan armies (Yugoslavia), Liberation Committees (Poland), mutual assistance pacts (Czecho-Slovakia).

But even more important than this prognosis, in the last analysis, are Professor Dallin's chapters about Russian relations past & future with Germany. There is an old saying that "Whoever controls the Moravian Gate [the gap between the Tatra and Bohemian mountains] controls Europe." Professor Dallin is well aware that Germany is the Moravian Gate of European politics—that control of Germany will determine whether Europe is to go Communist or democratic. The question is: Who will control Germany after the war—Russia or Britain and the U.S.? Professor Dallin does not know the answer to this one, which only the history of the next two decades can give. But he quotes Lenin ("We cannot live in peace—memorial services will be sung either over the Soviet Republic or over world capitalism"); and the official Soviet review, *Bolshevik* ("He who does not understand the German question does not understand the path of the development of proletarian revolution in Europe"). Professor Dallin's book is above all a contribution to such understanding.

HERVEY ALLEN
The total effect is epic and disorderly.
(See below)

Russia and the Balkans

A JOCULAR QUESTION often asked by Bulgarians during the present war is: "If six Russian soldiers land at Varna, how many will reach Sofia?" The answer: "Six million." The Russian soldiers would have the entire Bulgarian people behind them. With the arrival of Russia's hard-driving southern armies on the border of Rumania, and with Hitler's seizure of Hungary, the same question may well be asked of all Balkan peoples. Will they welcome the Russians? Do they expect Soviet aid in driving out the Germans? In short, what will Russia's role be in future Balkan politics?

The key to these questions is in a number of recent developments in the Balkan countries themselves. In Yugoslavia the Partisans have established their own provisional government. In Greece civil strife between various guerrilla armies has been halted and the National Liberation Front has emerged as the country's most powerful political resistance movement. In Bulgaria underground activities and guerrilla warfare have increased under the central direction of the anti-fascist Fatherland Front. In Rumania civil unrest has reached the boiling point.

All of these developments suggest a new departure in Balkan politics. For the Balkan peoples the war against the Axis is not only a struggle for national liberation, but it has also assumed the character of a social-revolutionary upheaval. A realistic appraisal of future possibilities must therefore recognize that once the peoples under Axis domination begin to fight their own war, without passively waiting to be liberated from the outside, they will also insist on shaping the outlines of their political futures without interference.

For decades the Balkan peninsula has been "the powder keg of Europe." It took fascism to arouse the Balkan people against the four evils of misgovernment, economic backwardness, nationalistic rivalry and foreign imperialism, which for so long beset their countries. Their liquidation is as much an objective of the war of liberation as the defeat of the Axis. This explains the apparent paradox of the present Balkan situation which, on the surface, looks worse than ever. Fascist puppets in Zagreb, Belgrade, Sofia, Bucharest and Athens, on orders from Berlin, wage ruthless civil war against their own and neighboring peoples. Abroad, reactionary governments-in-exile and self-appointed spokesmen sow confusion about the aspirations of the popular movements at home. Their sole purpose is to guarantee their own return and to reëstablish the status quo. Never before has there been so much death, starvation, destruction and hatred in the Balkan lands. But never has there been, in spite of the present turmoil, so much hope for the future.

When on November 30, 1943, the "Free Yugoslavia" radio announced that strong Rumanian and Bulgarian guerrilla units had joined the Partisan Army of Liberation under Tito, the symbolic value of the announcement was probably more important than the actual numerical strength of these bands. It belied the age-old myth that the Balkan peoples, because of allegedly irreconcilable racial, cultural and religious differences, could not join hands and solve their common problems. This notion, carefully nurtured by interested parties, has been responsible for much bloodshed in the Balkans. But it is not only hostility to the common enemy which unites Serbs, Croats, Slovenes, Bulgars, Rumanians, Hungarians, Czechs and Slovaks in the Partisan movement. The desire for a federation of the Balkan peoples has been expressed for at least half a century by the best minds of the peninsula's green agrarianism. Time and again the efforts to achieve Balkan unity failed because their realization depended on a democratic basis that was lacking. Now, however, in the midst of war and under the heel of foreign oppression, this democratic foundation is being built in the liberation and underground movements of Yugoslavia, Greece, Bulgaria and Rumania.

The Yugoslavia Partisan movement is particularly significant, because it is a living expression of the idea of democratic and federal Balkan unity. Its political importance for the entire Balkan peninsula consists in the realization that the evil of chauvinistic rivalry is closely tied up with the evil of autocratic class rule. Its intention to do away with both evils simultaneously and to introduce federal unity and democratic government into Balkan politics, was clearly put forward in a resolution adopted on November 29, 1943, by the Partisan Assembly at Jajce. This resolution purposefully links the federative principle with the demand for abolition of traditional class rule. It provides that "in order to guarantee real sovereignty to each of the Yugoslav peoples and make sure that Yugoslavia will no longer be *an arena for the activities of any reactionary clique*, the federative principle will ensure full equality to all the peoples of Serbia, Croatia, Slovenia, Macedonia, Bosnia and Herzegovina." (Italics mine. – H. E.)

The emergence of the powerful Partisan movement in Yugoslavia and the eclipse of the government-in-exile-supported Chetnik army of General Mihailovich suggest that large sectors of the Yugoslav people, especially workers and peasants, see in the former the fulfilment of their desire for social and federal democracy. Very much the same development has taken place in Greece. There the military forces of the Liberation Front far outnumber other guerrilla groups. The Lib-

eration Front, or EAM, is not just fighting for the liberation of Greece from foreign oppression, but also for the establishment of a social democracy after the liberation. Recently the differences between the forces of the EAM and guerrilla bands led by Col. Napoleon Zervas have been settled. Responsibility for Greek fratricide has been attributed partly to the Greek Government-in-Exile, anxious to promote Zervas as the "Greek Mihailovich" for the purpose of counterbalancing the hostile Liberation Front, and partly to the Germans, who played on Zervas' anti-communist bias by dubbing the EAM communist.

The rallying point of all underground opposition in Bulgaria is the influential Otet Chestven, or Fatherland Front. It includes all parties opposed to the Nazi puppet government. It is genuinely revolutionary. It opposes the war, advocates the withdrawal of Bulgarian troops from Yugoslavia and the expulsion of the Germans from Bulgaria, resists the export of foodstuffs and raw materials to Germany, demands the release of all imprisoned civilian and military personnel, but most significantly, also proposes a democratic program for Bulgaria's future. Point seven of its program insists that "all political rights of the people must be reëstablished and freedom of the press reinstated as well as public meetings and organizations permitted." It warns that it will defend "national, economic, political and labor interests against foreign interference," and demands a "high standard of living for urban and rural populations." The program closes with a call for revolutionary action: "All Bulgarians must unite to overthrow the present treacherous, Hitler-controlled government and replace it by a government of the people that will represent the whole nation and the true Bulgarian spirit."

While revolutionary action has most progressed in the three other countries, its fury on reaching Rumania may surpass anything known elsewhere. Rumania's economic poverty and the low standard of living of her people; the corruption of her ruling class, misgoverning the country by petty tyranny and petty bribery; and foreign fascist oppression have prepared a fertile soil for revolutionary action. Revolution is only delayed by the presence of German troops. No clearly defined political program from Rumania's underground has reached the outside world. But it is known that the most effective struggle is waged by young Rumanians belonging to decidedly leftist political circles. That they look to Russia for assistance is understandable. But revolution in Rumania will come of itself and without Soviet aid when the Germans are driven out.

Whether one welcomes or dislikes the fact that the popular movements in the Balkan countries are social-revolutionary in character and purpose, their existence cannot be denied. To label them "communist" may discredit, but it will not liquidate them. There undoubtedly is some communist leadership, but the majority of

the leaders and the vast majority of the following are non-communist. Intervention against these movements, even if temporarily successful, can only lead to disaster.

Fortunately, neither Great Britain nor the United States seems inclined to put obstacles in the path of the Balkan resistance movements. Both are sending military supplies to the Yugoslav and Greek Partisans. Both are acting in complete harmony with the Soviet Union. On December 14, 1943, Foreign Secretary Anthony Eden informed the House of Commons that he had discussed the Balkan situation with Foreign Commissar Molotov at Moscow and Teheran. On January 30, 1944, the USSR rejected a proposal, made by the Yugoslav Government-in-Exile, for a treaty of alliance and friendship, thus affirming its support of the Partisan movement. Previously, on January 11, former Soviet Foreign Vice Commissar Alexander Korneychuk had handed a note to the Greek ambassador in Moscow, A. Politis, censuring in effect the splitting tactics of the Greek Government-in-Exile and indicating that the Soviet Union does not exclusively support the communist elements in the Greek liberation movement. In the meantime the Soviet journal, War and the Working Class, denounced the Greek Government-in-Exile as reactionary. Present indications are that Great Britain and the United States, possibly in acknowledgment of the predominance of Soviet interests in the Balkans, do not plan to apply to this area the undemocratic policy of dealing with Balkan Darlans or Badoglios.

This does not mean, however, that the peninsula will be completely removed from the sphere of imperialistic rivalry. Just as the Soviet Union is interested in having friendly governments in the countries surrounding her, Great Britain is interested in preserving the friendship of any Greek government, indispensable for the security of British shipping lanes in the Mediterranean. Moreover, Anglo-American capital will certainly be necessary for the economic reconstruction of the Balkan nations. To prevent Russian and Anglo-American interests from clashing and making the Balkans the powder keg of the world, will require the successful continuation of the spirit manifested at Moscow and Teheran. Frank recognition of the preponderance of Soviet interests in this area is clearly the most promising feature of Russo-Anglo-American political collaboration.

Soviet influence in future Balkan politics is natural. It derives from the tremendous popularity which the USSR enjoys among large sections of the Balkan peoples, especially peasants and workers, as much as from the reality of power. The heroic resistance of the Russian armies to German aggression has been a major factor in arousing the Balkan will to resist. Much emphasis has been laid on the close racial ties which exist between the South Slavs and the people of the USSR. The organization of All-Slav congresses in Moscow

suggests that the Kremlin is taking full advantage of the idea of Slavic unity. But more than just racial affinity draws the Balkan peoples and the Russians together. There is the fact that the Soviet Union has successfully solved two of the major political difficulties responsible for decades of unrest in the Balkans, the liquidation of the old ruling classes and the federal solution of the nationality problem.

Those who raise the cry of "Soviet imperialism" fail to understand that the overwhelming majority of the common people in the Balkans do not fear Soviet influence. In the first place, if the USSR has any plans for the economic integration of the peninsula, they are the very opposite of old-fashioned exploitative imperialism. Economic union of the Balkan nations under Russian auspices would be mutually advantageous. Second, there is no evidence that the USSR plans the sovietization of the national economies of the Balkan countries. Such an attempt would find fierce opposition on the part of the Balkan peasantry, which has its economic roots in small land-holdings. The Yugoslav Partisan movement, for instance, does not advocate collectivization of agriculture, but insists on the maintenance of private property.

Soviet influence in the Balkans may therefore turn out to be a stabilizing factor. There is nothing sinister in this development. It is as natural as the close ties which may be expected to exist after the war between Great Britain and the Scandinavian nations. This was recognized by President Benes of Czecho-Slovakia, who, speaking before the Czecho-Slovak National Council in London on February 3, 1944, pointed out that Soviet obligations and aims in the postwar world are "more than merely revolutionary and exclusively Soviet in character," and emphasized that the Soviet-Czecho-Slovakian alliance has assured the security of his country.

What particular organizational forms will evolve on the Balkan peninsula that will ensure national cooperation is a matter of mere speculation. The Soviet government has not indicated so far what its precise plans are, although it has made it plain that it is unalterably opposed to any regional federation which might be turned into an anti-Soviet political instrument. I do not believe that the recent constitutional changes in the Soviet Union, giving considerable power in military and foreign affairs to the separate republics, were adopted with an eye to possible inclusion of Balkan nations in the USSR. But the Bulgarians may decide to join the Yugoslavs in a great South Slav federation, the nucleus of a Balkan bloc, which would have close ties with the Soviet Union. Or the Balkan nations may continue to exist as independent states bound to the Soviet Union by individual treaties of alliance such as the Soviet-Czecho-Slovakian treaty. Either alternative is possible. But whichever is finally adopted, it is inevitable that the Balkan peoples will lean heavily on the USSR for no other reason than the striking similarity of interests—political, economic and cultural.

HEINZ H. F. EULAU

RUSSIA'S NEW "CAPITALISM"

A revolutionary change in the official economic philosophy of Soviet Russia, which seeks to adapt Communist dogma to the practical requirements of a country whose very existence depends on utmost production, has just been propounded by Russia's leading economists. It is henceforth to be expounded as the only true doctrine by the entire rigidly controlled and coordinated Soviet educational and propaganda system. The new doctrine, which abjures previous "errors," which revises some of the fundamental Socialist and Communist tenets, and which goes so far as to declare "naive and pedantic" the hitherto sacrosanct assumption that the "science" of Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, the founding prophets of socialism and communism, foresaw everything and prescribed the only road to salvation, is frankly admitted to be more a product of Stalin than of Marx or Lenin. But it is in line with many puzzling things that have been happening in Russia and in the Communist branch parties throughout the world.

It explains why the pictures of Mark and Engels in Stalin's own conference rooms have been replaced with pictures of Czarist generals like Suvorov and Kutuzov and Nevsky, why the sixty-first anniversary of Karl Marx's death, to which the Communist press in this country still devoted a large spread, passed without a single word of mention in the Russian press, why the "American" Communists have suddenly embraced capitalism, and why the Italian Communists are perfectly willing to go along with the Italian King—if that will serve their interests.

The new doctrine, supplemented by other recent developments in Russia, in effect abandons the three most fundamental tenets of Marxist "science," especially as vulgarized by its later prophets. The first of these, the doctrine of the class struggle on an international scale, which led to the repudiation of national loyalties and the propagation of revolution for the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat, has been melted down by the fires of this war. The class struggle has been replaced with a national struggle for home and country which has revived Russian nationalism and the historic traditions and ambitions of the Russian empire. The second, the materialistic conception of history which, in its most vulgar form, led to the anti-religious campaign of the Russian Godless, has been replaced by a revival of religion and patriotism. And now the last of them, the theory of surplus value—which declared that everything that goes into the price of commodities above the value of the labor put into producing them, in particular rent, interest and profit, represented extortion from and exploitation of the workers by the wicked capitalists—has been likewise thrown overboard.

For the new doctrine proclaims that economic laws are valid even in Russia, that "primitive communism" as romanticized by the Marxists represents an extremely low level of productive development, that "surplus labor," capital accumulations, profitable operation and market prices set by competition are essential to the proper functioning of a progressive economy. But these are essentially "capitalist" ideas and techniques. And it is a particularly strange paradox of our times that while fashionable thought on labor in the capitalist countries has been moving in the direction of the Socialist principle of wage payment in accordance with "need" the "fatherland of socialism" should be reverting to the capitalist principle of wage payments on the basis of productivity. The War Labor Board and other official American agencies have been reluctant to accept the principle of incentive wages, or "payment by results," except within very narrow restrictions; most American labor unions continue to oppose piecework, and more and more the principle is enunciated and applied here that all workers in a given line or within a broad classification must be paid uniform wages regardless of differences in the quality of their work. The new Soviet doctrine explicitly recognizes the principle of incentive payments and piecework wages, and declares that other differences in wages may be based on the consideration that "the labor of a citizen of a Socialist society is not qualitatively uniform."

In effect, therefore, in some essential productive practices and techniques, Russia is today even more "capitalistic" than the United States. However, inasmuch as both the new capital and the principal means of production are still owned and operated by the Russian state its system is not a private capitalism as in the United States, but a "state capitalism." The new doctrine still holds that such "state capitalism" is more progressive than private capitalism. But it is also only logical for it to proclaim any kind of "capitalism" as a "progressive" system and to remove the old dogmatic obstacles to cooperation between "Socialist" Russia and "capitalist" America and Great Britain. From that point of view, the new doctrine might be welcomed in the interest of victory and the future peace. It might even force the democracies to bestir themselves if they want to cope with future Russian competition. But the effect which the merger of both political and economic power in the hands of a few men representing the state has had on individual liberty in Russia may also serve as a warning to those who advocate a like merger in the present democracies.

This is a clipping from page 20 of the New York Times for April 3 1944
Clipped at the Seat of Government.

Marxism in Russia

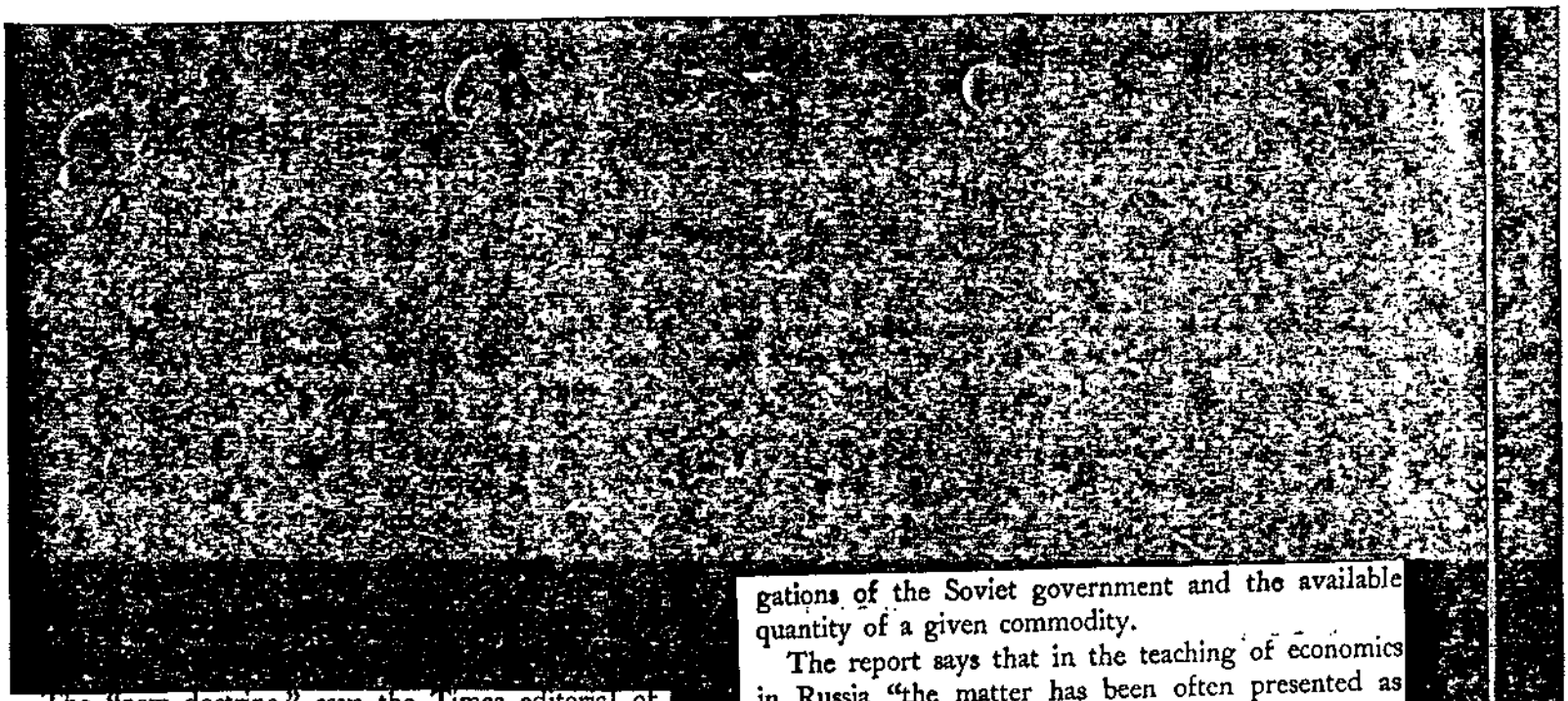
THE NEW YORK TIMES a few days ago read a magazine article and came up with a scoop. It announced, in a news story and an editorial, that Russia has officially altered the theory of Marxism so completely that, so The Times implied, the word "abandoned" might almost be used. The article was one in the current issue of the (Marxist) American periodical, Science and Society, on "Political Economy in the Soviet Union." The only trouble with The Times's scoop is that mostly it isn't so.

We hold no brief for the Marxist theorists of Soviet Russia. Almost anything can happen in that country, including wild alterations of the official ideology. Marxism itself has changed greatly in the past quarter-century, just as happens to every other political-economic theory in a living and changing world. Nevertheless, the findings of The Times, in this instance, are certainly a good deal more surprising than those of the Soviet economists who are quoted. The latter did not contemplate "a revolutionary change in the official economic philosophy of Soviet Russia," as The Times puts it, but had the much more limited objective of revising the teaching of economics in Russian schools, especially on the elementary level, which was felt to have several defects.

In The Times, however, the Soviet report is celebrated as a disavowal of Marxist economic dogmas, to the greater glory of the capitalist system. This is made possible, of course, by distorting and coloring the meaning of the original. The summary of the report makes only the confusing sort of sense that the Times author wants to convey. His chief discovery is that the report calls capitalism a "progressive" economic system. Apart from the fact that this reference to the "progressive" character of capitalism is a minor point in the report which is put at the reader's focus of attention only in The Times's summary, Marxist theory has of course never denied that capitalism represents a higher form of economic development than primitive communism.

Unfortunately for The Times, however, the authors of the report still praise Soviet socialism, in passages not quoted in the newspapers. The advantages of the Soviet system in time of peace, the Soviet economists write, "enabled the Soviet Union to wipe out centuries of economic and technical backwardness at a tempo something like ten times that of the development of the most important capitalist countries. Furthermore, these advantages of socialism over capitalism are especially obvious in the unwavering improvements in the material welfare and the cultural level of the laboring masses." And in time of war, the authors continue, the accomplishments of the Soviet economy "would have been completely unrealizable under private ownership of the means of production."

New Republic April 17, 1944 p. 520-521



The "new doctrine," says the Times editorial of April 3, entitled "Russia's New Capitalism," throws overboard the three most fundamental tenets of Marxist "science": the idea of the class struggle, the materialistic conception of history and the theory of surplus value. But the Russian report does nothing of the kind. On the contrary, it emphasizes the need for a definition of economics "including all the essential statements of Marxist classics on the point, so as to prevent any misunderstandings." Throughout the report, the concepts of class struggle and historical materialism are applied, in the explanation of the primitive communal system, for instance, or the change from capitalism to socialism. The concept of surplus value, a working principle employed by Marx to explain the price of commodities and the nature of profits in the capitalist system, is not abandoned. The Russian report rather tries to work out a law of value, in accord with the realities of the Soviet economy, not in order to "justify," as The Times suggests, differences in wages of urban and rural, skilled and unskilled labor, or competition between the government-controlled and the unorganized market (where collective farmers and coöperative artisans operate, for instance), but in order to explain prevailing commodity prices in the Soviet Union. There is nothing surprisingly new about this formulation. Nobody ever denied that the Soviet planners fix commodity prices in accordance with the financial obligations of the Soviet government and the available quantity of a given commodity.

The report says that in the teaching of economics in Russia "the matter has been often presented as though the surplus product does not exist under socialism. . . . In point of fact, surplus labor must always exist, under any system of society." But in contrast to capitalism, the report goes on, "socialism destroyed the exploitation of man by man. . . ; it liquidated the appropriation of surplus labor and surplus product and surplus value by parasitic exploiting classes." The tasks confronting the Soviet Union are impossible of solution "without the expenditure of the surplus labor of each worker, peasant, intellectual."

The Times seizes on the phenomena of surplus labor, capital accumulation, wage differentials and the influence of market conditions on prices, in order to make a case for capitalism. After all, reasons The Times, "these are essentially 'capitalist' ideas and techniques." It finally comes to the intoxicating conclusion that "in some essential productive practices and techniques, Russia is today even more 'capitalistic' than the United States," although it modifies this assertion in the next sentence by calling the Soviet system "state capitalism."

The Times may describe the Russian economy as "state capitalism," but the Russians believe there are vast differences between the Soviet system and Western capitalism. The report of the ten Soviet economists makes that clear in many passages. Their task was not different from that of dozens of economists in the capitalist countries who continuously give new explanations of the phenomena of capitalist economics. Just as it is impossible today to teach the working of monopoly capitalism and the cartel system by pushing Adam Smith or John Stuart Mill down students' throats, so it is equally impossible to understand the operation of the Soviet economic system by reading Karl Marx or even Lenin. But that does not justify The Times's giving a distorted view of a Russian statement whose true character anyone can discover by reading it.

RUSSIANS WATCH U.S. VOTE

Democrat's Victory in Oklahoma Emphasized in Press

MOSCOW, April 2 (AP)—The victory of a Democrat, W. G. Stigler, to the House of Representatives in Oklahoma's Congressional election last Tuesday was prominently reported in the Russian press today.

A dispatch of the official news agency from New York gave the impression that the election was accepted by Russian leaders as indicative of a popular pre-election approval of President Roosevelt by quoting Robert Hannegan, Democratic National Chairman, to that general effect. The dispatch, followed by such interpretative comment, was indicative of Russia's unusual interest in the coming Presidential campaign.

Wartime Ailments in Britain

Permanently swollen legs of women who spend their nights sleeping on deck chairs in London air-raid shelters, against which practice the medical journal Lancet has warned, is only one of many wartime ills the public contracts. Very common are "torch thumb"—abrasions of the cuticle due to the continual switching on and off of the blackout torch; "factory feet," a disease developed by workers uncustomed to being on their feet all day, and "gas-mask shoulder," a complaint contracted by the effort of keeping the gas mask sling from slipping off the shoulder.

This is a clipping from page 8 of the New York Times for April 3 1944
Clipped at the Seat of Government.

Abroad

The Star Russia Follows Is Not the Red Star

By ANNE O'HARE McCORMICK

The Soviet Government is taking the tides of fortune at the flood. As the Germans are driven out of Russia and the Allies wait to launch their grand offensive on the Continent, Moscow fills the interval of suspense with diplomatic activities of great significance, not only as indications of a readiness to capitalize at once on her military victories but as a clue to Russian postwar policy in Europe and Asia.

Perhaps the most striking phenomenon of the present phase of the war is the speed and assurance of Russia's emergence from isolationism. She has stolen the international initiative from an apparently uncertain Britain and America because her major military effort is at the climax and theirs at the beginning, because a dictatorship can always act more boldly and swiftly than a Government dependent on public opinion, but most of all because her course is set.

In the political field Russia is moving fast both in the East and the West. But nowhere is she moving ideologically. The star she follows is not the Red Star. She is acting as a Great Power, strengthened and centralized by the Bolshevik revolution and more determined than Imperial Russia was to seize every opportunity offered by the war to further her national interests and play a decisive role to that end in the reorganization of the world.

What the "party liners" in other countries think makes no difference to the policy-makers in the Kremlin. Premier Stalin and the members of the Politbureau are not interested in the influence of communism; they are interested in the power and influence and security of Russia. The sooner Soviet policy is judged on that basis the more intelligently it can be related to our own policy. It is an odd paradox that the world continues to take the ideological view of Russia long after the Soviet Government has ceased taking an ideological view of the world.

Certainly Moscow does its best to dispel the belief that this is a battle of ideologies. In the case of Italy it is the Communists who break away from the six-party front of the Committee of Liberation, united in demanding the abdication of the King. They waive the whole issue, not merely until Rome is taken but until "the entire nation" will have an opportunity to decide whether "the institution" of the monarchy shall be retained or not.

The reversal of the attitude of the Italian Communists comes with the arrival in Italy of Palmiro Tagliatto. This almost legendary Communist leader, known as "Ercole" in underground circles during the Fascist regime, has lived in Moscow for eighteen years. He returns not as a "Tito" but with instructions to support the existing regime. The Soviet view of the Italian political situation may represent Moscow's appraisal of the weakness of the coalition that seeks to rule or it may express a conviction that any armistice regime is sure to be repudiated. In either case Tagliatto makes it very clear that Soviet recognition of "the loyal Italian Government" meant what it was originally interpreted to mean. Certainly Moscow wishes to have more direct influence in Italian affairs, but at the present stage this influence is not thrown on the side of a new Government, much less of a Communist or any kind of "leftist" Government. Rather, it agrees with Mr. Churchill's view of the monarchy, and to that extent is against the Washington desire for a change.

In the case of Finland, Moscow has not even suggested a change of Government. The negotiations with the Finns, now evidently near an end, are notable for Russian willingness to keep them going and meet Finnish objections. Their chief significance, however, lies in the fact that they have dropped the Allied formula of unconditional surrender. This is not accidental; the appeals addressed right now to Rumania and Bulgaria indicate that it is not limited to Finland. When the Finnish parleys began Pravda was careful to emphasize the wide difference between the Allied terms imposed on Italy and the Russian proposals for Finland.

This is important because it suggests that Russia aims to dispel Europe's fear either of Communist or Russian imperial domination. Stalin is thinking more definitely and practically than he ever thought before of the kind of Europe and the kind of Asia that will best serve the immediate war necessities and the long-term interests of the Soviet Union. Unquestionably his aims are larger than they were a year or even six months ago. The concessions wrested from Japan are probably only the first of many sacrifices that will be demanded of the Japanese before the final score. Charges from Moscow that the Chinese troops in Sinkiang have violated the frontier of Outer Mongolia cannot mean that China is seeking trouble with Russia; like the Sakhalin move, they give notice that Russia means to influence the settlements in Asia. They may even be a hint to China that Russia's evacuation of Sinkiang, carried out last year in agreement with Chungking, is not irreversible.

Russia, in a word, is taking advantage of every chance to strengthen her position in the future. This is not a Communist but a nationalist policy. It is dangerous only if it is not matched by an equally positive policy of national interest on the part of her war allies. The three Powers have to convince one another that their paramount interest is the interest of security, and that this depends absolutely on the subordination of their aims and the merging of their forces in an international policy of peace.

This is a clipping from page 20 of the New York Times for April 3 1944
Clipped at the Seat of Government.

LABORITES IN BRITAIN REBUFF COMMUNISTS

Refuse to Attend Conference to Unify Left-Wingers

By Cable to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

LONDON, April 2—Nearly 2,000 liberals and Leftists met in London today under Communist auspices in an effort to form a left-wing alliance in the first post-war general election against the dominant Tory party whose leadership made the dissidents in the House of Commons eat crow in Thursday's vote of confidence. The Labor party, the largest single left-wing group in the country, placed a ban on the meeting, however, following up its renewed refusal last year to accept collaboration from the Communist party.

Informed by William Gallacher, Communist M. P., that there was no possibility of left-wing unity without the support of the Labor party and the great trade unions, the conference contented itself with a resolution asking the Labor party itself to convene a meeting to formulate a common policy for a working class movement in preparation for a general election.

Although the conference, which was called by the Communist newspaper The Daily Worker, was banned by the Labor party, Arthur Horner, president of the South Wales Miners Federation, presided, and attendance by several national union executives and local labor leaders was claimed. Sir Richard Acland's Common Wealth party, which next to the Communists is the smallest in Parliament, also was represented at today's meeting.

This is a clipping from page 12 of the New York Times for April 3 1944
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COMMUNIST DOGMAS BASICALLY REVISED

Soviet's Official Teaching Now Holds Capitalism Is 'Progressive' System

EARLIER ERRORS ADMITTED

Capital Accumulation, Wage Differentials and Profits Are Made Legitimate

By WILL LISSNER

A sweeping change is being made in Soviet Russia in Marxist economic dogmas as they have been officially taught in the schools, the press, and on the platform and radio. Marx's theory of the exploitation of the proletariat is completely revised and capitalism is declared a "progressive," not a "backward" system.

The revised doctrines, which will be taught to all Soviet citizens, will remove ideological obstacles to collaboration between Russia's socialist economy and the capitalist economies of the United States and the British Commonwealth.

Representing a revolution in the official economic philosophy of the Soviet Union even more far-reaching than the revival of Russian patriotism and nationalism and the restoration of national heroes to favor, these revisions make legitimate the status of capital accumulation, profitable operation, wage differences, market prices and taxes in the Soviet economy and they introduce recognition of the operation of economic laws even in Russia.

The new doctrines are admitted frankly to be Stalinist rather than Marxist or Leninist. They have a twofold aim. They ban the anathemas that formerly were hurled against capitalism, creating friction between Russia and capitalist countries. And they seek to adapt the Marxian faith to seemingly contradictory economic practices that have sprung up by trial and error in the development of the Soviet economy.

Economists Issue Statement

"Previous teaching of economics in the Soviet Union," as it relates to these ideas, is condemned and the new doctrines are explained in a twenty-three-page article in a recent issue of Pod Znamenem Marxizma (The Foundations of Marxism), Russian economic journal.

It is presented as a statement by the editors of the publication, who include the leading economists of Russia. They are L. A. Leontiev, M. B. Mitin, P. N. Fedoseiev, V. C. Kruzhkov, L. A. Orbeli, V. P. Potemkin, P. F. Iudin, S. I. Vavilov, M. P. Tolchenov and M. N. Korneiev. A digest of this article appears in English in the current issue of the Marxist quarterly, Science and Society.

From the point of view of American economic thought, none of the revisions represents a compromise of the fundamental Russian dogma that economic practices exist to serve the welfare of the people.

Economic Laws Recognized

The syllabus of errors of the Soviet economic authorities begins by redefining economics as the science that "explains the laws which govern the production and distribution of the essential objects of consumption—personal or productive—in human society in the various stages of its development."

"In the teaching of economics, in the curricula and textbooks," the editors say in explaining the condemned theory, "the superficial and erroneous idea was often expressed that there is no place under socialism for the action of economic laws," a position they attack as "un-Marxist" and "unscientific."

From that point they go on to attack an idea derived from "The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State," a socialist classic written by Friedrich Engels. Engels was a collaborator of Karl Marx and, with Marx, is revered in Russia as one of the founders of the Soviet official social philosophy.

This idea, which has been refuted by modern anthropological research, is that in the period preceding civilization the social structure is determined not only by the conditions of the production of material goods but also by "the form of the family." The revised doctrine makes no mention of the family.

Primitive Communism Criticized

Another "error" attacked is "the romantic idealization of primitive communism," which, they say, is "in clear contradiction of historical fact." The new doctrine emphasizes "the historical limitations of primitive communism, which represented an extremely low level of development of productive forces, tools of primitive quality, a most miserable form of human life."

"At a certain stage, primitive communism became an obstacle to social progress," the revised theory goes on. "It had to yield its place to a new method of production, which gave more room for the development of productive forces."

This new theory removes contradictions of viewpoint impeding collaboration by the Russian socialist economy with the Western industrial capitalist economies of the Soviet Union's democratic allies. The latter formerly were pictured to Russian workers and peasants as grossly exploitative systems. Now their systems become "necessary steps in the path of social progress."

Marx Held Fallible

The Russian economists warn economics teachers that it is "harmful pedantry, contrary to pedagogic needs" to follow "the logical rigor" of Marx in his classic work "Capital," the bible of Soviet communism, by beginning the study of economics with the analysis of commodity production under capitalism. From this analysis Marx argues that labor is robbed of "surplus value," that is, that labor is exploited by capital.

They point out that commodity

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production, exchange and money preceded the rise of capitalism and say these concepts should be treated not only in connection with capitalism but also in connection with preceding sections of the course. In this way commodity production under capitalism appears as a progressive development of many thousands of years of evolution.

The greatest departure from former orthodoxy is in the restoration of the law of value. "In Soviet teaching and textbooks the unsound idea was deeply rooted that in socialist economics there is no place for a law of value," the Russian economists admit candidly.

Declaring that "the notion that the law of value is non-operative under socialism is, in essence, contradictory to Marxist economics," which is to say contradictory to Soviet economics in practice, they go so far as to say:

"It would be naive and pedantic to think that Marx and Engels could foresee and prescribe the concrete practical way of administering the law of value in the interests of socialism."

Wage Differentials Justified

By resurrecting the law of value, the economists justify the piece-work wages, one of the chief targets of classical socialist agitation; differences in wages based on the fact that "the labor of a citizen of a socialist society is not qualitatively uniform," and differences in incomes between workers and peasants.

Similarly market competition and market prices are justified. To control all trade and to be able completely to determine market prices, the economists argue, "the Soviet Government would have to have at its disposal enormous masses of commodities, enormous reserves of goods of all sorts."

Under capitalism, competition for profits, in the absence of monopoly, drives out less efficient producers and provides for reward of the more efficient. The Russians present a Soviet counterpart for this in economic bookkeeping as "indispensable," saying "performance of the plan" requires "a definite cost of production" expressed in sums of money.

"Surplus labor must always exist, under any system of society," they declare, pointing out it is needed for "socialist accumulation," that is, the accumulation of capital; to maintain the armed forces, schools and other public services and to meet the expenses of the social security system, which is collected by taxation.

Socialism is still to be extolled in Russian schools, and the defects of capitalism with its economic crises and catastrophes are to be pointed out. However, Soviet socialism is no longer to be presented as the only progressive system. The new doctrine, in the words of Citien Leontiev and his collaborators, is:

"The Soviet system is the most progressive, the most advanced system."

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SOVIET PRAISES CANADA

Sees Close Ties During the War and in Peacetime Afterward

By Cable to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

MOSCOW, April 1—Red Star, Army newspaper published today a friendly review of the activities of Canada at war with many statistics on that country's war production, naval escort work, merchant mareine and the number of men from Canada who have played an important role in the air and land war in Africa, the Mediterranean area and Europe.

Calling attention to the new mutual aid agreement, Red Star said it was a new sign of the growing military collaboration between the Soviet Union and Canada and a new proof of the strengthening anti-Hitlerite coalition.

"The agreement will serve as a new stimulus for the development of Russo-Canadian friendship both during the war and in the period of peace after the war," Red Star concluded.

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TOKYO HAND FORCED IN PRAVDA'S VIEW

Diplomatic Defeat on Sakhalin Fuel Attributed to Soviet and Allied Military Might

JAPAN CALLED WISER NOW

Disabused of Nazi Invincibility Myth—Smashin gof German Armies Reiterated as Goal

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

MOSCOW, April 1—The Communist party organ Pravda today bluntly described Japan as an ally of Germany who had failed for nearly three years to carry out her solemn promises to give up the last capitalist concession on Soviet soil because her leaders believed Adolf Hitler's boast that his armies would smash the Red Army and conquer the USSR.

Following up yesterday's announcement of the five-year extension of the Soviet-Japanese restricted fishing convention, which the most important feature was the liquidation of valuable Japanese oi land coal concessions in north Sakhalin Island before the agreement was signed, the Pravda editorial reflected the satisfaction of Soviet leaders that they had forced Tokyo to accept vital and essentiál changes in the Far East situation in recognition of the turn in military events produced by the power and might of the Red Army and the operations of the other Allies—the United States and Britain, who are at war with Japan.

Japan Sees Wiser Course

The Communist party newspaper minced no words asserting that Japan had made a promise to Russia in April, 1941, to liquidate the Sakhalin concessions, had delayed carrying it out when Hitler invaded the Soviet Union, and had been brought around to wisdom, keeping its word only when it was an evident fact that Hitler faced defeat.

"The reason for so long a delay in fulfillment of this obligation on the Japanese side is not difficult to understand if you take into account the situation created soon after the signing of the Soviet-Japanese neutrality pact compared with the situation obtaining when the question was again brought up and solved in the Soviet-Japanese agreements of March 30," Pravda said.

"The Soviet-Japanese neutrality pact, as is known, was signed on April 13, 1941, and in June of that same year Hitlerite Germany, an ally of Japan, perfidiously invaded the Soviet Union.

"At that time, among Japan's political leaders the myth was still current about the 'invincibility' of the Hitlerite army and the belief was still strong that Hitler's insane plans would be carried out.

Allied Aid Acknowledged

"But some time has passed and that myth was dispelled by the heroic deeds of the Red Army, which tore up the robber plans of the German Fascists. This was assisted also by the military operations of our Allies. The belief in the invincibility of the German war machine was undermined. The inevitable defeat and ruin of Hitlerite Germany became plain. The Red Army and the Soviet nation, based on the invincible and ever-increasing strength of the Soviet state, not only halted the enemy invasion but also inflicted such decisive defeats on Hitler's armies as to bring about a fundamental change in the entire World War. Hitler's plans for isolating the U.S.S.R. have failed.

"In the course of the war its [Russia's] international position has been strengthened further. The mighty anti-Hitlerite coalition of three great powers was created and strengthened and their fighting alliance strengthened, finding its expression in the historic decisions of the Moscow and Teheran conferences on the coordination of plans for the defeat and extermination of Germany's military forces.

"From a diplomatic point of view, this has been one of the busiest weeks of the war for Moscow. The series of events which have been publicized makes it possible to draw certain conclusions in the trend of Russian foreign policy.

Bid to Satellites Extended

Late this week the foreign colony here learned from the columns of Izvestia these important Soviet views of world events:

Russia is ready to cooperate immediately with the peoples of Finland, Rumania and Bulgaria to prevent their countries from becoming bloody battlegrounds if those peoples will break their alliance with Hitler and use their available armed forces to resist any attempt by Hitler to occupy their countries as he did Hungary.

While awaiting the effect of this move, the Soviet High Command used its energies for further clearance of Soviet soil but withheld an invasion order to the powerful Red Army forces now poised at the boundaries of Rumania and Finland and nearly at the boundary of Hungarian territory taken from Czechoslovakia after Munich.

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Russia again demonstrated her dissatisfaction with the Anglo-American practice of "informing" rather than "consulting" her about political decisions affecting Italy.

Russia has stood up to Japan and told it in no uncertain terms that the Soviet insisted upon the liquidation of the north Sakhalin mineral concessions. At the same time the aera of fishing waters open to the Japanese was materially reduced.

CHUNGKING, China, April 1 (AP)—The Russian-Japanese agreement on the Sakhalin coal and oil concessions was regarded here today as possibly explaining why Japan feels free to withdraw troops from Manchuria for action in active war theatres.

Military authorities have refused to discuss what information they have, if any, of the number of troops involved in the reported transfer, but Chinese arriving here from Manchuria estimated that the Japanese now had not many more than 200,000 soldiers in that country.

Within the last few weeks Chinese Army spokesmen have warned against the possibility of a major Japanese drive to close the Chinese-held gaps in the Peiping-Hankow and Tientsin-Pukow railways. If successful, this would split China in half and neutralize potential bases from which Japan could be bombed.

Tokyo Benefit Claimed

WASHINGTON, April 1 (AP)—The new Russo-Japanese agreement will result in strengthening Japan at home and in her conquered territories by providing food staples and will not materially injure her oil supply, Representative Mike Mansfield, Democrat of Montana, told the House today.

Taking issue with those who contend abrogation by Russia of Japanese coal and oil concessions in northern Sakhalin had weakened Japan's war effort, Mr. Mansfield, a member of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, said:

"This new agreement between Russia and Japan is more significant than meets the eye at the moment. In my opinion, it signifies a need for a staple food in the Japanese empire being met, and as a concession she is giving up her rights in coal and oil which she no longer needs.

This is a clipping from page 28 of the New York Times for

April 2, 1944

Clipped at the Seat of Government.

Why Stalin Acts That Way

BY JOACHIM JOESTEN

THINGS have now come to a pass where foreign observers in Moscow—diplomats and correspondents alike—open their morning *Pravda* with breathless anxiety, expecting some new shock. Of late they have had a good many. There was the recognition of the Badoglio regime, for instance, just about the last thing anyone would have expected from the Soviet government. Earlier there had been the Cairo peace-scare story, the bewildering *Pravda* attack on Wendell Willkie, and many other irritating incidents.

Let's get one thing straight. The riddle of Soviet foreign policy, if it is a riddle, does not lie in its basic aims and concepts. These have been repeatedly set forth in Stalin's speeches and in the Soviet press. The question What does Russia want? can be answered in two phrases —territorial integrity and security. Territorial integrity, to the Russians, means the status quo of June, 1941. In other words, Russia will certainly insist upon the annexation of eastern Poland, up to the Curzon line, and of the Baltic states, Bessarabia, and those parts of Finland that were acquired in 1940. Security means territorial guaranties against renewed aggression or foreign intervention, guaranties in the form of a *cordon sanitaire* in reverse, that is, an outer layer of friendly or partly controlled states along the Soviet boundaries.

No, the riddle is not in the things Russia wants but in the tactics it employs to obtain them. These tactics are, to say the least, disconcerting, and they have created the idea that the Kremlin is deliberately waging a war of nerves against its allies. Washington and London speak of a "needling diplomacy" and do not conceal their bewilderment at being thus treated by an ally.

What is behind this strange policy of constantly badgering one's friends? It is not easy to find a satisfactory answer, but I think the Soviet line of reasoning, reduced to its simplest elements, runs something like this: Our partners, America and Britain, have in many ways the edge on us. Britain has already a world empire and won't let any of it go if it can help it. The United States has reached its natural limits of geographical expansion and controls, in fact, the entire Western Hemisphere. We Russians are newcomers. We didn't have a chance under the czars; we were ostracized and quarantined after the revolution; we have been admitted to good society only in the last two years. And now that we have come at last, at an unheard-of cost in lives and goods, within sight of the things we believe to be rightfully ours, our worthy allies seem to have only one aim—to prevent us from sharing the dominant position and high standards of life they have enjoyed. Every time we indicate that we want this or that, we get a sermon on the Atlantic Charter and the Four Freedoms and a solemn assurance that anything we do on our own initiative is "unilateral" and will not be "recognized." Well, we won't stand for it.

If memoranda, notes of protest, verbal representations, conferences, and other such accepted instruments of diplomacy could obtain results, and quickly, the Russians probably would resort to them. But since experience has taught them that he who demands or expostulates without being able to back up his arguments by force waits a long time, and in the end may achieve nothing, they have developed new diplomatic techniques of their own.

One of the most effective is the *jolting technique*. Its frequent use springs from the realization that the foreign policy of Washington and London moves in grooves furrowed by centuries of professional diplomacy. The Foreign Office, in particular, has developed a crusted routine. Great respect is felt for the conventional approach. Tradition reigns supreme, nicely balanced with precedents and taboos. Time is no object. Russia, politically a young nation, is exasperated by the cautious, noncommittal approach to burning problems which is so characteristic of Anglo-Saxon diplomacy. It wants things done quickly, issues settled quickly. Having discovered that a ten-line story in *Pravda* produces a greater effect than ten pouches filled with diplomatic notes, it adopts the principle that what moves in grooves must be jolted out of them.

Another favorite technique of the Russians is *mystification*. It consists in keeping everybody guessing about their real purpose, and then suddenly flashlighting the obscurity with a startling move. This technique has one certain merit: it keeps the world hanging on the words and deeds of the Kremlin. Countries, like individuals, enjoy being the focus of attention.

Then there is the use of the *"Finnish bath,"* which as all northerners know has a most stimulating effect. The Finnish bath is characterized by sudden shifts from hot to cold. One moment our diplomats are warmed by ardent protestations of friendship from the Kremlin; the next they find themselves under an ice-cold shower. Very healthy, if you are used to it, but if you aren't—.

Perhaps the most disturbing of Russia's habits is that of periodically slapping down its friends. As *Pravda's*

The Nation April 1, 1944 p. 389-390

comment on Wendell Willkie has shown, no friend of the Soviet Union, however prominent, sympathetic, or sincere, is ever safe from suddenly being jumped upon by some official Soviet scribe. The provocation may be trivial or entirely lacking. This sort of thing is almost incomprehensible to the Western mind, which is wont to think in terms of "How to Win Friends and Influence People." The simple truth is that the Soviets are no more eager to make friends than they are afraid to make enemies.

We must also take into account Stalin's peculiar sense of humor, which he shares with several other top-rank Soviet leaders. In a rustic and somewhat boyish fashion the Russians love to play pranks and practical jokes on their dignified allies. With the same sure instinct for hilarious effect that prompts a schoolboy to stick pins in teacher's seat or that makes Abbott crush a cream pie in Costello's face, the Soviet diplomat will pull the chair from under his ally's coat-tails just as they sit down to talk over common interests. Next to the spectacle of Hitler on the run, nothing amuses the Russian public more than the sight of a crumpled stuffed shirt or of a pair of striped pants dangling helplessly in the air.

Our reaction to these capers has not been very helpful to us in the past—or rather it has been a great help to our facetious ally. Usually we wrap ourselves in our wounded dignity and soberly protest that such behavior must "depress every friend of Russia in the two democracies." We get up, dust off our striped trousers, and solemnly assure the guffawing Russians that this latest prank of theirs will have "anything but a wholesome effect upon public opinion in the United States and Great Britain." And when we have fully recovered, we sit down and write an open letter to a good friend in Moscow asking him whether he "cannot explain to some of his associates the importance of not doing these things."

How else can we defend ourselves against such antics? In the first place, obviously, by taking care not to expose ourselves to them. We should be constantly on guard against the Kremlin's odd penchant for surprise moves and practical jokes, never take anything for granted, always look out for the next shock, and by anticipating it lessen its effect. Secondly, we should display more sangfroid, and more pride. Why should we let every *Pravda* story throw us into a dither? Why quote every hostile editorial in *War and the Working Class* in full and thus make the editors of that bellicose sheet feel ever more important?

The Russians have a healthy respect for might. They are full of admiration for the technical achievements of the United States. They want to be friends with us. And they want to bargain. Let us be firm in essential matters, generous where concessions are possible, and good-humoredly indifferent to their pranks.

Soviet and Japanese Agreement and Statement

Following is the text of the Soviet-Japanese protocol on the liquidation of Japanese oil and coal concessions in northern Sakhalin, as recorded by the United States Foreign Broadcast Intelligence Service from an English-language wireless transmission by the Tokyo Domei agency:

The Government of Japan and the Government of the U.S.S.R., as a result of negotiations conducted with the view to putting into force the understanding regarding annulment of Japanese oil and coal concessions in northern Sakhalin which was reached between the two Governments in connection with the pact of neutrality of April 13, 1941, have agreed upon the following articles:

ARTICLE I

The Government of Japan shall transfer all rights concerning Japanese oil and coal concessions in northern Sakhalin in accordance with stipulations of the present protocol and the terms for application of the protocol attached thereto.

Concession contracts concluded on Dec. 14, 1925, and additional contracts and agreements subsequently concluded between Japanese concessionaires (...) the one hand and the Government of the U.S.S.R. on the other hand shall be abrogated by virtue of the present protocol.

ARTICLE II

All property—installations, equipment, materials, spare stocks, provisions, etc.—possessed by the Japanese concessionaires in northern Sakhalin shall be transferred in their actual state, unless otherwise provided for in the present protocol and the terms for application of the protocol attached thereto, to the possession of the Government of the U.S.S.R.

ARTICLE III

In connection with the preceding two articles the Government of the U.S.S.R. agrees to pay to the Government of Japan the sum of 5,000,000 rubles in accordance with stipulations of the terms for application of the protocol attached to the present protocol.

The Government of the U.S.S.R. will undertake to deliver each year to the Government of Japan 50,000 metric tons of oil produced in the Okha oil fields in northern Sakhalin on ordinary commercial terms for a period of five consecutive years after cessation of the present war.

ARTICLE IV

The Government of the U.S.S.R. guarantees removal from the concession territory, without hindrance and without taxation, of oil and coal stored and possessed by the Japanese concessionaires in accordance with stipulations of the terms for application of present protocol.

ARTICLE V

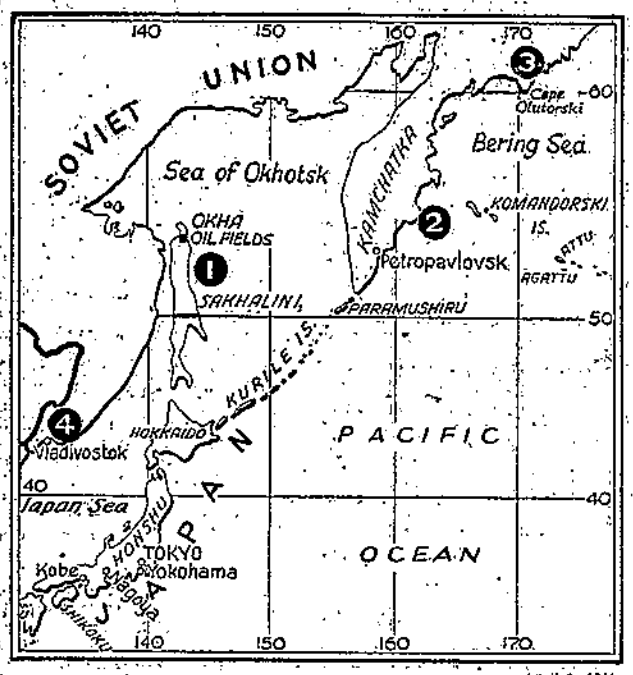
The present protocol shall come into force on the date of its signature.

The present protocol is done in the Japanese and Russian languages, both texts having equal force. In witness whereof the undersigned, duly authorized by their Governments, have signed the present protocol and have affixed their seals to it.

Done in duplicate in the city of Moscow on the 30th day of the third month of the 19th year of Showa, corresponding to March 30, 1944.

(This text, as transmitted by Domei, carried no signatures, but Japanese and Russian accounts of the agreements said the documents were signed by S. A. Lozovsky, Soviet Vice Commissar for Foreign Affairs, and Naotaka Sato, Japanese Ambassador in Moscow.)

MOSCOW SCORES A DIPLOMATIC TRIUMPH



April 1, 1944

As the price for a restricted five-year renewal of the convention granting the Japanese fishing rights, Russia has made them abandon all their oil and coal concessions in northern Sakhalin (1) twenty-six years before they were due to expire. In addition, the Japanese are banned from fishing off eastern Kamchatka (2), in the Olutorski region (3) and near the Soviet base of Vladivostok (4) until the end of the war in the Pacific.

Soviet Statement

Following is the text of a Soviet statement on the agreements signed with Japan, as broadcast to the Russian press from Moscow yesterday and reported by the United States Foreign Broadcast Intelligence Service:

As the result of negotiations during the last few months between the Deputy People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs of the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics [Solomon A.] Lozovsky, and the Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Japan to the U.S.S.R., Mr. Sato, a "protocol on the transfer to the Soviet Union off Japanese oil and coal concessions in north Sakhalin," published in today's papers, was signed in Moscow March 30, 1944.

The agreement is also published below as to the order in which the property of Japanese oil and coal concessions in northern Sakhalin is to be handed over to the Soviet Government, signed by representatives of both powers March 10. Besides the aforementioned protocol, "the conditions of the carrying out of the protocol" were also signed March 30. In this document are set out details connected with the fulfillment of the stipulations of the protocol regarding the transfer to the Soviet Government of the rights and property of Japanese concessions in north Sakhalin, terms of the evacuation to Japan of workers and employes, Japanese subjects engaged in oil and coal concessional enterprises, etc.

In 1925 the Soviet Government granted Japan oil and coal concessions in northern Sakhalin. Soviet-Japanese agreements on these concessions were concluded for a term of forty-five years, the agreement expiring in the year 1970. In the spring of 1941, in the course of negotiations for the concluding of the Soviet-Japanese neutrality pact, the Soviet Government put before the Japanese Government the question of the liquidation of the aforementioned Japanese concessions. Simultaneously with the signing on April 13, 1941, of the neutrality pact, the then Japanese Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mr. [Yosuke] Matsuoka handed the Soviet Government a written undertaking containing a commitment to solve in a few months the question of the liquidation of the concessions in northern Sakhalin. This undertaking was confirmed by Mr. Matsuoka May 31, 1941, by a new declaration handed the Soviet Government through the Japanese Ambassador in Moscow, Mr. [Yoshitsugu] Tatekawa.

At the same time the Japanese undertook to solve the question of the liquidation of the concessions not later than within six months from the day of the signing of the neutrality pact. This commitment was not carried out by the Japanese. Only as the result of negotiations concluded March 30 were the Soviet-Japanese agreements, signed on the liquidation of Japanese concessions in northern Sakhalin and on the transfer to the Soviet Union of the whole property of the concessions on the conditions stipulated in the agreement. Thus, as the result of the present agreement, Japanese concessions in northern Sakhalin are being liquidated twenty-six years before the expiration of the term of the concession agreements.

Simultaneously, the Soviet-Japanese protocol established amendments in the conditions of Japanese fishing in Far Eastern waters of the U. S. S. R. The new Soviet-Japanese agreement on the fishing convention stipulates the following:

1. The exclusion of twenty-four fishing areas leased to Japanese fishing concerns and not put into exploitation for two consecutive years.
2. The right of Soviet organizations to acquire yearly 10 per cent of the Japanese fishing areas put up for sale.
3. Increase in the lease and other payments in gold paid by Japanese fishing concerns by 6 per cent as compared with 1943.

Amending the fishing convention of 1928, according to which fishing activities of Soviet organizations and Soviet citizens were subject to a number of essential limitations, the Soviet-Japanese agreement of March 30 stipulates that all these limitations are to be abolished. This agreement exempts from the fishing convention all questions relating to the fishing activities of Soviet organizations and Soviet citizens as being subject to the exclusive jurisdiction of organs of the Soviet state.

The present Soviet-Japanese agreement also provides that until the end of this war Japanese subjects and other foreigners are prohibited from fishing in certain fishing areas in the Far East established by the Soviet Government in July, 1941.

Furthermore, in accordance with the wishes of the Government of the U.S.S.R., the Japanese Government assumed an undertaking to guarantee that all fishing areas leased by Japanese subjects situated on the eastern [illegible] of Kamchatka and in the Olutorsky district are [illegible] to be exploited by Japanese lessees until the end of the war in the Pacific. On March 30 the Japanese Government informed the Government of the U.S.S.R. of its decision to close the Japanese consulate general in the town of Alexandrovsk and the Japanese vice consulate in the town of Okha in northern Sakhalin.

The same day the Soviet Government informed the Japanese Government of its decision to close the Soviet consulates in the Japanese towns of Hakodate and Tsuruga.

Summary of Protocol

In a separate transmission reported by the United States Foreign Broadcast Intelligence Service the Moscow radio broadcast to the Russian press this summary of three points contained in a protocol:

1. It is agreed between the U.S.S.R. and Japan that the Soviet Union will pay to Japan the sum of 5,000,000 rubles as a consideration for the cancelling of the concessions.
2. The U.S.S.R. agrees to supply Japan with 50,000 metric tons of oil obtained from the Okha oil wells on customary commercial terms during the five years following the end of the present war.
3. The U.S.S.R. guarantees to allow Japan to export unimpeded and tax free stored stocks of oil and coal from the territory of the concessions.

Soviet Exacts Japan's Consent To Give Up Fuel Rights in Sakhalin

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

MOSCOW, March 31—The Soviet Government announced today that the Japanese had been required to carry out their 1941 agreement to liquidate immediately all oil and coal concessions in the northern section of the Sakhalin Island twenty-six years in advance of their legal deadline, as a condition for renewal yesterday for five years of the restricted convention covering Japanese fishing in Pacific waters adjoining Soviet territories.

The official Soviet announcement was printed on the front pages of all Moscow newspapers today, and an editorial in Izvestia, organ of the Supreme Soviet, made clear the Soviet feeling that the agreements signed yesterday with Japan were advantageous to Russia and her Allies in the war.

"These agreements witness both a strengthening of the Soviet Union's international position and the correctness of its foreign policy and take into consideration specific conditions created by the military operations of our Allies in the Pacific Ocean," Izvestia said.

Izvestia also expressed the opinion that Adolf Hitler's invasion of the Soviet Union on June 22, 1941, had played "a large role" in the Japanese failure to carry out the agreement of April 13, 1941, made by Yosuke Matsuoka, then Japa-

Continued on Page Four

FUEL RIGHTS CEDED TO SOVIET BY JAPAN

Continued From Page One

nese Foreign Minister, to liquidate the northern Sakhalin concessions within six months after the signing of the Soviet-Japanese neutrality pact.

It is most likely, Izvestia said, that many Japanese politicians believed Hitler's bragging promises of a lightning victory over Russia, but now "the successes of the Red Army in the fight against Hitlerite Germany and the development of the military operations of our Allies" have sufficiently sobered the Japanese so they have carried out former Minister Matsuoka's promise.

In the negotiations for the renewal of the fishing convention the Soviet Government required the northern Sakhalin concessions be liquidated in advance of the signing of a new protocol. This was done between March 15 and 25, it was announced.

In compensation for the surrender of these concessions twenty-six years before their expiration and the turning over to Russia of all property, equipment, materials, spare parts, means of transportation and food owned by the concessionaires that developed the property, the Soviet Government agreed to pay Japan 5,000,000 rubles and to sell the Japanese at commercial prices 50,000 metric tons of petroleum from the Okhin field every year for five years, but such sales are to begin only "after the present war."

This phrase was not defined in the official documents made public here, but another clause prohibiting Japanese exploitation of fishery rights on the eastern shores of Kamchatka and the Oliutorsky district specified such prohibition would remain in effect "until the end of the war in the Pacific Ocean."

This is a clipping from page 1 of the New York Times for April 1, 1944
Clipped at the Seat of Government.

Diplomatic Victory Seen

MOSCOW, March 31 (AP)—In what may be its biggest diplomatic victory of the war the Soviet Union won an immediate return of the rights to oil and coal resources granted to Japan in 1925 for a 45-year term. The upper half of Sakhalin Island, which lies off Siberia, is Soviet territory, the southern half Japanese.

The new protocol is considered by diplomatic circles in Moscow to be a great contribution to the war that the United States and Britain are waging against Japan. The Japanese rely on northern Sakhalin for oil and coal vital to the Pacific war. With this shut-down Tokyo is regarded as suffering a staggering blow.

By requiring that the Japanese cease exploiting certain fishing grounds off Kamchatka—the nearest points in the Pacific to Alaska—Russia turned a trick which also should meet with a welcome in the United States.

One diplomat said the new protocol was "the next best thing to giving us bases."

Simultaneously with publication of the oil and coal protocol, the Russians announced the details of the prolongation of the fishing convention, announced briefly yesterday. The new fisheries agreement provides:

A return to Russia of twenty-four fishing allotments which were rented by the Japanese but which had not been used by them for the last two years.

The rights of Soviet organizations to get 10 per cent of the fishing allotments which are auctioned.

Increase of rent and other payments in gold to the amount of 6 per cent over the rent to which the Japanese agreed last year.

Consulates Closed

MOSCOW, March 31 (U.P.)—In one phase of the renewal of the Russo-Japanese fisheries agreement, Japan agreed to close her consulates in Alexanrovsk and Okha, on the Russian end of Sakhalin, and Russia agreed to close her consulates in Hakadate, on Hokkaido Island, south of Sakhalin, and Tsuruga, on the coast of Honshu, the main Japanese island facing the Sea of Japan.

London Views Moscow Triumph

By Cable to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

LONDON, March 31—Trade relations between Japan and Russia have been one of the most delicate subjects of speculation in this capital. The latest development is considered an undoubted triumph for Russian diplomacy, though it would be going too far to gather from it that Moscow is at last about to apply great pressure on Japan.

N.Y. Times Mag. Sect.
April 9, 1944

How 170 million people are ruled.

Wm. H. Chamberlain

ENCLOSURE

61-16-A

How 170 Millions Are Ruled

(Continued from Page 45)

There is always a substantial majority of Communists in the two houses of the Soviet Parliament, and the non-party deputies are chosen with the approval and sanction of the Communists. This is the explanation of the invariably unanimous votes on important questions.

THERE are other features of the Soviet system that help to promote uniformity of thought and viewpoint. The educational system is completely State-controlled. There are no privately managed universities or schools, with the exception of a few religious seminaries, which are apparently being instituted in line with the Government's milder policy toward the Orthodox church. Millions of Soviet children and young people are trained through the Young Pioneers (age limits 8-14) and the Union of Communist Youth (age limits 14-23).

There are no privately owned newspapers and magazines. The differences between Soviet newspapers, which are sometimes quoted in dispatches from Moscow, are purely functional, never ideological. Izvestia, for instance, is the official organ of the Soviet Government, and Pravda, of the Communist party. The Red Army has its special newspaper, Krasnaya Zvazda. The trade unions publish a daily newspaper, Trud. But all these newspapers, along with the many others published in the Soviet Union, are edited by Communists under the strictest control of the party authorities as to what they are to print and what attitude they are to take on foreign and domestic questions.

This is why more significance is rightly attached to an expression of opinion in a Soviet newspaper or a startling news item like the Pravda report of separate British peace negotiations, than in a newspaper in this country or in England. The entire newspaper and periodical press in Russia speaks with one voice, the Government's.

UNDER the Soviet system, as it has functioned up to the present time, there has been no place for "forums of the air" and Gallup polls. It is assumed that on all major questions of foreign and internal policy there are just two attitudes: the Soviet Government attitude and the wrong attitude. Any Soviet citizen who thinks otherwise is well advised to keep his dissenting views to himself. In any case he could not hope to reach any large number of his fellow-citizens, as he could neither publish a newspaper nor obtain broadcasting facilities.

This is not to say that there is no public opinion in Russia. In the very difficult early years of collective farming and intensive industrialization the worker or peasant often would express private views that deviated widely from the editorials in the official press. But in the field of international policy the Soviet citizen is likely to accept his Government's position without much question, if only because he is given little access to facts that would contradict that position.

Against this background of strong centralization it is easy to realize that the extended autonomy which was recently granted to the constituent republics is likely to prove less significant than it would if it were applied to a group of States where freedom of elections, speech and press was the rule. Consider how the new scheme will work out in practice.

The Ukraine, Georgia, Armenia and the other Republics will set up their separate Commissariats for Foreign Affairs and for Military Affairs. It is certainly safe to assume that the holders of these posts will be Communists. They will, therefore, be subject to party discipline. At the first step displeasing to the party leadership in Moscow, the Ukrainian or Georgian or Armenian Commissar for Foreign Affairs will receive a curt order transferring him to Yakutsk or some other remote part of the Soviet Union. There cannot be much diminution of centralized authority so long as the one-party system persists.

Now it may be that the war has brought with it changes in Soviet psychology that will be reflected in Soviet institutions in the post-war period. It may be that there will be a gradual loosening of what has been a streamlined authoritarian system, both in politics and in economics. It may be that, as there has been an evolution from internationalism to nationalism in the Soviet Union, there will be an evolution from dictatorship to democracy.

But this is speculation for the future. There are as yet no positive grounds for such assumptions. Until there is concrete evidence of change one may assume that the steel framework of Communist party organized leadership which carried the Soviet regime through three tremendous crises — the civil war, the first bleak years of industrialization, and the war with Germany—will remain a powerful force in controlling and directing the ideas and activities of almost two hundred million people under Soviet rule.

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How 170 Millions Are Ruled

(Continued from Page 6)

upon the principles of public ownership and centralized planning. The same group of men who direct the political life of the country also directly manage industry, agriculture, transportation, banking, foreign trade—all aspects of national economic life.

THE Soviet political system is parallel to and subordinate to the party system. No Soviet official, however highly placed, no Prime Minister, no general, no diplomat, would hold his post for twenty-four hours after the Political Bureau had decided on his removal.

It is only a minority of the Communists, between one hundred and two hundred thousand, according to Stalin's own estimate, who may be considered as party "officers," commissioned or noncommissioned. The majority belong to the party rank and file, working in factories, offices, collective farms, serving now in large numbers in the Red Army. The basic unit of the party is the yachelka, or cell better understood in America as the local branch.

This Communist rank and file performs a double function: Its members are pacemakers and propagandists for Government policies among the unorganized masses of their fellow-citizens. At the same time, through their everyday contacts with the Soviet man in the street, they keep in touch with popular moods and problems and grievances, and serve as very useful eyes and ears for the Government.

The Russian word soviet means council. It began to acquire political significance when Soviets of workers, soldiers and peasants, elected in factories, regiments and villages, began to assume power in the tumultuous period that followed the overthrow of the Czarist regime in March, 1917. The Bolshevik revolution took place after the Communists (or Bolsheviks, as they were called at that time) had won the majority of delegates in some of the larger and more strategically located Soviets, notably in Moscow and Petrograd.

Under the one-party system the Soviets were transformed into administrative bodies. There was a Soviet in every city and town, in every province and village of any size. There were periodic Congresses of Soviets, and these represented, in theory, the highest legislative authority. But, as no party except the Communist was permitted to function, the decisions of the party leadership were always binding for the Soviets, from the top to the bottom of the structure.

The Soviet Constitution of 1936 led to certain changes of electoral procedure, but did not touch the foundations of the one-party system. Formerly the choice of delegates to local Soviets had been by a show of hands in factory, office or Government institution. The present Constitution prescribes secret voting and election by geographical districts, not by places of occupation. It also substitutes direct for indirect selection of the members of the two houses of the Supreme Soviet, or Soviet Congress.

Formerly the peasants were given only one-fifth of the voting power of the city population. Now there is no distinction between urban and rural constituencies. Before the adoption of the new Constitution certain classes of the population—priests and ministers of religion, kulaks, or well-to-do peasants, former aristocrats and capitalists, and their children—were disfranchised. Now there are no restrictions on voting, except for criminals and the feeble-minded.

THIS last change is of genuine significance, because disfranchisement carried with it serious social disabilities. A man or woman who was disfranchised could not obtain social insurance benefits and was disqualified for State employment in a country where the Government is almost the sole employer. His sons and daughters could not be admitted to universities. The abolition of these discriminations helped to weld the Soviet people together and to eliminate the inverted class snobbery of the early phases.

But so long as the Communist Party retains a monopoly of political organization and power it is a matter of minor importance how elections are carried out.

(Continued on Page 46)

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WHO WANT

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"Say," replied the other, "I've dreamed of retiring someday myself. But I've always thought you had to be wealthy, had to have plenty in the bank, to get a retirement income. You see, I'm just an average fellow, with a steady job and a fair salary."

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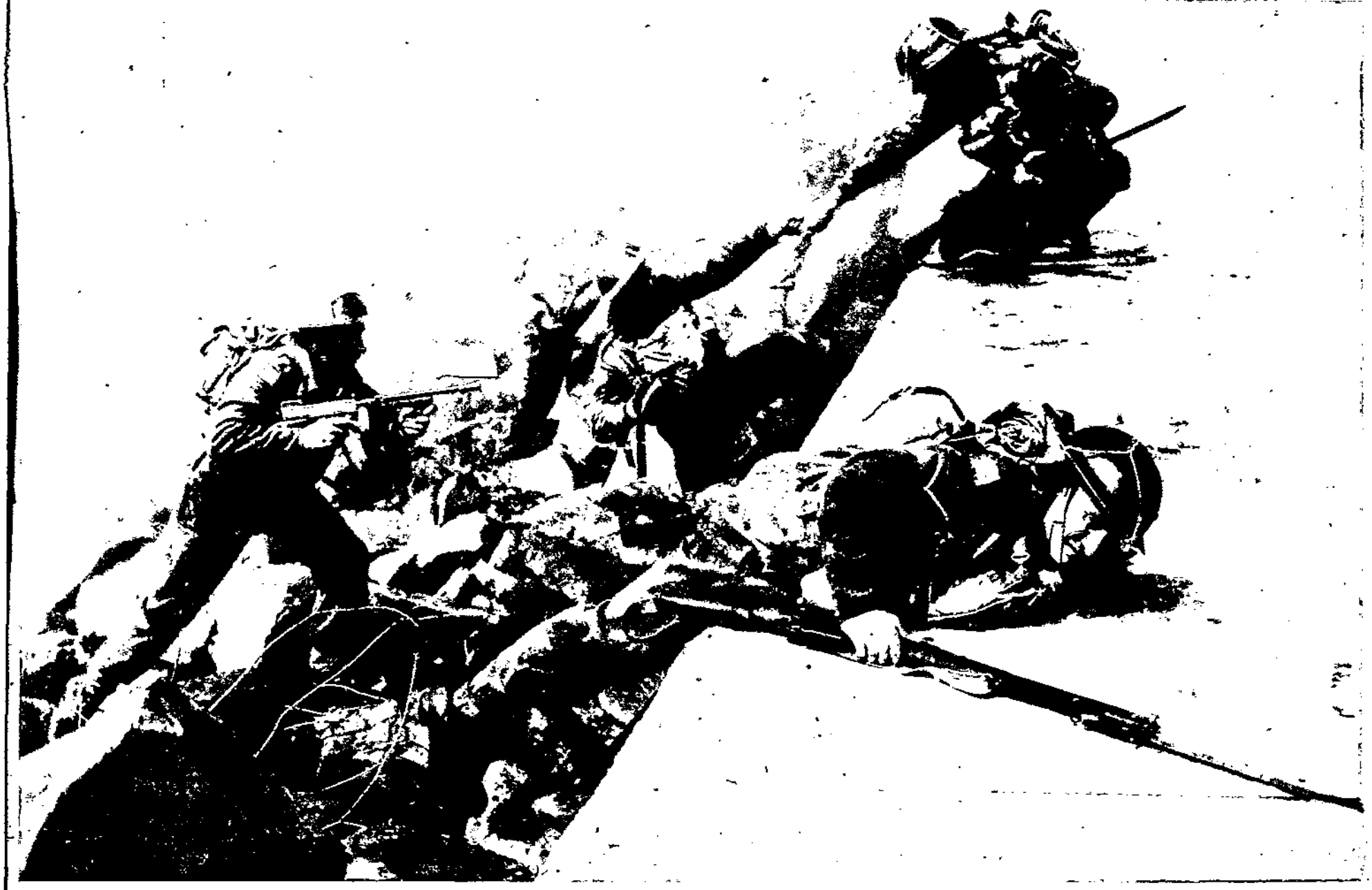
The New York Times Magazine

APRIL 9, 1944



Invasion rehearsal—"A new British Army with a spirit reborn."

Dunkerque and Today: An Amazing Change

A reporter who saw the British Army in days of defeat finds a well-armed and confident host.

By Harold Denny

HEADQUARTERS OF NORTHERN COMMAND BRITISH ARMY.

THE general had muddy boots and his fingers were clumsy with cold as he pointed on his map to a place where the tanks should soon be nosing through.

His boots had not been muddy when we had met before; they had been gray with the thin dust of the Egyptian desert. And he hadn't been a general then—just a colonel, of one of England's famous Guards regiments. He had been standing beside the coastal road on that dawn when I had last seen him, weary and stubble-chinned, watching his men retreat from the jaws of a trap which Marshal Rommel was springing with a hundred unsuspected tanks pulled out of his hat.

That had been more than two years before, when the British were taking beating after beating on every land front where they met the Germans. There had been Flanders and Greece and Crete, and then brave thrusts out into the western desert with defeat always the end. Some of these beatings I had witnessed, but I had seen no action since the disastrous winter of 1941 when Rommel wrecked a hopefully begun British offensive and turned it into a retreat which almost cost them Africa, the Near East and the Mediterranean—and perhaps the war.

So now, as the general and I reminisced in the icy wind of the rolling north country of England, I was apologizing for my unfamiliarity with the latest fashions in warfare.

general agreed, "changed a lot, thank God."

The changes were greater, perhaps, than the general realized, for to him they had come by gradual steps like a parent seeing his child grow up day by day without quite realizing it. To one who, like the writer, had not seen the British Army since the grim old days of disasters the changes were startling and full of hope.

Here certainly was the place to see them. Here in country much like the France which British and American soldiers will find beyond the beachheads, a new British army with a spirit reborn at El Alamein, weaned at the Mareth Line, and teethed at Tunis was carrying on a full-dress rehearsal for invasion. In other parts of the British Isles other hosts of British troops are going through similar grueling exercises and approaching the peak of condition for the stern trials which await them when they strike the Continent. And, of course, Britain is swarming with cheery young Americans preparing for that ordeal. But this is a story about the British army which was so nearly lost at Dunkerque and in the Middle East, and which now is finding itself.

A MOMENT ago I called it a new army. That is not wholly true. It is new in the vastly increased numbers of men whom are without battle experience; in the wealth of its equipment, and in its confident spirit. It is new also in the rigor and thoroughness of its training.

Yet many of these men out here in the trenches, at the guns and in the tanks knew the beach at Dunkerque and are wise in the ways of warfare. At the heart of this reborn army are some of the great units which held fast when the war seemed lost. Many of these old hands have been distributed through the expanded army as a framework and a leaven so that their battle wisdom will inoculate the novices.

THE general and I had to step off the road for a brigade of tanks moving up to exploit a hole which our infantry was theoretically gouging in the "enemy line." These tanks were round-shouldered, heavily armored and heavily armed Shermans, which proved their worth so effectively in the later and successful stages of the African campaign.

"We could have used some of those tanks and guns at Capuzzo," said the general. There had been nothing like these in the anxious days of 1941 and early 1942 when the British were grimly holding on at the western border of Egypt. For a time in Africa there had been an inadequate number of British infantry tanks which were hopelessly outgunned by the Germans, and later some Americans also undergunned and pathetically vulnerable to the better-armed German tanks and anti-tank guns. And our tank destroyers had not yet reached any battlefield.

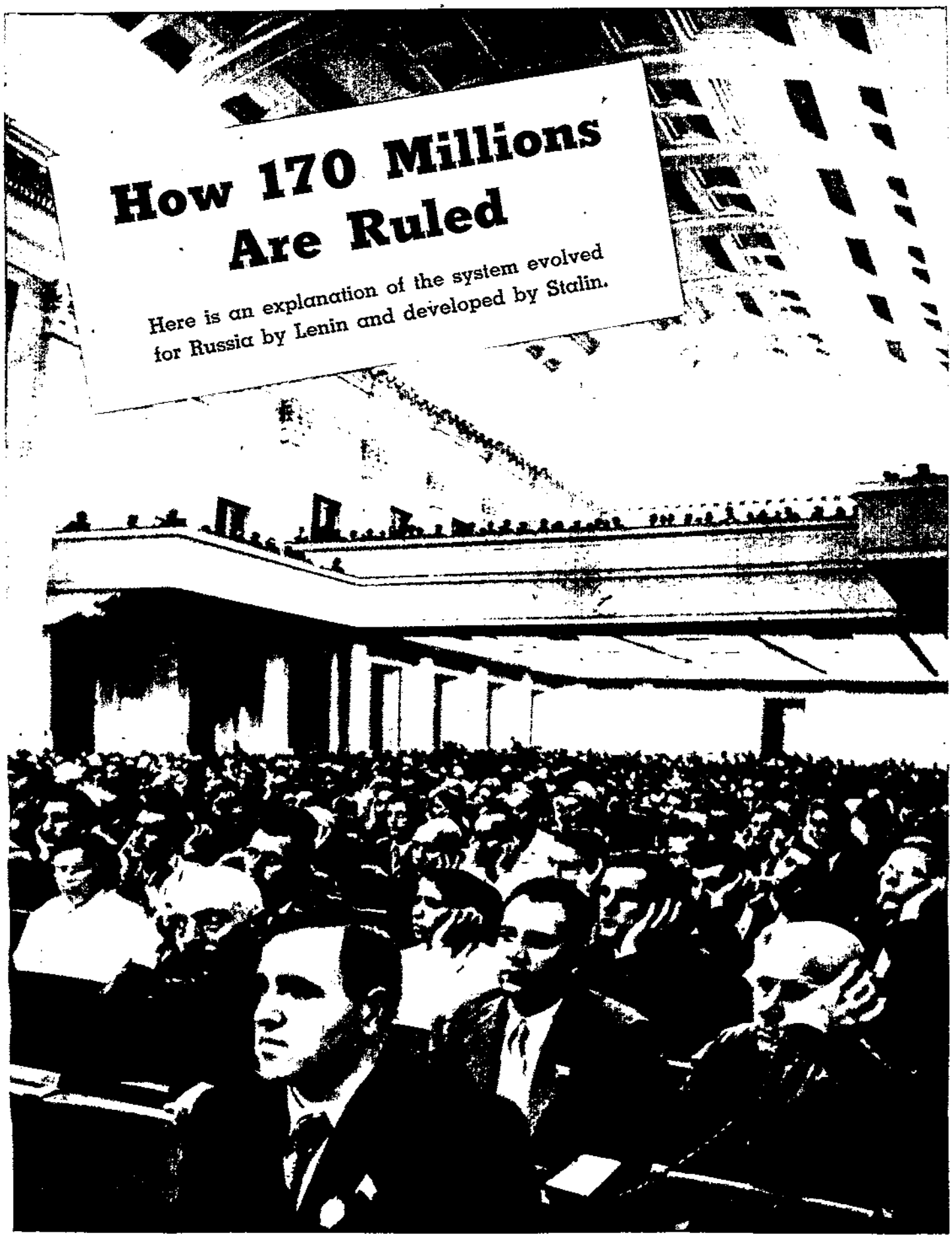
Here in this battle exercise these sturdy new Shermans fanned out and leapfrogged the infantry, pushing forward, looking for a fight with any "hostile" tanks which might be so rash. Mistakes were made, but on the whole the maneuvering was precise, coordination of different arms was quick and smooth and the tactics were greatly changed. "Thank God!" as the general said.

In the earlier encounters in North Africa those light "honeys" and equally tender British tanks were sent in as spearheads of attacks. Outweighed though they were they took a toll of German tanks, but in the main they and the brave men in them were shot to pieces by the enemy's better tanks and artillery which could lie outside their range and batter them.

They went into action in the desert in widely dispersed units and with communications so slow that the Germans could pick off one unit at a time and overwhelm it.

SUCH mistakes are not likely to be made when British tanks again face the Germans on the Continent.

The bitterly acquired experience had gone into the development of the new tactics and here in these battle exercises they were being employed on a large scale. The British had painfully learned, and Gen. Sir Bernard L. Montgomery victo-



How 170 Millions Are Ruled

Here is an explanation of the system evolved for Russia by Lenin and developed by Stalin.

"The Supreme Soviet represents, in theory, Russia's highest legislative authority."

By William Henry Chamberlin

THE Soviet Union is the biggest land mass in the world under a single sovereignty. It is almost three times as large as the continental United States. It is larger than South America. It is more than forty times the area of France.

It has the largest predominantly white population in the world under a single central Government. The Soviet population was about 170,000,000, according to the census of 1939. If one includes the Soviet annexations of 1939 and 1940, eastern Poland, part of Finland, Latvia, Lithuania, Estonia, Bessarabia, northern Bukovina—annexations which Stalin is clearly determined to maintain after the end of the present war—the Soviet population may be estimated at 193,000,000. This figure, of course, leaves out the uncertain number of casualties as a result of war and enemy occupation.

The Soviet Union is a land of many nationalities. Russians made up only a little over half of the population in 1939. They will represent less than half if the Soviet Union absorbs after the war more than 20,000,000 Letts, Lithuanians, Estonians, Poles, Ukrainians, White Russians and Moldavians. There are very few Russians in the territories which were annexed shortly before Hitler's invasion.

What holds together this vast land, with its large population of many peoples? How is Russia governed? What is the true significance of the recent constitutional change, granting control of military afairs and foreign relations to the constituent Soviet republics?

Lenin once indicated the source of authority under the Soviet system when he remarked, half jokingly, but altogether truthfully, that there could be any number of parties in Russia, but on one condition: The Communist party must be in power. All the other parties must be in jail. In this respect, at least, Stalin has faithfully fulfilled the commandments of Lenin.

THE Soviet regime functions with the streamlined simplicity of a one-party dictatorship in which no organized political opposition is tolerated. This is true as regards the ruling Communist party itself. Any "fractionalism," to use a Soviet expression, any attempt to create an organized opposition group within the Communist ranks, is punished just as severely as an attempt to create an opposition party in the country at large. It has been a long time since any dissenting votes were cast when an important resolution or decree was proposed, either to a Soviet Congress or to a Communist party congress.

LENIN owed his immense political influence and prestige not to emotional flights or oratory, in which he rarely indulged, but rather to a dry, clipped logic with which he would drive home his arguments. "Facts," he liked to say, "are stubborn things." And he would marshal as many facts as possible in support of his position.

As a final blow at critics he often employed the phrase, "He who does not understand this does not understand anything." One might paraphrase Lenin and say that the American who does not understand the tremendous centralized power embodied in the Soviet Communist dictatorship does not understand anything in relation to the contemporary Russian political set-up.

The organization of the Communist party is hierarchical. It is governed from the top down. Stalin once used an apt military figure of speech to show how the party is run:

"There are three or four thousand leading executives. These, I might say, are our generals. There are thirty or forty thousand middle executives. These are our party officers. There are one hundred or one hundred and fifty thousand members of the junior party commanding staff. These are, one may say, our party noncommissioned officers."

One could carry this comparison further and describe Stalin himself as Commander in Chief, with a general staff in the shape of the Political Bureau. This highest steering committee of the Communist party, when its membership was last made public, in 1939, consisted of eleven members: Stalin, Molotoff, Zhdanoff, Andreeff, Voroshiloff, Kalinin, Mikoyan, Kaganovitch, Khruscheff, Beria and Shvernik. Some of these men hold high positions in the Soviet Government. Kalinin is President and formal head of the State. Molotoff is Commissar for Foreign Affairs, Mikoyan, Commissar for Foreign Trade; Beria, head of the formidable Narkomvnudel, or Ministry of Internal Affairs. This is the new name for the powerful political police, which was first known as the Cheka, later as the Ogpu.

Some of the other members of the Political Bureau, Zhdanoff, Andreeff, Khruscheff, are specialists in party organization and occupy no governmental posts. But membership in the Political Bureau is not associated with any particular office. It is a mark of Stalin's favor. It is in this streamlined, unofficial cabinet that the most important decisions of internal and foreign policy are discussed and taken.

Second in importance only to the Political Bureau is the Organization Bureau, to which Stalin also belongs. It has the right to appoint, dismiss and transfer Communists from posts in the party and State service. Its power of patronage, which can be used either to reward or to punish, is obviously very great.

WHEN the last Congress of the Communist party was held in 1939 there were 1,588,000 full-fledged members and 888,800 "candidates," or applicants for membership on probation. There is a period of one year between the application for membership in the party and its acceptance or rejection. A recent dispatch from Moscow gave the figure of 4,300,000 as the present membership of the party. This probably includes the "candidates" and indicates that during the war a more liberal policy has been pursued in admitting applicants.

Even at this higher figure of 4,300,000 only about 2.5 per cent of the population of the Soviet Union is enrolled in the Communist party. It should be noted, however, that it has never been the desire or the policy of Communist leaders to induce every Soviet citizen to join the party. The latter is regarded as a sort of governing élite, to be recruited from the men and women who are most devoted to the Soviet cause.

With negligibly few exceptions, the men and women who hold positions of high executive responsibility in the Soviet system are party members. This holds true for Commissars, or Cabinet Ministers; for heads of big industrial enterprises and trade unions, for Governors of provinces and Mayors of cities, for the higher army officers, with the exception of a few veteran specialists of proved loyalty to the Soviet system, who were inherited from the old regime.

DISCIPLINE has always been strongly emphasized in the Communist party organization. The member who flouts an order from higher party authorities is subject to expulsion, which carries with it the loss of any public office he may hold. So it is easy to realize how much concentrated power the men at the top of the organization can and do wield. This power is all the greater because Soviet economy is based (Continued on Page 45

Hull, Optimistic, Set to Shape Council on World Security

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

WASHINGTON, May 29—Cordell Hull, Secretary of State, announced tonight in an obviously optimistic mood that he was ready to proceed through international discussions with steps toward formation of a world security program, upon which he has been working for many months.

The announcement was made just after Mr. Hull had concluded conversations with the post-war subcommittee of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee.

Mr. Hull said that he was prepared to begin, "with the approval" of President Roosevelt, conversations with other principal governments, such as Britain, Russia and China. It is taken for granted here that the governments in question are equally ready to engage in these discussions.

Last week the Secretary announced at a news conference that he was further advanced in the preparation of such a plan than the other governments.

No details of the proposed organization have been officially revealed, but it is assumed that a world security organization would consist of the major powers listed, and others of the United Nations operating on a slightly less influential plane. Mr. Hull announced that he would talk with the United Nations governments other than the four principals.

The post-war subcommittee of the Foreign Relations Committee has approved the broad scheme of United States participation in a world organization for peace, but the committeemen, it is said, are not yet resolved whether to help form such an organization now or await the and of the war.

Text of Statement

Secretary Hull's statement:

The first phase of the informal conversations with the eight Senators has been concluded. We had frank and fruitful discussions on the general principles, questions and plans relating to the es-

Continued on Page 9

LL SET FOR TALK WORLD SECURITY

Continued From Page 1

tablishment of an international peace and security organization in accordance with the principles contained in the Moscow four-nation declaration, the Connally resolution and other similar declarations made in this country. I am definitely encouraged and am ready to proceed, with the approval of the President, with informal discussions on this subject with Great Britain, Russia and China, and then with governments of other United Nations.

Meanwhile, I shall have further discussions with these and other leaders of both parties in the two Houses of Congress, and with others. The door of non-partisanship will continue to be wide-open here at the Department of State especially when any phase of the planning for a post-war security organization is under consideration.

Some Details Discussed

WASHINGTON, May 29 (AP)—Secretary Hull's discussions with the Senate sub-committee were generally frank and as detailed as plans can be at this stage, it was learned tonight. A clear majority of the eight-man group, headed by Chairman Tom Connally, Texas, of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, swung to support of the Secretary's program.

Senator Warren R. Austin, Republican of Vermont, said he was "very much pleased to have the announcement that Mr. Hull is going to proceed with his negotiations and make the American proposal."

Senator Wallace H. White Jr., Maine Republican, said he approved Mr. Hull's program so far as it had been explained to him. "I fully approve of the Secretary's plan to discuss it with other nations and I hope that from the discussions good will come."

Senator Guy M. Gillette, Democrat of Iowa, said, "I think the statement rather clearly summarizes the results of our conferences to the present time."

This is a clipping from page 1 of the New York Times for May 30 1944
Clipped at the Seat of Government.

Religion in Russia

About the future of the Church in Soviet Russia there are now highly cheerful forecasts in circulation to which Professor Michael Karpovich of Harvard University, writing in the spring number of The Russian Review, cannot wholly subscribe. He finds that the Russian Church has emerged from the period of persecutions with unimpaired spiritual force, and by its patriotic stand in the struggle against Hitler has won back to a position of importance in the national life. The former militant atheistic policies of the Soviet regime have softened. But it is hard to speak with assurance of the future of the Orthodox Church until the basic prerequisite of freedom in every aspect of Soviet life has been met. The writer cites Cavour's ideal, "A free church in a free state."

Church and Nation

Concerning the past history of state and church in Russia it is Professor Karpovich's belief that the degree of Government control over the Church has been greatly exaggerated. From the end of the eighteenth century the Czar was the "head of the Church," but this applied only to administration and organization. "As a matter of fact, no Russian Czar ever legislated in matters of dogma or ritual. No articles of faith and no prayer books were ever passed or approved by the imperial Government."

From the rich spiritual heritage of the Orthodox Church some of Russia's greatest writers of the nineteenth century drew inspiration.

This is a clipping from page 20 of the New York Times for

May 30, 1944

Clipped at the Seat of Government.

"ANOTHER WAR"

We don't think anything that is actually taught at City College can account for the belief of 54 per cent of this year's 600 seniors, as extracted by the annual opinion poll, that there will be another World War within twenty-five years, with Russia as America's possible opponent. A college education ought not to inculcate opinions but should teach students to roll their own. City College doubtless achieves this objective fairly well, and this is the result.

It is not a happy result. A little further thought might change it. Will any nation ever again fight another nation because its people like war for its own sake? Probably not. War must be for some purpose that outbalances its horrors and its ruinous effect, even upon the victors. What reason will Russia have to attack us, or we to attack Russia, at any foreseeable date to come? Russian boundaries enclose a vast territory which will require Russian energies for long years. Russian communism, if it is to survive in recognizable form, must raise Russian living standards. It hopes to be able to do this on its own lands. It cannot do it if it fights another great war or is compelled to maintain vast armaments. The whole drive of self-interest in Russia ought to be toward peace.

As for us, our only possible grudge against a Russia engaged in peaceable development is that we don't like its economic theories or its form of government. The danger from those theories is not a military one. They can affect us only if a considerable number of our people accept them. Our defense against that danger is not war but making our own system work for the good of all our people. We, too, will be impelled to a peaceable development of our own great resources.

There can be fruitful contacts between the two countries, with some mutually profitable exchange of goods. There is no reason why there should not also be good-will. Patience and mutual tolerance of ideological differences may at times be hard, but surely not so hard as an orgy of mutual slaughter that would reduce life in both countries to an animal struggle for survival.

This is a clipping from page 14 of the New York Times for May 29, 1944
Clipped at the Seat of Government.

The Front Line Communist

(from "Pravda")

THE Communists at the front are the soul of the army.

Each Communist is and must be a living example of courage and fearlessness in battle. Personal example set by Communists in the fighting is the strongest form of influence over the Red Army men. The Communist must so conduct himself in battle that non-Party men strive to imitate him. The Communist is the leader of the masses of the Red Army, and one can only become a leader by completely mastering military skill, the wealth of military experience, and passing it on to one's comrades in the section, battery, platoon, battalion or company.

Personal example of fearlessness and, if necessary, self-sacrifice in the interests of the Motherland, is a great force. The personal example of the Bolsheviks educates the masses of the Red Army in the spirit of supreme devotion to the Soviet country and to the Party of Lenin and Stalin.

During the break-through of the front lines of the enemy defences before Leningrad, many Leningrad Communists, infantrymen and sappers, covered the fire of the enemy machine-guns with their own bodies. At the price of their lives, the front-line Communists paved the way for the offensive of their detachments and saved the lives of hundreds of their comrades-in-arms from murderous fire. Following their example of fearlessness, thousands of Red Army men advanced irresistibly forward and flung the enemy back far beyond the walls of the great city.

The bravery of the Bolshevik in battle is an example to Red Army men and brings victory.

In the life of a soldier there are both joy and grief. The Communist must share the one and the other with Red Army men. The occasion arises when a front-line soldier, normally a cheerful person, suddenly becomes sad. The tactful Communist must intervene, not formally, but heart and soul, and have a heart-to-heart talk to find out what is wrong, encourage him with a kind word, and help if necessary. A live and human interest restores the moral and physical strength of a man.

Much is given to the Communist. He is a leading person, a member of a great Party. The Communist must always remember the words of the great Stalin: "We Communists are people of a special mould. We are made of a special stuff. We are those who form the army of the great proletarian strategist, the army of Comrade Lenin. There is nothing higher than the honour of belonging to this army."

To hold high the title of Party member, to be an example to all the masses of non-Party Red Army men, to strike hard at the enemy, to be the leader and teacher of the Red Army men everywhere and at all times: such must be the Bolshevik at the front!

Review

World News Views
May 27, 1944
P. 169

SOVIET HAILS GAINS UNDER BRITISH PACT

Historic Blows Imminent on Second Anniversary of Treaty, Pravda Says

TRIBUTE TO ALLIES IN ITALY

Foe's Failure to Sow Discord Stressed—Aid in Arms, Food Acknowledged by Red Star

By RALPH PARKER
By Wireless to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

MOSCOW, May 26—Moscow today hailed the second anniversary of the signing of the Anglo-Soviet treaty of alliance. All papers printed prominently the telegrams exchanged between Foreign Secretary Anthony Eden of Great Britain and the Soviet Foreign Commissar, Vyacheslaff M. Molotoff.

In its leading article Pravda said that all preparations had been made for launching a decisive attack and that the Allied armies were awaiting only the signal to strike in the west. Referring to the "glorious achievements in battle of the Allied powers since the treaty was signed," Pravda paid a glowing tribute to Gen. Sir Harold R. L. G. Alexander's men in the Italian theatre and forecast the expulsion of the enemy from the peninsula.

Germany's hopes to lengthen the war, the paper said, by sowing discord between the Allies have signally failed and the political collaboration on the Italian question was cited as an outstanding example of Allied solidarity.

Pravda, however, forecast that the enemy would continue to try to exploit every question facing the Allies for her own advantage, but expressed confidence that the firm front established in the Moscow and Teheran conference was based on fundamentally common interests and would stand through war and peace.

The Army newspaper Red Star also stressed the Allies' political achievements through putting into practice the principle of consultation, citing the Italian situation and joint statements on foreign policy toward the Axis satellites and Germany.

The paper hailed in particular that part of the Anglo-Soviet treaty that obliges the signatories not to enter into separate peace parleys with the enemy. This forestalls the possibility of Hitlerite diplomacy's driving a wedge between the Allies, Red Star commented.

Quoting Marshal Joseph Stalin's May Day order and elaborating on it, Red Star hailed the aid in arms, raw materials and food sent to Russia, the air bombing offensive and the Italian campaign as of great importance in the general picture of the war.

Red Star considered the treaty as a guarantee of future British and Soviet security.

Izvestia listed the following achievements as illustrative of the efficacy of the principle of joint action:

The declarations on the questions of general security on Italy and Austria made at the Moscow conference; the declaration about Iran made at the Teheran conference; the joint Anglo-Soviet-American declarations about the Hitlerite responsibility for war crimes; the recent joint statements addressed to Germany's vassal states.

The working out recently of the agreement with Czechoslovakia about the civil administration of liberated territory and the parallel agreement with Norway signed by the three powers was described by Izvestia as an example of the consultative principle in operation. Collaboration in various commissions such as the Italian Consultative Commission and in organizations such as those dealing with finance and rehabilitation has also been effected, the paper said, adding that good will and mutual understanding can achieve results valuable to the European peoples after liberation.

Most of the papers underlined the joint responsibility falling on the three great powers after the war and pledged full Soviet aid in undertaking the tasks before them.

Reports from far and wide in the Soviet Union testify that a wave of enthusiasm for the Allies is sweeping the land.

This is a clipping from page 6 of the New York Times for May 27, 1944
Clipped at the Seat of Government.

Liberation, Not Just Invasion, In the Offing, Roosevelt Says

By CHARLES HURD
Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

WASHINGTON, May 26—President Roosevelt today characterized the forthcoming United Nations onslaught against Nazi-dominated Europe, which he said flatly would occur this Summer, as more than an invasion; in his words, it is a war of liberation.

While avoiding all discussion of military phases of the planning, except for re-emphasizing the imminence of the invasion, Mr. Roosevelt outlined to a news conference some of the phases of planning that characterize the greater aspect of the operation. This planning is going along awfully well, he said.

When a reporter asked if the President anticipated another meeting with Prime Minister Churchill, he replied that he hoped there would be a meeting some time, and indicated that he would call on Mr. Churchill.

Mr. Roosevelt said he hoped to see the British Prime Minister

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ROOSEVELT CALLS BLOW LIBERATION

Continued From Page 1

Minister some time—this summer, next fall or late spring.

"How about next winter?" he was asked.

The President laughed and rebarked that he did not like the stormy weather that characterizes the Atlantic Ocean in the winter.

Soviet Collaboration Upheld

When a reporter asked whether the President considered the Soviet Union an active and satisfactory collaborator in the broader task of planning for the liberation of Europe, he replied quickly with the word absolutely.

These were the high points in a homily such as Mr. Roosevelt has edlivered infrequently since the war began. He addressed himself to an inquiry whether there was any phase of invasion preparations that he felt he could discuss.

His remarks held special significance since he made them only a few hours after Secretary Cordell Hull, at a State Department news conference, had said that our work of preparation for peace probably was ahead of that of any other government.

Mr. Roosevelt said that he had taken his new title for the invasion from an editorial in a local paper (The Washington Post, May 13) and that he felt that liberation was much more expressive than invasion.

The action in Europe, he went on, will occur some time this summer, and alll plans have been laid on that basis. These plans, he added, necessarily involve much more than military preparation, and he made a sharp contrast with studies already undertaken or progressing and the comparable work in 1918.

It was only in 1918, he recalled, that a study of post-war problems was begun at President Wilson's instance by Col. E. M. House, Mr. Wilson's confidential adviser. When Mr. Wilson left for Europe to attend the peace conference in Paris, some of the reports still were tied in bundles and undigested.

Thus the other war President and his advisers arrived in Paris, Mr. Roosevelt added, with practically all the information in the world but likewise practically no concerted plans.

By contrast, Mr. Roosevelt said, we have held the Hot Springs conference on relief and the International Labor conference in Philadelphia, and will convene a conference on monetary problems in July. We are taking up the major problems of the post-war world and talking them over. We are making far greater progress in this war than in the last, he remarked, concluding, we are going along awfully well.

First Draft Prepared

The President recalled the conversations held in Cairo and Teheran when, he said, we talked things over carefully. Many problems, he added, have been reduced to a first draft of conclusions, but he said he would no more make public the first draft of such conclusions than release the first draft of one of his speeches. He told reporters that they might see perhaps the seventh or eighth drafts of the conclusions. But, he added with a laugh, the first draft probably would horrify you.

Secretary Hull told State Department reporters at noon that he thought our work of planning the organization of peace was probably ahead of any other Government, particularly in the field of preparation.

It is a complicated and difficult matter, he added, and we have taken into consideration many suggestions from many quarters. The Secretary said that he was proceeding with consideration of the various views expressed in his meetings with members of the subcommittee of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee set up to confer with him.

Mr. Hull said we were moving as fast as the exceedingly complicated situation permitted us to move in view of the seriousness of the undertakings. He added with emphasis that the State Department would be glad to listen to anybody who cared to exhibit as many details as possible of his own views.

Mr. Hull indicated, in response to inquiries about suggestions made yesterday by Anthony Eden, British Foreign Secretary, that the Allies form an international organization before the war ends, that we were moving slowly on such phases of study as call for serious caution as we go forward.

N.Y. Times
May 27, 1944
p. 1

CAPTIVES 'CODDLED' IN U. S., RUSSIA SAYS

Izvestia Ridicules Our Care of Nazis—Moscow Acts for Allied Prisoners in Japan

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By Cable to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

MOSCOW, May 25 — Izvestia today published a criticism of United States camp authorities for allegedly coddling German prisoners of war while Soviet, British, American and other Allied war prisoners are killed and mistreated in Germany.

The newspaper said it was curious that American camp administrators not only did not resist but "cultivated" an insolent attitude among the German prisoners of war.

The articles was based primarily on quotations from the American press which reported that German prisoners at Fort Lewis, Wash., for example, were permitted to raise the fascist flag and to carry out other demonstrations on Adolf Hitler's birthday.

American press dispatches stating that anti-fascist literature was not permitted among the prisoners but that they were allowed at Trinidad, Col., to publish their own newspaper, thus keeping up the "National Socialist spirit," were also noted.

This state of affairs was contrasted with British Foreign Secretary Anthony Eden's recent announcement that forty-seven Allied airmen had been executed under the cover of the "stereotyped Gestapo formula: 'Killed in an attempt to escape.'"

Prisoners "Patted" on Head

MOSCOW, May 25 (AP)—Discussing camps for German prisoners in the United States, the International Review said today:

"When a Red Army man puts a pistol to a German soldier's head at the front, the captive screams 'Hitler kaput' (Hitler's through) but in America they pat the prisoner on the head and he replies by putting his feet on the table."

The article said it was most remarkable that the conduct of these prisoners in the United States finds no criticism by the prison administration, but "sometimes is even stimulated" by the administration.

LONDON, May 25 (AP)—The Soviet Union has made representations to Japan on behalf of British war prisoners, Foreign Secretary Anthony Eden revealed in the House of Commons today.

Mr. Eden said he requested Russia to approach the Japanese and while the Soviet replied that these matters usually were left to the protecting power (Switzerland), Russia had agreed to intercede.

Mr. Eden said the three points on which satisfaction was sought were:

1. The right of the protecting power and the International Red Cross to visit the camps.
2. A complete list of British prisoners and internees and a list of those who have died.
3. That the Japanese should agree to receive Red Cross supplies sent by neutral ships and to distribute them.

Action Covers U. S. Captives

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

WASHINGTON, May 25—The Soviet Government has agreed, at the request of the British and American Governments to approach the Japanese Government with reference to the treatment of both British and American prisoners of war in the Far East and about the possibility of supplies being shipped to them.

This was learned today after Anthony Eden, the British Foreign Secretary, had announced in the House of Commons such an agreement with respect to British prisoners.

No details were available here but the question has been one that Washington has long been pressing on Tokyo through the Swiss Government, which represents American interests in Japan. Thus far these efforts have been without avail.

This is a clipping from page 3 of the New York Times for May 26, 1944
Clipped at the Seat of Government.

MISSING BOMBER HOME

Sgt. Johnson of Halcott Center Was Downed Over Austria

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

CATSKILL, N. Y., May 24—Staff Sgt. Paul Johnson, 23 years old, who was reported shot down over Austria on March 29, returned to his home in Halcott Center this morning. He will spend his twenty-one-day furlough at the home of his parents, Mr. and Mrs. Roy Johnson, Halcott Center.

Sergeant Johnson who was shot down on his third mission after having sent three enemy planes to the ground. He occupied the position of tail gunner on a Liberator Bomber, and was the last man to jump with his parachute from the plane because his door had jammed.

He landed in the Alps and he had to be careful not to leave too obvious tracks in the snow, because in the terrain were many enemy soldiers. Finally he ran into a member of the "underground" whom he identified by the red star on his fohehead. Sergeant Johnson was hidden several days and traveled nights, walking 450 miles to get back to his lines.

He was brought home by plane by way of Africa and Nova Scotia and landed in New York yesterday.

Promoted in rank, he also has received the Purple Heart decoration.

In all he said eleven members of the bomber crew used their parachutes to land safety.

This is a clipping from page 5 of the New York Times for

May 25, 1944

Clipped at the Seat of Government.

Russia Spurns Sofia Offer; Attests Unity With Allies

By JOSEPH M. LEVY
By Wireless to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

ISTANBUL, May 22—Perhaps for the first time in this war the United States and Britain have positive proof of the political integrity of their Russian ally, it has been learned from an unimpeachable source. The Soviet Union has refused to promise Bulgaria that she may retain Macedonia and Thrace after the war, although such a promise would have yielded the immediate results of a Bulgarian revolution against the German forces and a weakening of the entire German southern flank, thus saving thousands of Russian lives. Russia placed the ideals of the United Nations and the principles of the Atlantic Charter ahead of her own immediate interests.

This is the real story behind the convulsions that for the last four days have shaken Bulgaria and caused the dismissal of the "untrustworthy" Quisling Premier, Dobri Boshiloff, and his replacement with another puppet, Christo Kalfoff, former President of Parliament.

[Reports from Berne said the Bulgarian Regency Council was risking a break with Moscow by moving to appoint a frankly Germanophile Cabinet.]

Quisling Surprised Nazis

The Germans knew from the beginning that the Bulgarians never would fight "mother Russia." All they hoped for was that Bulgaria would furnish occupation troops for Yugoslavia and Greece and relieve their own divisions for service on the Eastern Front. The Bulgarians complied with this German request. But what the Nazis never expected was that Premier Boshiloff, who they had long considered a complacent Quisling,

Continued on Page 8

would make overtures to the Russians, asking the retention of Bulgaria's territorial acquisitions in return for turning against the Germans.

All that has prevented Bulgaria's defection from the constellation of dimming satellites until now has been the fact that she bloodlessly acquired three provinces—Macedonia, Thrace and Dobruja—from Adolf Hitler. Eighty per cent of the army and the people of Bulgaria would fight on the side of the Russians today. Only their territorial gains, received from Germany, have staved off a revolution.

Knowing the temper of his people and seeing their anti-German and pro-Russian feelings rise as the Soviet tide came closer and American bombs wrecked Sofia, Mr. Boshiloff for the last few months had been secretly negotiating with Russia. The 32-year-old Soviet Minister to Sofia, Alexander Lavrideff, recently proceeded to Moscow with Mr. Boshiloff's proposals.

These proposals indicated that Mr. Boshiloff did not care what terms were offered by Britain and the United States. He wanted to know what Russia would promise in return for Bulgaria's driving out and even fighting the Germans.

Question for United Nations

The Kremlin flatly turned down the Bulgarian overtures and would not promise a single foot of territory at the expense of Greece and Yugoslavia. Moscow replied that the question of territory was something that would be settled after the war by the United Nations.

So the United States and Britain can be assured that Russia is a sincere, loyal ally, and this is perhaps the greatest slap in the face for those attempting to drive a wedge between the Soviet Union and the United States and Britain.

What has happened to Mr. Boshiloff remains a mystery, for the Nazis have clamped the tightest kind of censorship on Bulgaria. Even the Sofia radio has not mentioned the change in the Cabinet. The radio, indeed, has not given a piece of Bulgarian domestic news for the last three days. Broadcasts from Sofia, obviously under German control, only repeat the news from Berlin.

Germany's entire strategy in the Balkans for the next few weeks or months repends upon a politically undisturbed Bulgaria. If there is an anti-Nazi rsiing there, it may become a military disaster for the Germans in southeast Europe. The Bulgarian divisions now being used as occupation troops in Yugoslavia and Greece would of necessity be replaced by German divisions desperately needed on the eastern front or to face the invasion from the west. Other German troops would be needed to occupy and control Bulgaria—perhaps to fight against the Bulgarian Army. At this moment Germany is most anxious that her Balkan political walls remain unbreached.

Therefore the new Bulgarian puppet government will have instructions to avoid trouble at all costs. If Mr. Boshiloff has been liquidated or jailed, the Gestapo and the new Quisling Cabinet will have their hands full.

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

MAY 24 1944

Clipped at the Seat of Government.

Prime Minister Envisages a World Kept Free of War by the Great Powers' Armed Control

Continued From Preceding Page

cent time, upwards of twelve German divisions are gripped in Yugoslavia alone and twenty in all—that is, another ten in the Balkans and the Aegean Islands.

All eyes must be turned on the common foe. Perhaps we have had some success in this direction in Greece. At any rate, it sums up our policy toward Yugoslavia, and the House will know that all questions of monarchy or republic or leftism or rightism are strictly subordinate to the main purpose we have in mind.

In one place we support a King, in another a Communist. There is no attempt by us to enforce particular ideologies. We only want to beat the enemy, and then, in happy and serene peace, let the best expression be given by the will of the people.

For a long time past the Foreign Secretary and I have labored with all our strength to try to bring about a resumption of relations between the Soviet Government and the Polish Government which we recognized, and have always recognized, since the days of General Sikorski.

Refuses to Shirk Task

We were conscious of the difficulties of our task, and some may say that we should have been wiser not to attempt it. We cannot accept that view. We are an ally of both governments. We went to war because Germany made an unprovoked attack upon our ally, Poland. We have signed a twenty years' treaty with our ally, the Soviet Union, and this treaty is the foundation of our policy.

Polish forces are fighting with our armies and have recently distinguished themselves remarkably in Italy. Polish forces under Russian guidance are also fighting with the Soviet armies against the common enemy. Our efforts to bring about a renewal of relations between the Polish Government in London and the Soviet have not succeeded.

We deeply regret that fact, and we must take care to say nothing that would make an agreement more difficult in the future. I must repeat that an essential part of any arrangement is the regulation of the Polish eastern frontier, and that in return for any withdrawals made by Poland in that quarter she should receive other territories at the expense of Germany which will give her an [illegible] heart-shaking battle to which I have referred and which is now at its climax.

The French Committee of National Liberation in Algiers have the credit of having prepared these troops, which were armed and equipped by the United States under President Roosevelt's personal decision. The French Committee have also placed at the full service of the Allies its powerful navy, including the Richelieu, one of the finest battleships in the world.

They guide and govern a vast empire, all of the strategic points of which are freely placed at the disposal of the United Nations. They have a powerful underground army in France, sometimes called the Maquis and sometimes the underground army of the interior, which may be called upon to play an important part before the end of the war.

There is no doubt that this political entity, the French National Committee of Liberation, provides and directs forces at the present time which, in the struggle against Hitler, give it fourth place in the Grand Alliance.

The reason why the United States and Great Britain have not been able to recognize it as the government of France or even as the provisional government of France is because we are not sure it represents the French nation in the same way as the Governments of Britain, the United States and Soviet Russia represent the whole body of their people.

The Committee will, of course, exercise leadership in the matter of law and order in the liberated area of France under supervision, while the military exigencies last, of the Supreme Allied Commander in Chief.

Wants More Information

But we do not wish to commit ourselves at this stage to imposing a government on any part of France which might fall under our control without more knowledge than we now possess of the situation in the interior of France. At the same time, I must make it clear that we must have no dealings with the Vichy Government or with anyone tainted with that organization, because they have decided to follow the path of collaboration with our enemies and many of them have definitely desired and worked for German victory.

Churchill Foresees Armed Council Of Great Powers to Enforce Peace

Continued From Page 1

Churchill asserted that there was a great deal of difference between the treatment a gentleman would accord to a passer by he merely did not like and one who attacked him, and he took occasion to praise the services rendered in Spain by Sir Samuel Hoare, the British Ambassador, who is about to resume his mission to Madrid.

One of the most important announcements made by Mr. Churchill, who always reserves to himself something that is newsworthy, was the disclosure that Gen. Charles De Gaulle has been invited to London to discuss the exact degree of recognition that is to be accorded to his Committee of National Liberation. That step, Mr. Churchill thought, would prove helpful, but he did not go beyond Washington's formula of cooperation with the French committee in the administration of civil affairs subject to the approval of General Dwight D. Eisenhower.

The Prime Minister, however, voiced it as his opinion that the French committee, because of the extent of the help it is giving the Allies on land and sea and in the air, deserves to be considered as the fourth member of the grand alliance of Russia, Britain, the United States and China.

Factional Power an Issue

Throughout the Prime Minister's speech there ran a note of acceptance of the idea that, whereas boundaries were the major question to be settled after the first World War, a new and difficult diplomatic issue has emerged in this one, whether it is being fought for ideological reasons. That issue is the amount of backing the major Allied powers are to give to the various parties and factions in the occupied countries. This issue has arisen already in Yugoslavia, Greece, Poland and to a certain degree, in France and Italy.

Mr. Churchill expressed satisfaction with the way things are going in Italy, now that King Victor Emmanuel has agreed to abdicate in favor of his son, Prince Umberto, when Rome is captured, and that Marshal Badoglio will then form a new government. He said that there was no question of the Allies' imposing a government on Italy.

Britain went to war as an ally of Poland after that country had been invaded, he said, but in almost the same breath he declared that the cornerstone of this country's foreign policy was the Anglo-Russian treaty of two years ago. Thus far, he said, Britain and the United States had failed to bring Poland and Russia, their two allies, into diplomatic harmony, but they had not despaired. Without enlightening his audience further, he expressed the opinion that there was more reason to hope for an Anglo-Russian concordat than appeared on the surface, but he emphasized that boundaries were the sine qua non of any such agreement.

No Guarantees for Germany

Mr. Churchill asserted that the Anglo-Russian treaty of two years ago was the cornerstone of British diplomacy. But later he said that the Atlantic Charter would guide all the United Nations. In this connection he made three important points about the Atlantic Charter. The first was that all the United Nations were committed to the destruction of Nazi power. The second was that the charter remained "the guiding signpost" of thirty-three powers allied against tyranny, and the third was that the charter was not binding about the future of Germany, which after surrender might be dismembered.

The Prime Minister was more his old self in today's appearance before the House than he has been at any time since his illness. He was silent, and, in a sense, gay. He seemed to relish the words when he spoke of "the would-be conquering sword" of Benito Mussolini, and he obviously enjoyed the interruptions from the floor, which provided him with an opportunity for verbal jousting with his critics.

The Turkish Ambassador heard him with a spring topcoat drawn tightly about him because the air in the House was chill and there is an official ban on artificial heat.

Britain's Post-War Role

This small island with this marvelous structure of states and dependencies which it has gathered around it will, if we all hold together, occupy a worthy place in the vanguard of nations, and it is idle to suppose that we are the only people who are to prescribe what all the other countries for their own good are to do.

Many other ideas and forces come into play, and nothing could be more unwise than for the meeting of Prime Ministers for instance to prescribe the way that all countries should have to go.

Consultations always are proceeding between the three great powers and others and every effort is being made to explore the future to resolve difficulties and to obtain the greatest measure of common agreement. A few things have already become quite clear and were very prominent at the conference just concluded.

The first is that we must fight on all together until Germany is forced to capitulate and until Nazidom is extirpated and the Nazi party is stripped of all continuing power of doing evil.

Next is that the Atlantic Charter remains the guiding signpost, expressing the vast body of opinion among all the powers now fighting together against tyranny.

The third point is that the Atlantic Charter in no way binds us about the future of Germany. It has no quality of a bargain or contract with our enemy. It was no offer to the Germans to surrender. If it had been an offer, that offer would have been rejected.

But the principle of unconditional surrender which has also been promulgated will be adhered to as far as Nazi Germany and Japan are concerned, and that principle itself wipes away all idea of anything like Mr. Wilson's Fourteen Points being brought up by the Germans after their defeat, claiming they surrendered in consideration of those Fourteen Points.

I have repeatedly said that unconditional surrender gives the enemy no rights but it enlarges [illegible] be stepping outside the bounds which are proper to us and our allies.

The relations of three bodies and their relations with each other can only be settled after the formidable foes we are now facing have been beaten and reduced to complete submission. It would be presumption for any one power to try to prescribe in precise detail exactly what solution we found. The mere attempt for us to do so and to put forward what is a majority view on this and that might prejudice us in gaining consideration for our arguments when the time comes, and I shall not even attempt to parade the many questions and difficulties which will arise and which are at present in all our minds.

Anyone can write down on paper at least a dozen large questions of this kind: Should there be united forces of nations or should there be a world police, and so on? There are other matters of highly interesting character which should be discussed, but it would be stepping out of our place in the forward march for us to go beyond the gradual formulation of opinion and ideas which are continuously going on inside the British Commonwealth and in contact with our principal allies.

Questions Unanswerable

We must not suppose, however, that these questions cannot be answered and that these difficulties cannot be overcome, and that complete victory will not be a powerful aid to the solution of all problems and that good-will and practical common sense which exists in the majority of men and the majority of nations will not find its full expression in that new structure which must regulate the forces of every people as far as they may clash with another people.

The future toward which we are marching across bloody fields and frightful manifestations of destruction must surely be based upon broad and simple virtues and upon the nobility of mankind. It must be based upon a rule or law which upholds the principle of justice and fair play, which protects the weak against the strong when the weak have justice on their side.

There must be an end to the predatory exploitation of nationalistic ambitions. This does not mean that nations should not be form of the League of Nations. We must arm our world organization and make sure within the limits assigned to it that it has overwhelming military power.

We must remember we shall all be hard put to it to gain a living, to repair the devastation which has been wrought and to give all the wider life and more comfortable life which is so deeply desired.

We must strive to preserve the reasonable rights and liberties of the individual.

We must respect the rights and opinions of others while holding firmly to our own faith and conviction. There must be room in this great new structure of the world for happiness and prosperity of all, and in the end it must be capable of giving happiness and prosperity even to the guilty and vanquished nations.

There must be room within this great world organization for an organism like the British Empire and Commonwealth, as we now call it, and I trust there will be room also for a fraternal association of the British Commonwealth and the United States.

We are bound by our twenty years' treaty with Russia, and beside this—for my part, I hope to have deserved to be called a good European—we should try to raise the glorious Continent of Europe, parent of so many powerful states, from its present miserable condition as a kind of volcano of strife and turmoil, to its old glory as the family of nations and as the vital expression of Christendom.

I am sure these great entities I have mentioned will in no way disturb the general purpose of a world organization. The British Empire, the conception of a Europe truly united, a fraternal association with the United States—they will in no way disturb the general purpose of a world organization.

In fact, they may help powerfully to make us run smoothly. I hope and pray all this may be established and that we may be led to exert ourselves to secure these permanent and glorious achievements which alone can make amends to mankind for all the miseries and toils which have been their lot and for all the heroism and sacrifices which are their glory.

equate and reasonable homeland in which the Polish nation can safely dwell.

We must stress that we are all engaged in the struggle with the common foe and that nothing can surpass the bravery of our Polish allies in Italy, on the sea and in the air, and in the heroic resistance of the underground movement to the Germans.

I have seen over here men who came only a few days before from Poland and have told how they are under orders of the present Polish Government in London. I am most anxious that this underground movement shall not clash with the advancing Russian armies, but should help.

Orders have been sent by the Polish Government in London that the underground movement is to help the Russian armies in every way possible. There are many ways possible whereby guerrillas can be of assistance, and we must trust that statesmanship will find some way through.

I have an impression that things are not so bad as they may appear on the surface between Russia and Poland. I need not say that we, and I think I might add, the United States, would welcome any arrangement between Russia and Poland, however brought about; whether directly between the Powers concerned, or with the help of His Majesty's Government or any other Government.

No Question of Price

There is no question of price on our part, but only sincere goodwill to both, and an earnest and anxious aspiration for the solution of a problem fraught with grave consequences to Europe and the harmony of the Grand Alliance.

Meantime our relations with the Soviet and Polish Governments remain as stated and regulated by public statements which have been repeated from this bench during the course of the present war.

I leave this question, and I trust that if it is dealt with in debate, those who deal with it will always consider what we wanted, namely, a united action of all Poles with all Russians against all Germans.

We have all rejoiced at the skilful and brilliant fighting French, Moroccan and Algerian divisions brilliantly led, as they have been, by their officers in the tries it is different, for there we shall find that the continuity of lawful government is maintained by Governments which we recognize and with whom we are in intimate relations.

The Governments of King Haakon and Queen Wilhelmina are lawfully founded Governments with perfect and unbroken continuity and should our liberating armies enter those countries; we feel that we should deal with them and also with the Belgian and Danish Governments as far as possible, although their sovereigns are prisoners.

On the other hand, we are not able to take the decision, at this time, to treat the French Committee of National Liberation, or the French Provisional Government, as it has been called, as the full, final and lawful, embodiment of the French Republic. It may be that the Committee itself will be able to aid us in the solution of these riddles. And I think their decree governing their future action constitutes the most forceful and helpful step in that direction.

With the full approval of the President of the United States, I have invited General de Gaulle to pay us a visit over here in the near future.

I have just received a telegram from Mr. Duff Cooper [British Minister] in Algiers saying he will be very glad to come. There is nothing like talking things over and seeing where we can get to. I hope that he will bring some members of his Government with him so that the whole matter can be reviewed.

As this war has progressed it has become less ideological in its character, in my opinion. The Fascist power in Italy has been overthrown and will, in a reasonable period of time, be completely expunged, mainly by the Italian democracy themselves. If there is anything left over after that, we will look after it.

Changes in Soviet Russia

Profound changes have taken place in Soviet Russia. The Trotskyite form of communism has been completely wiped out.

[William Gallacher Communist Member, interposed: "There was never such a thing."]

The victories of the Russian armies have been attended by a great rise in strength of the Russian state and a remarkable broadening of its views. The religious side of Russian life has cate in favor of his son when the Allies reach Rome and has broadened government. The Greek King, now that he has established a government with the help of British armed forces, who put down a mutiny in the army and navy, has a good chance of keeping his throne, which seemed to please Mr. Churchill.

Mr. Churchill recognized the fact that acreage is still important to some Allies, notably to the Poles.

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had a wonderful rebirth. The discipline and military etiquette of the Russian armies are unsurpassed. There is a new national anthem. [Laughter and interjection by a Member, to which Mr. Churchill replied: "The honorable gentleman had better be careful to keep in step."]

There is a new national anthem, the music of which Marshal Stalin sent me and which I have asked the BBC to play on the frequent occasions when there are great Russian victories to celebrate.

The terms offered by Russia to Rumania make no suggestion of altering the standards of society in that country and were in many respects, if not all, remarkably generous. Russia has been very patient with Finland. The Comintern has been abolished—that is sometimes forgotten.

Quite recently some of our representatives from the Ministry of Information were allowed to make a considerable tour in Russia and found opportunities of seeing for themselves what they liked. They found an atmosphere of candid friendliness and keen desire to see British films and hear of our country and what it is doing in the war. Children in schools were being informed about the war on the seas and of its difficulties and perils and how the northern convoys got through to Russia. There seemed a great desire among the people that Britain and Russia should be friends.

These are marked departures from conceptions which were held some years ago for reasons we can all understand.

[Mr. Gallacher interposed: "On both sides." Mr. Churchill replied: "Certainly, on both sides."]

Affirms Unity With Russia

We have no need to look back to the past and to add up a tale and tally of recriminations. Many terrible things have happened, but we began thirty years ago marching forward with the Russians in battle against the German tyranny of the Kaiser then. We are now marching with them, and I trust we shall until all forms of German tyranny have been extirpated.

As to nazism, the other ideology, we intend to wipe that out utterly, however drastic may be the methods required. We are all agreed on that in this House, I think, whatever our political views or doctrines may be. Throughout the whole of the British Dominions and the United States and all the United Nations there is only one opinion about that.

For the rest, whatever may be said of former days, there is nothing which has occurred which should in any way make us regret the twenty years' treaty we have signed with the Russians and which will be a dominating factor in the relations which we shall have with them.

I see in some quarters that I am expected today to lay out quite plainly and decisively the future plan of world organization and also to set the Atlantic Charter in its exact and true relation to subsequent declarations and current events. It is easier to ask such questions than to answer them.

We are working with thirty-three united nations, and in particular, with two great [illegible] who, in some forms of power exceed the British Empire, ing everything into consider including men and money, war effort and expanse of tory we can claim to be the of these great powers but r my view, superior.

As the head of the British ernment or, I may add, as ing to this House, as a mo

Prime Minister's outline of Britain's policy toward the neutrals—a policy that contemplates the recognition of such Governments as those of the Netherlands and Norway and even those of Denmark and Belgium, whose titular rulers are prisoners of the German now—the main thought expressed was that the French Committee should be recognized as a Government. More will be heard along this line tomorrow.

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us from no duty. Justice will have to be done and retribution will fall upon the wicked and cruel. Miscreants who set out to subjugate first Europe and then the world must be punished. So must their agents who in so many countries have perpetrated horrible crimes. They must be brought to face the judgment of the populations they have outraged to the very scenes of their atrocities.

No Guarantee to Reich

There is no question of Germany enjoying any guarantee of any kind that she will not undergo territorial changes if it should seem that the making of such changes would render more secure and more lasting the peace of Europe.

Scarred and armed with experience, we intend to take better measures this time than could previously have been conceived to prevent a renewal in the lifetime of our children or our grandchildren of the horrible destruction of human values which has marked the last and present World Wars.

We intend to set up a world order and an organization—equipped with all necessary attributes of power in order to prevent future wars or the planning of them in advance by restless and ambitious nations. For this purpose of preventing wars there must be a world-controlling council. I am not talking about our purposes, but for the purpose of preventing wars there must be a world council comprising the greatest states which emerge victorious from this war who will be obligated to keep within certain minimum standards of armaments for the purpose of preserving peace.

There must also be a world assembly of powers whose relations to the world executive or controlling power for the purpose of maintaining peace I am in no position to define. If I did I should

entitled to rejoice in their achievements in all the splendor of their achievements, but they will not be allowed by armed forces to gratify appetites of aggrandizement at the expense of other countries just because they are smaller and weaker or less well prepared; and measures will be taken to have ample armies, fleets and air forces available to prevent anything of that kind coming about.

We must undoubtedly in our world structure embody a great deal of all we have gained for the world by the structure and

The Text of Churchill's Survey of Main Trends in British Foreign Policy in War

LONDON, May 24 (U.P.) — The text of Prime Minister Winston Churchill's address in the House of Commons today:

The meeting of the Dominion Prime Ministers, which covered the best part of five weeks, is now concluded and very full statements to Parliament and the public have been made individually by the Prime Ministers themselves and collectively by the declaration to which we have all subscribed.

I should not pretend that we have arrived at hard and fast conclusions or precise decisions upon all questions which torment *this afflicted globe*, but it can be fairly said that, having discussed a great many of them, there was revealed a core of agreement which will enable the British Empire and Commonwealth to meet in discussion with other organizations in the world in a firmly knit array. We have advanced from vague generalities to more precise points and agreements and we are in position to carry on discussions with other countries within *limits* which we have imposed upon ourselves by this debate upon foreign affairs; and nothing was more remarkable than the cordial agreement which was expressed by every one of the dominion Prime Ministers in the general conduct of *our foreign affairs and in the* principles which govern that conduct, or, I should add, in the skill and consistency with which they have been treated by the Foreign Secretary.

Confidence in Eden

The utmost confidence was expressed in him and in his handling of all the very difficult affairs, in spite of complications by which they were surrounded, in spite of the need for prompt action, which so often arises, by the mother country before there is time to have a *full consultation*.

In spite of all those difficulties, the utmost confidence and pleasure were expressed in the work which my Right Honorable friend had done. We therefore embark upon the present debate with the backing and hearty good-will from all representatives of the Commonwealth and Empire.

The word Empire is permitted to be used, which may be a great shock to a certain strain of intellectual opinion.

We embark on the present debate not only with this backing of hearty good-will, but with the feeling that this meeting of Prime Ministers from all over the Empire and the representatives of India in the midst of a second deadly war is an fact that highest pinnacle which our world-wide family association has yet reached.

At this time, in policy and in war, we *aperture* — *the same* — namely, to beat the enemy as soon as possible. And I am not aware of any action, or any attitude of action, for which His Majesty's Government is responsible that has not been directly related to this single and dominant purpose.

The duty of all persons responsible for the conduct of foreign affairs in a world war of this deadly character and of all who in *different* ways exercise influence is to help fighting men perform the heavy task entrusted to them by insuring them of all possible support in the realms of diplomacy and international organization.

Finds Turks Erred

Consequently the Turks did not measure with sufficient accuracy what might occur or what occurred in Rumania and Bulgaria nor, I might add, Hungary, and what would be the result on those countries of those tremendous Russian hammer blows struck even in months which are particularly unsuitable for operations in those regions and which would be normally devoted to the process of replenishing advancing fronts for future action.

Having overrated their dangers, our Turkish friends increased their demands for supplies to such a point that, having regard to means of communication and transport alone, the war probably would be over before those supplies could reach them.

We have, therefore, with great regret discontinued the process of arming Turkey because it looks probable that, in spite of our disappointment in the Aegean, the Allies will be able to win the war in the Balkans and generally throughout southeast Europe without Turkey being involved at all, although, of course, the aid of Turkey would be a great help and acceleration in that process.

This, of course, is a decision for Turkey to make, and we have put *no pressure other* than the pressure or argument, of not giving supplies we need for ourselves and other nations that are fighting upon our side; but the course which is being taken and has been taken so far by Turkey will not, in my view, procure for the Turks *the strong position* at the peace table which would attend their joining the Allies.

I must, however, note the good services and significant gestures rendered to us by the Turkish Government. Recently—and it is said that it has been rendered to *us on the personal initiative of* Turkey's honored President. General Inonu—namely, the complete cessation of chrome exports to Germany.

It is not too much to expect the assistance given us in respect to chrome will also be extended in a short time to other commodities, export of which, even if of less importance than chrome, is of material assistance to the enemy. If so, we shall endeavor to compensate the Turkish people for sacrifices which their cooperative action may entail by other means of importation.

Premier Speaks Bluntly

I thought it right to speak bluntly today. Turkey and Britain have a long friendship. They entered into relations with us before the war when things looked very black, and they did their best in very difficult times. Notwithstanding anything I have said in criticism, we hope with increasing confidence that still a better day *will dawn for the relations* of Turkey with Britain and, indeed, with all of the Allies.

Always in recent decades there has been in the Mediterranean a certain tension between Turkey and Italy on account of Italian ambition in the Greek Islands and *also, possibly, in Adana Province* of Turkey. The Turks could never be on the slopes of the Carpathians, drawn up along the Pruth and Sereth rivers, or that Odessa and Sevastopol would be liberated and regained by the extraordinary valor, might and energy of the Soviet onslaught.

Finds Turkey Blundered

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Finds Turks Erred

vantage in victory. Every one who is in position to guide public opinion, like members of this House or of another place, or newspaper editors, broadcasters and columnists and others, should keep this very clear duty before their eyes.

They should always think of the soldier in battle and ask themselves whether what they say or write will make his task easier. We long for the day to come when this slaughter will be over and when this additional restraint which imposes itself upon every conscientious man in wartime can be relaxed or will vanish away entirely.

Sees Precepts Followed

I must make my acknowledgment first of all to the very great degree with which these precepts are followed among those who accept the task of guiding public opinion and of those especially in this House, which is always so careful of public interest and which in other ways has shown itself to be possessed of those steadfast and unyielding qualities in the face of danger and fatigue for which it has always been renowned but never more renowned than now.

I shall try to practice what I have been preaching in the remarks I have made and I am sure the House will remember how many different audiences I have to address at the same moment, not only here but out-of-doors not only in this island but throughout the empire, not only among our allies great and small west or east and finally among our enemies, besides, of course, the satellites and neutrals of various hues. I must therefore pick my way among heated ploughshares, and in this ordeal the only guides are singleness of purpose and a good, or at any rate, well trained conscience.

Since I last spoke here on foreign affairs just about three months ago, almost all of the purposes which I mentioned to you have prospered severally and collectively.

First of all, let us survey the Mediterranean and Balkans spheres. A great disappointment which I had last October when I was not able to procure the necessary forces for gaining command of the Aegean Sea following collapse of Italy and gaining possession of the principal Italian islands- that disappointment has, of course, been accompanied by an exaggerated attitude of caution on the side of Turkey.

The hopes we cherished of Turkey boldly entering the war in February or March, or at least according the necessary bases for air action—these hopes have faded.

After giving £20,000,000 worth of British and American arms to Turkey in 1943 alone, we have suspended the process and have ceased to exhort Turkey to range herself with the victorious united powers with whom she has frequently declared that her sympathies lie and with whom I think there is no doubt that her sympathies do lie. But Turks in those discussions at the end of last year and at the beginning of this have magnified their danger.

Their military men took the gloomiest view of Russian prospects in south Russia and the Crimea. They never dreamed that by early summer the Red armies [illegible] would take his would-be conquering sword. On that score Turkey's anxiety has been very largely removed.

The fate of Italy is, indeed, terrible, and personally I find it difficult to nourish animosity against the Italian people. The overwhelming mass of the nation rejoiced in the idea of being released from the subtle tyranny of the Fascists, and they wished when Mussolini was overthrown to take their place as speedily as possible by the side of the British and American armies, who, it was expected, would quickly rid the country of the Germans. However, this did not happen.

All Italian forces which could have defended Italy had either been squandered by Mussolini in the African deserts or by Hitler amid the Russian snows or were dispersed in combating, in a half-hearted way, the patriots of Yugoslavia.

Hitler decided to make great exertions to retain Italy, just as he has decided to make great exertions to gain the mighty battle which at this moment is at a climax south of Rome.

It may be that after the fall of Mussolini our action might have been more swift or audacious. It is no part of my submission that no mistakes are made by us or by the common action of our Allies. But anyhow, here is this beautiful country suffering the worst horrors of war, with the larger part still under the cruel and vengeful grip of the Nazis, and with the hideous prospect of a red-hot rake of battle lines being drawn from sea to sea right up the whole length of the peninsula.

Hopes to Spare Rome

It is clear that the Germans will be driven out of Italy by the Allies, but that will happen on moving battlefronts; and what the Germans will do on their way out in the way of destruction to a people they hate and despise, and who they allege have betrayed them—that cannot be imagined or forecast. All I can say is we shall do our utmost to make the ordeal as short and as little destructive as possible.

We have great hopes that the city of Rome will be preserved from the struggle of our armies.

The House will recall that when I last spoke on foreign matters I expressed the view that it would be best that King Victor Emmanuel, and above all Marshal Badoglio, should remain as head of the executive of the Italian nation and armed forces until we reached Rome, when it was agreed by all that a general review of the position must be made.

Such a policy naturally entails differences of opinion which were reflected not only among the Allied governments but inside every Allied country. However, I am happy to say that, after various unexpected happenings and many twists and turns, the situation is now exactly what I ventured to suggest and as I described it to the House three months ago.

In addition to that, far beyond my hopes, an Italian Government has been formed of a broadly based character around the King and Badoglio, and the King himself has decided that on capture of Rome he will retire to private life forever, transferring his constitutional titles to his son, the [illegible] ture, our burden would have been much heavier.

The Straits of Gibraltar would have been closed and all access to the Mediterranean would have been cut off from the west, and the Spanish coasts would have become a nesting place for German U-boats. I certainly did not feel at the time that I would have liked to see any of these things happen, and none of them did happen. Our Ambassador deserves credit for the influence he rapidly acquired and which continually grew.

In his work he was assisted by a gifted man, Mr. Yencken, whose sudden death by an airplane accident is a loss which I am sure has been noted by the House. But the main credit is undoubtedly due to the Spanish resolve to keep out of the war. They had had enough war, and they wished to keep out of it. I think some sentiment may have been due to the fact that looking back, the Spanish people should remember that Britain had helped Spain free herself from Napoleonic tyranny 130 years ago.

At any rate the critical moment has passed.

The Battle of Britain was won. The island power which was expected to be ruined and subjugated in a few months was seen that very winter, not only intact and far stronger in the homeland, but also advancing in giant strides under Wavell's guidance along the African shore, taking about a quarter of a million Italian prisoners on the way.

But another very serious crisis occurred in our relations with Spain before the operation designated as "torch." That is to say, the descent of United States and British forces upon northwest Africa was begun.

Before that operation was begun, the situation of Spain or Spain's power to injure us was at its very height. For a long time before this we had been steadily expanding our airfield at Gibraltar and building it out to sea, and for one month before the zero hour on Nov. 7, 1942, we had sometimes 600 airplanes crowded on this airfield in full range and full view of Spanish batteries.

Spaniards Kept Calm

It was very difficult for Spaniards to believe that all these airplanes were intended to reinforce Malta, and I can assure the House that passage of these critical days was very anxious indeed.

However, the Spaniards continued absolutely friendly and tranquil. They asked no questions and raised no inconvenience. If in some directions they have taken an indulgent view of German U-boats in distress or have continued active exportations to Germany, they made amends on this occasion, in my view, as far as our advantage was concerned, for these irregularities by completely ignoring the situation at Gibraltar where, apart from the aircraft, enormous numbers of ships were anchored far outside neutral waters inside the Bay of Algeciras, always under command of Spanish shore guns.

We should have suffered the greatest inconvenience if we had been ordered to remove these ships.

If we had been, I do not know how the vast convoys could have been marshaled and assembled.

I shall always consider it a service [illegible] It is true that this agreement has been helped by the continuous victories of the Allies in many parts of the world, and especially in North Africa and Italy and also by the imminent threat by which the Germans conceive themselves to be menaced by all this talk of invasion across the Channel. This, for what it is worth, has made it quite impossible for Hitler to consider reprisals on Spain. All his troops have had to be removed away from the frontier, and he has no inclination to face bitter guerrilla warfare because he has got quite enough to satisfy himself in so many other countries which he is holding by brute force.

I am here today to speak kindly words about Spain. Let me add this hope, that she will be a strong influence for the peace of the Mediterranean after the war.

The internal political arrangements in Spain are a matter for Spaniards themselves. It is not for us to meddle in these affairs as a government.

[Laborite Emmanuel Shinwell here interposed: "You said as regards the restoration of government in Italy, it could not be effected. What is the difference?"]

The reason is that Italy attacked us. There is a clear line of distinction between nations who go to war with you and nations who leave you alone.

[Laborite Haden Guest asked here: "Is not a Fascist government a preparation for attack?"]

We do not include in our program of world renovation any forcible action against any government whose internal form of administration does not come up to our ideas, and any remarks I have made on that subject refer only to enemy powers and their satellites who will be struck down by the force of arms. They are the ones who have ventured into the open and they are the ones whom we shall not allow to become again an expression of those peculiar doctrines associated with fascism and nazism, which undoubtedly have brought about the terrible struggle in which we are engaged. Surely anyone can see the difference.

[Mr. Shinwell asked, "What is the difference?"]

There is all the difference in the world between a man who knocks you down and a man who leaves you alone. You might conceivably take active interest in what happens to the former in case his inclination should recur, but we pass many people in ordinary daily life about whose internal affairs we do not feel ourselves called upon to make continued inquiry.

We speak plain words to the Spaniards in the hour of our strength as we did in the hour of our weakness. I look forward to increasingly good relations with Spain and extremely fruitful trade between Spain and this country, which I trust will grow during war and expand after peace.

Iron from Bilbao and north Spain is of great value to this country both in war and peace.

Ambassador Returning

Our Ambassador goes back to Spain for further important duties, and I have no doubt that he goes with the good wishes of a large majority of the House and of all thoughtful and unprejudiced persons.

Mr. Shinwell made a further re- [illegible] weeks. In due course the mutiny was suppressed, the disorderly ships were boarded by Greeks under the Greek Government, and, with about fifty killed and wounded, the mutineers were collected and sent ashore.

British Quelled Mutiny

The mutinous brigade in the desert were assaulted by superior British forces which captured the eminences surrounding the camp, and 4,000 men there surrendered. There were no casualties among the Greeks, but one British officer was killed in an attack upon an eminence. This is a matter which cannot be overlooked.

The greatest patience and tact were shown by the British military and naval authorities involved, and for some weeks past order has been firmly established and the Greek forces who were misled into evil deeds by subversive movements have been interned for the time being.

The then Prime Minister, Mr. Tsouderous, had already tried, before this thing happened, to arrange a meeting of all representatives of Greek opinion and to construct his administration so as to include them. He acquitted himself with dignity, and was helped by Mr. Venizelos, son of the great Venizelos whom we all esteemed so highly in the first World War.

At this moment, there emerged upon the scene Mr. Papandreou, a man greatly respected who had lived throughout the war in Athens and who was known as a man of remarkable character and one who could not be swayed by party interests, his own party being a very small one.

Mr. Papandreou became the King's new Prime Minister, but before forming his Government he called a conference which met last week in Lebanon. Every party in Greek life was represented, and there were included the EAM, Communists and others—a dozen parties or more. The fullest debate took place and all expressed their feelings freely.

This disclosed an appalling situation in Greece. Excesses of elamas, which is a military body operating under the EAM, had so alienated the population in many parts that the Germans had been able to form security battalions of Greeks to fight the EAM. Those security battalions were made up in many cases of men who would far rather have been out in the hills maintaining guerrilla warfare. They had been completely alienated.

At the same time a state of hostility and suspicion, which led last autumn to actual civil war, existed between the Eam and [illegible] mind without any consideration for anything else, but we have to think of policy as well as oratory.

We have time to think of the problem as a whole and also to relate our action to the main purpose which I proclaimed at the beginning of my speech, namely to beat the enemy as soon as possible and to gather all forces together for that purpose in priority to any other purpose. I can only tell you today the further positions which have been reached in Yugoslavia as a result of unremitting exertions of our foreign policy. They are, in my opinion, far more satisfactory than they were.

I have received a message from King Peter that he has accepted the resignation of Mr. Puritch and his Cabinet and is in the process of forming a new and smaller Cabinet with the purpose of assisting active resistance in Yugoslavia and of uniting as far as possible all fighting elements in that country.

I understand that the process of forming a new Government involves the severance from the Royal Yugoslav Government of General Mikhailovitch in his capacity as Minister of War, and I understand also that the B. A. N. of Croatia is an important factor in the political arrangement around whom or at the side of whom certain other elements may group themselves for the purpose of beating the enemy by a united Yugoslavia.

This, of course, has the support of the British Government. We do not know what will happen in the Serbian parts of Yugoslavia. The reason why we have ceased to supply General Mikhailovitch with arms and support is a simple one. He has not been fighting the enemy and, moreover, some of his subordinates have made accommodations with the enemy from which have arisen armed conflicts with the forces of Marshal Tito, accompanied by many charges and counter-charges and the loss of patriot lives to the German advantage.

Position Still Powerful

Mikhailovitch certainly holds a powerful position locally as the Commander in Chief, and it does not mean that his ceasing to be Minister of War will rob him of his local influence. We cannot predict what he will do or what will happen.

We have proclaimed ourselves strong supporters of Marshal Tito because of his heroic and passive struggle against the German armies. We are sending and planning to send the largest possible supplies of weapons to him

Russia Defied by Regents

By Telephone to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

BERNE, Switzerland, May 23—Throwing all further pretense of courtship of Russian amity to the winds after Premier Dobri Boshiloff failed in his eleventh-hour attempt to form a coalition government to succeed himself, the Bulgarian Regency Council today risked war with the Soviet Union by appointing a Germanophile straw Premier in the person of Christo Kalfoff, president of Parliament, to form a new Cabinet.

This is a clipping from page 3 of the New York Times for

May 24 1944

Clipped at the Seat of Government.

Acting Patriarch

Alexei Calls Stalin Leader Sent by Lord

By Eddy Gilmore

Moscow, May 21 (AP).—Alexei, 67-year-old metropolitan of Leningrad and Novgorod, became acting Patriarch of All Russia today with announcement that the Holy Synod of the Russian Orthodox Church had "accepted and fulfilled the last will and testament of the late Holy Patriarch Sergei." The will directed that Alexei become "the guardian of the throne."

Alexei's formal election as patriarch by the church council appeared virtually certain but there was no indication when the council would meet. Sergei, who died earlier this month, was acting patriarch for 18 years until his election last autumn.

Sends Message to Stalin

In accepting his appointment, Alexei addressed a warm, personal letter to Premier Stalin as a "wise leader placed by the Lord over our great nation."

His letter, addressed to "Dear Joseph Vissarionovich" (Stalin's real name is Joseph Vissarionovich Dzugashvili), referred to Sergei's "love for the mother country" and said "we, his closest assistants, know his feeling of sincere love for you, placed by the Lord over the peoples of our great nation.

"The feeling became especially strong after his personal meeting with you,—after our unforgettable interview with you on September 4. Often I have heard him express his warm remembrance of this meeting and what high historical significance he attached to your most appreciated attention to the needs of the church."

Pledges Faithfulness

"In my future work, I will unfailingly and unalterably keep the principles which characterized the clerical activity of the late patriarch: to follow the canons of church regulations on the one side and constant faithfulness to the motherland and the Government headed by you on the other.

"I beg you deeply, revered Dear Joseph Vissarionovich, to accept my assurance with the same confidence I feel myself, and trust to the deep feelings of love and gratitude to you which all ecclesiastical workers under me are inspired." The letter was dated May 19.

Alexei is regarded as a great patriot. He has been awarded the Defense of Leningrad Medal for his refusal to leave that city while it was under German seige.

Washington Post
MAY 22, 1944
P. 2

Alexei Avows Loyalty to Stalin On Becoming Patriarch of Russia

Primate, in Letter to Premier, Praises His Wise Leadership and Says Predecessor Spoke of Marshal's Help to Church

MOSCOW, May 21 (AP)—Alexei, 67-year-old Metropolitan of Leningrad and Novgorod, became acting Uatriarch of All Russia today with announcement that the Holy Synod of the Russian Orthodox Church had "accepted and fulfilled the last will and testament of the late Holy Patriarch Sergius." The will directed that Metropolitan Alexei became "the guardian of throne."

Metropolitan Alexei's formal election as Patriarch by the Church Council appeared virtually certain, but there was no indication when the council would meet. Metropolitan Sergius, who died this month, was acting Patriarch for eighteen years until his election last autumn.

In accepting his appointment, Metropolitan Alexei addressed a warm, personal letter to Premier Stalin, who he described as a "wise leader placed by the Lord over our great nation."

His letter, addressed to "Dear Joseph Vissarionovitch" [Premier Stalin's real name is Joseph Vissarionovitch Dzugashvili], referred to Metropolitan Sergius' "love for the mother country" and said, "We, his closest assistants, know his feeling of sincere love for you, placed by the Lord over the peoples of our great nation.

"The feeling became especially strong after his personal meeting with you—after our unforgettable interview with you on Sept. 4. Often I have heard him express his warm remembrance of this meeting and what high, historical significance he attached to your most appreciated attention to the needs of the Church.

"In my future work I will unfailingly and unalterably keep the principles which characterized the clerical activity of the late Patriarch: To follow the canons of Church regulations on the one side and constant faithfulness to the motherland and the Government headed by you on the other.

"I beg you deeply, revered, dear Joseph Vissarionovitch, to accept my assurance with the same confidence I feel myself, and trust to the deep feelings of love and gratitude to you which all ecclesiastical workers under me are inspired."

Alexei
The New York Times, 1944

The letter was dated May 19.

Speculation over the next Patriarch had centered on Metropolitan Alexei and Nikolai, Metropolitan of Kiev. The latter had served on numerous State investigating committees but is older than Metropolitan Alexei, which may have been a factor in the late Patriarch's choice.

Metropolitan Alexei is regarded as a great patriot. He received the Defense of Leningrad Medal for his refusal to leave the city while it was under German siege.

Born Serge Vladimirovitch Simansky in Moscow, he was graduated in 1899 from Moscow University, where he studied law, and from the Moscow Theological Seminary with a Doctor of Theology degree in 1904.

In 1921 he became vicar of Petrograd [Leningrad] and Bishop of Yamburg and in 1932 Metropolitan of Novgorod. He has been Metropolitan of Novgorod and Leningrad since 1933.

The thirteenth Patriarch in the history of Holy Russia, who likes English literature and classic music, was described today by a writer as "a man who looks like either a poet or prelate."

This is a clipping from page 21 of the New York Times for May 22, 1944
Clipped at the Seat of Government.

CHANGING RUSSIA

More interesting information regarding the development of state capitalism in Russia, as part of a great ideological, social and economic transformation which began in that country before the war but which has been greatly speeded by the war, is contained in a study on "Management in Russian Industry and Agriculture," issued under the auspices of the Institute of World Affairs. Much of this transformation has been obscured heretofore by the doctrines of official Soviet ideology, and further obscured by so-called Marxian dialectics. Much of it, also, is still in the trial-and-error stage, and therefore still unclear and changing. But it is significant that the trend is no longer dictated by Marxian dogmas, as in the beginning of the Bolshevist revolution, but by the practical requirements of Russian national economy, which measures results by the amount and quality of production.

Many previous studies have noted that Marxian internationalism has been replaced by an intense Russian nationalism based on Russian traditions; that the Marxian class struggle has been replaced by a patriotic struggle for home and country; that the supposedly classless Soviet society is developing into a hierarchy with greatly differentiated powers and incomes for various strata; and that Soviet economy has adopted numerous purely capitalistic techniques, including not only incentive wages but also profits and capital accumulations, heretofore denounced as "surplus value" resulting from "exploitation" of the workers by the capitalists.

The new study, made by three experts formerly active in Russian affairs as economists, writers and at times as officials, deals primarily with the status, power and remuneration of Soviet industrial and agricultural managers. It does not call the Russian economic system state capitalism but rather speaks of state monopoly, and it likewise makes plain that the operations of the Soviet plant manager are subject to the state's over-all planning and price-fixing. But within these limitations, the plant manager is boss within his plant. The restraints and supervision of workers' councils, Soviet commissars and trade unions imposed on him in the beginning have been removed. He is responsible for the operation of the plant and the quantity and quality of its production; he hires, fires, promotes and fixes the norms of piece-work pay, which is the prevailing form of pay; he organizes training, directs "socialist competition" and is responsible for measures protecting labor's health and welfare. But he is also responsible for the profits of the plant, which under a fixed-price system must be obtained by greater efficiency. And these profits, which are divided between the state as owner-capitalist and the plant, determine the plant's development, and therewith also the manager's income, power and career. For the profits are the test of the plant's efficiency; and this efficiency determines his bonuses, which are often of much greater importance than his salary. The trade unions have been purged of their revolutionary leaders and eliminated from the machinery of hiring and fixing wages.

In short, the trend would seem to be away from the "primitive communism" romanticized by the Marxists and symbolized by Lenin's workman's shirt and cap, toward a state of things forecast by James Burnham in his "Managerial Revolution." But the plant managers have attained their authority not so much as plant managers but as members of the ruling caste, the Communist party, to which most of them belong. And the Communist party still exercises a totalitarian rule directed by its Central Committee, whose primary aims are more political than economic. But the progressive transformation in Russia provides further explanation for the curious gyrations of the Communist parties elsewhere, and especially in America.

This is a clipping from page 10-E of the New York Times for MAY 21, 1944
Clipped at the Seat of Government.

Agency

Text of Sumner Welles' Appeal for a Political

The following is the text of Sumner Welles' address on "The Shaping of the Future," delivered last evening in the New York Times Hall:

I am deeply grateful to THE NEW YORK TIMES for the privilege which it has afforded me of speaking in this forum, and of taking part in a program which has in the past made so valuable a contribution toward the enlightenment of public opinion with regard to the crucial issues which the American people confront.

It is just seven months since I last had the opportunity of addressing a New York audience.

At that time I ventured to set out in some detail my individual ideas regarding the course which this country should follow in order to make certain, in so far as our national policy alone can make certain, that the victory which we and our Allies will win will provide mankind with sure ground for hope that a progressive world order founded on peace and human freedom will thereafter come into being. For it is my abiding conviction that only in that way can those who are doing the fighting—and the dying—for us, achieve an end commensurate with the sacrifice they make. Only thus can the peoples of the Democracies ever atone for the blindness and the lack of courage that they all displayed during these last tragic decades, and which unloosed the curse of hate, of death, and of devastation with which the Axis Powers have afflicted the human race.

During these intervening months much has been done by our own Government, and by the Governments of some of the other United Nations, to prepare the way for the better world which must be inaugurated when the day of victory dawns. I wish it were possible for me to say that I believed that everything had been done which could have been done.

Four-Power Declaration First

But there have been notable achievements. The Four-Power Declaration signed at Moscow last autumn, by which the four major Powers among the United Nations pledged themselves to continue their cooperation in the post-war period and to press toward the creation of an international organization is, of course, outstanding. From the standpoint of the participation of our own Government in such an organization, the overwhelming support given by the Congress of the United States to the principles embodied in the Four-Power Declaration was paramount in its importance.

The apparent realization of the leaders of both political parties that the overwhelming majority of the American people demand that the influence and power of the United States be exerted to their fullest extent to preserve world peace—and this time through acts and not by empty words—appears to offer the firm assurance that the United States is prepared to join with other members of the United Nations in the prevention of war and in the taking of such common measures of international cooperation as may be required to bring about world recovery and to further world progress.

During this period there have been several concrete instances of practical cooperation between all of the United Nations for the purpose of preparing themselves to cope with the immediate needs of the post-war years.

There has finally emerged the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration, representative of all of the thirty-four members of the United Nations, now ready when the hour of liberation comes to undertake the task of affording relief and the means of self-help to those rendered destitute by Hitlerism. We have seen the continuation of the work so admirably initiated when the United Nations jointly established the committee called upon to deal with the basic problems of food and agriculture.

We saw only a month ago the encouraging advance made by experts representative of all of the United Nations when they unanimously agreed upon the principles best designed to procure the stabilization of world currencies after the termination of the war, without which no healthy international trade would be conceivable. A few days ago we watched the most recent meeting of the International Labor Organization, which resulted in the assurance of an ever more important collaboration on the part of labor throughout the world in the task of world reconstruction, and in the raising of living standards.

In the pronouncements made at Cairo by the President, Mr. Churchill and Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek, all of the peoples of the United Nations were stimulated by the spirit of justice and the clarity with which these leaders laid down the broad principles of the terms to be imposed upon a defeated Japan, and outlined the form of the major adjustments then to be undertaken in the Far East.

Liberation Agreements Cited

Finally, we are permitted to understand that the Governments of the United States, Great Britain and the Soviet Union have agreed in principle upon the purely military features of their future occupation of German territory. We have also seen agreements similar to that recently concluded between the Governments of the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia, providing for the prompt transfer of jurisdiction within each liberated country from the military forces of the United Nations to the national authorities, signed with several additional Governments of the occupied nations.

All of these are evidences of actual and heartening progress in the taking of preliminary steps which will facilitate the establishment of an international order. They are consonant with the assurances held out to free peoples everywhere in the provisions of the Atlantic Charter. They constitute in themselves developments of the most far-reaching and gratifying significance.

But it would be, I fear, as evidence of undue optimism were the people of the United States or the peoples of the other United Nations to believe that, if the collapse of Germany were to occur in the immediate future, these adjustments implied that the United Nations had as yet arrived at any such basis of agreement and understanding as to make possible immediately thereafter the prompt and efficient functioning of a United Nations organization able and prepared to deal with all of the manifold problems which must be dealt with as soon as the war ends in the European or in the Asiatic theatre.

There is nothing which is more needed today than for every Government and every people among the United Nations well to mark the bitter lessons of experience, which we should have learned from the history of the first World War. If we, for our part, are not to blunder again into the same errors as those which we committed in those years, a few cardinal points must be borne uppermost in mind.

The gravest mistake which the people of this country made in those years was to permit the vital question of whether the United States, in its own interest, should participate in a practical form of international organization, to become a question of party politics. The American people, I think, have learned this lesson. They see clearly today that the future security of the United States, the lives of our sons and the maintenance of our living standards are questions which rise far above all partisan lines.

Action Now on Pact Urged

I wonder whether they have so clearly in mind a second lesson. In my judgment that lesson is that the ability of the United States to exercise its influence in securing the basic objectives, which it believes essential as the fruits of our victory is far greater before the close of the war than it can possibly be after hostilities have ceased. We know today that the Covenant of the League of Nations was grafted upon the Treaty of Versailles. We know that it was never, as it should have been, the real heart of the treaty. We know that it never would have been even incorporated within the treaty had it not been for the unfaltering determination of Woodrow Wilson.

N.Y. TIMES MAY 19, 1944 P.11

What we perhaps do not appreciate fully yet is what to me is an inescapable conclusion, and that is that, had a political organization of the Allied Powers in the first World War been forged and functioning during the war years, and had that organization been so constituted as to represent to all of the Allied peoples the only agency through which the victory of peace could be won, as the inter-Allied High Command was the sole agency through which the military victory could have been gained, the history of the past quarter of a century might have well been wholly different.

So far as we can see today, beyond the shadowy report that the three Major Powers intend to discuss "before long" the nature of an international organization, no progress has yet been made in order that this mistake will not occur again. The Moscow Declaration constitutes a pledge and a declaration of intent. In itself it provides no method whereby the intent can be carried out. That proclamation of intent should have been inseparably linked to an additional declaration on the part of the four major Powers setting up an initial political agency representative not only of each one of the major Powers, but representative likewise of all of the other United Nations.

If one believes, as I believe, that the form of world organization which the experience of the past quarter of a century has shown to be the most practicable and the most desirable is an organization founded upon regional systems of states, each system primarily responsible for the maintenance of peace in its own neighborhood, but all functioning in coordination with and under the supreme authority of a universal organization, which possesses power to employ force whenever the peace of the world, rather than merely the peace of one region, is menaced, such an initial agency might well be composed of the individual representatives of the Major Powers, together with a small number of representatives, elected by the states comprised within each regional system.

The Major Powers, who assume responsibility for the maintenance of world peace, in addition to their responsibility for participating with the other states within their own region for the maintenance of peace in that region, must not be impeded by the smaller powers—at least not until a perfected universal international organization is eventually established—from freely reaching decisions regarding the purely military aspects of their police functions. But in all other matters it is indispensable that the lesser powers among the United Nations be afforded an equal right to participate in the making of those political decisions which will determine the kind of world in which we all must live in the years to come, and by which their own individual interests and well-being will be directly affected.

Public Pressure Welcomed

The kind of agency to which I refer has come to be known as a Council of the United Nations. As the weeks and months have passed and no apparent advance has been made toward the establishment of such an agency, I am glad to say that an ever greater segment of public opinion in the United States has been increasingly disquieted and has been pressing more and more openly for the creation of such a council. I am told, for example, that this very day has been set aside by many organizations as "United Nations Council Day" and that twenty-five organizations have now joined together to stand behind the following statement:

"We call upon our Government to cooperate now with the other United Nations in setting up a United Nations Council to proceed with the formation of the general international organization foreshadowed in the Moscow Declaration and the Connally Resolution."

These developments indicate that an ever larger body of our citizens is reaching the conclusion that the time to achieve international organization is before, rather than after, the end of the war. They are convinced that the way in which to obtain an international organization is to set about its actual construction, and not merely to talk about it.

Many, who feel that after the victory is won there must come a protracted period of transition, during which major decisions involving readjustment and reconstruction must be carried out before any perfected and final international organization can be established, realize that every political decision made in these latter stages of the war is automatically shaping the world of the future. Many of us believe, for this reason, that the political decisions which have recently been reached by the Major Powers alone, as in the cases of France and Italy, as well as in the cases of peoples of the United Nations in Eastern Europe, might far more safely have been reached had such decisions represented the determination of all of the United Nations. Are such great powers as Brazil, and Mexico, for example, who have contributed vastly to the common war effort, to be excluded when decisions are reached which affect them vitally? Have the Major Powers nothing to gain from their wisdom and statesmanship? Are the peoples of the Netherlands and Norway, for instance, to be given no chance to have their Government speak for them when decisions are taken which inevitably affect the shape of the Europe of the future?

Many of us also feel that political controversies now looming large, such as the future status of Poland, might far more readily have been prevented from reaching their present proportions had all of the United Nations been afforded the opportunity of participating in the consideration of an equitable solution.

No Ersatz Hitlerism Wanted

Up to the present moment, except in a few isolated instances, none of the United Nations, other than the three Major Powers, has been called upon to join in deciding such political questions. It

is inconceivable that free peoples who have been fighting to prevent Hitlerism from succeeding in imposing its domination over the world will willingly accept in the years to come some other kind of dictatorship over their destinies, even though that be exercised by the United States, the Soviet Union and Great Britain.

And perhaps the most fatal result of the failure of the three great Powers to create as yet the machinery which is indispensable, if they indeed intend to expedite the establishment of an international organization representative of all nations—if they intend to make it clear that their oft-repeated recognition of the "equality of sovereignty of all states" is not merely a phrase, but an actual fact—lies in the fact that, as time goes on, more and more people appear to be inclining toward the belief that world peace and world stability in the future can in fact be secured merely through a continuing military alliance of these Major Powers and that nothing more than lip service need be offered to the ideal of an international organization representative of all free peoples—both small and great.

We may smile wryly at the statement, when it is blurted out, that the United States and Great Britain and the Soviet Union are going "to rule the world." But we cannot afford to underestimate the peril to our future safety which is inherent in the rapid growth of this concept. Nor shall we fail to remember that in a world upheaval such as this it is only human nature to respond to a purely military conception of power as the be-all and the end-all in international relationships.

I doubt whether, when the war is won, the American people will again be called upon to choose between international cooperation and isolation. Isolation, in its earlier form, as an issue is, I believe, dead. It seems far more likely that the two policies between which they may be forced to make their choice will be a policy of true world organization and a policy based upon military alliances, the indefinite piling up of armaments, and their inevitable adjunct, stark imperialism.

For if the people of the United States pin their faith to a four-power military alliance as the sole cure for the ills from which the world is today suffering, they will find themselves compelled to adopt as their national policy, after a few uneasy years, a course of unremitting armaments building and of territorial agrandizement as the only method by which they can then achieve physical security.

Military Alliances Temporary

History does not record any example of a military alliance between great nations which has endured for more than a short while. The result of such alliances has invariably been that during their continuance the partners have jockeyed for individual influence and for selfish advantage. At best they have given rise only to a temporary and precarious balance of power.

The employment of power and force by themselves can never make for any true world peace. A real peace can only spring from the consent of all free peoples to the exercise in their name, by an organization entitled to speak for them, of such power as may be required to see that the moral law upon which they determine is maintained between nations. And no international organization can prosper unless it is supported by the strength of public opinion.

If we follow the path of a pure four-power military alliance and embark upon the course of imperialism which will accompany it, how can we expect to see accomplished those fundamental reforms without which there will be no hope of a more stable world? With a recrudescence of imperialistic trends, is it likely that dependent peoples now struggling for liberty will be granted that right? Is it possible that the currents of international trade and of investment would not in such event flow back into the same dead sea of autarchy and of discrimination which was created in the Hitler age? Is it possible to conceive of the establishment under such conditions of freedom of religion, of information and of expression as human rights guaranteed to all men?

Nor should we fail to see that some of those very same reactionary forces within this land, which, for their own selfish ends, were able to cause this nation to adopt isolationism as its policy, are today already outspokenly demanding the adoption of the policy of a military alliance on the ground that it constitutes what they term "realism."

We would all be blind if we were to fail to recognize the evidences of a trend toward imperialism within many other sectors of our own public opinion. We cannot afford to ignore the voices of responsible officials within our own Government who are already demanding, as a means of insuring our future security, the immediate outright cession to the United States by Great Britain of bases which were leased to the United States for a period of ninety-nine years at a moment when our country needed to insure its safety at a desperately uncertain stage of the present war.

Nor can we disregard similar demands that we must secure permanently bases and other facilities which some of our neighbors of the Western Hemisphere have willingly lent us for our use during the war period as one of the contributions they could make to our common war effort.

Nor should we minimize the significance of the claims that when the victory is won we should retain for our exclusive use new bases throughout the Pacific Ocean, and even in Africa, although in many instances these areas already belong to other members of the United Nations.

Comparable Demands Listed

Are not the members of the British Commonwealth of Nations logically justified in demanding for the same reasons the very same bases which some of us are claiming? Is there any valid reason why the Soviet Union should not demand, on the ground that they are required for her security, many of the same bases in the Pacific Ocean some of us now insist should be retained for the exclusive use of the United States?

Would not an international organization capable of insuring the security of all nations, by force when necessary, obviate an imperialistic policy on the part of any major power, inasmuch as the bases required to afford such security would then be available to all policing powers under the authority of the international organization itself?

No world organization can successfully be established unless it is built from the outset upon a firm and continuing partnership between the four Major Powers among the United Nations. Such a partnership will be peculiarly essential during the transition period after the war. But it is equally impossible to envisage a world organization which does not in fact recognize the full sovereignty of every independent nation of the world, no matter how small it may be, and its inalienable right to participate, directly or indirectly, in the political decisions which must be taken. Nor do I believe such an organization can survive unless it is predicated upon the acceptance by all of the participating nations of enlightened principles of international conduct and unless it possesses equitable and effective means for the pacific adjudication of all controversies as well as the force required to maintain peace.

Those who are vehemently maintaining that the only practical need of this country after the war is partnership in a four-power military alliance, not un-

naturally insist that we should presently refrain from furthering the international adoption of principles of international conduct. Their theory is that the policemen will make the law as they see fit. A resort to such a policy in the world of tomorrow will not make for peace or security. It can only mean continuing chaos and a renewal, under one guise or another, of the reign of brute force.

There are, of course, also those who, while professing unswerving allegiance to the great ideal of an eventual international organization, show every disposition to postpone for an indefinite period the taking of any practical steps toward its establishment. We can all of us agree that under our constitutional system, in the determination of the kind of international organization which should be created and of the nature of our participation in it, the executive and legislative branches of our Government must cooperate. The Congress must be in substantial accord with the policy of the Executive. But none of us can forget that time is running out.

Delay Is Held Dangerous

The longer the creation of the first political nucleus of the international organization is delayed the greater will be the danger that it may be postponed too long—the greater the likelihood that people of this country, and the peoples of the other Major Powers likewise, may be persuaded to the belief that the great concept of an association of free peoples is impracticable and illusory and that all that is left as a means of obtaining safety is military alliance and imperialism. And that road leads only to the Third World War.

In one of the most profoundly moving passages which he ever spoke, Woodrow Wilson said:

"No man can look at the past of the history of this world without seeing a vision of the future of the history of this world. * * * You can see that age by age, though with a blind struggle in the dust of the road, though often mistaking the path, and losing its way in the mire, mankind is yet—sometimes with bloody hands and battered knees—nevertheless struggling step after step up the slow stages to the day when he shall live in the full light which shines upon the uplands * * *."

Only a leader of the people imbued with a deep religious faith and himself possessed of the true vision of the future of which he spoke could have said these words. We have today in the President a similar leader. But under the crushing weight of the burdens which he must carry he needs more than ever before the clear understanding by his fellow-citizens of the true issues with which this country is faced as it charts its future course. The more we all of us endeavor to see straight and to think straight and to demand that these vital questions, in which the destinies of our children and our children's children are inextricably bound up, be settled for us in the light of the experience we have gained in the past quarter of a century, the surer we will be that our national policy will be expeditiously settled and rightly settled.

We have been granted by God's Grace a further opportunity to shape a safe and peaceful world of the future if we will but take it. The words of Wilson which I have quoted were spoken thirty years ago. Even he could not foresee the deterioration of every human value and the lowering of every moral standard which these past thirty years have brought forth. Neither our nation in its present form nor the liberties which have blessed us can long survive if we once more mistake the path.

SERGIUS, PATRIARCH OF RUSSIA, DIES, 78

Became the Orthodox Primate When Stalin Permitted Restoration of Post

LONDON, May 15 (AP)—Metropolitan Sergius, patriarch of Moscow and all Russia, died today of a brain hemorrhage, Tass News Agency reported from the Soviet capital. His funeral will be held May 18. He was 78 years old.

The Patriarch drew world-wide attention on April 7 when he challenged the position of the Roman Catholic Pope as the Vicar of Christ.

In an article entitled "Is there a Vicar of Christ on Earth?", published in the Journal of the Moscow Patriarchate, he cited Biblical texts and drew a conclusion in the negative.

Reaffirming the traditional principles of the Russian Orthodox Church, the article opposed the Pontiff's authority, adding that it was conceivable there might be a central authority to administer ecclesiastical activities, or that a union of churches might be formed about a leader, such as council president chosen from among bishops of world capitals.

As Patriarch of Moscow and all Russia, the Metropolitan Sergius was head of the Holy Synod, the administrative body of the Russian Orthodox Church, consisting of six members named by the Russian Orthodox Congress and the leaders of Greek Orthodox churches in other parts of the world.

The Patriarch had served as acting head of the church for more than a decade when it was without a formal leader, and was the first to swing its support to the side of the Soviet Union after the German invasion.

The church was restored officially by the Soviet Government in 1943, and the Metropolitan was elected Patriarch Sept. 8, last year, becoming the spiritual leader of some 100,000,000 Orthodox Russian Christians. He assumed his post Dec. 9.

Shortly after the restoration of the church, it gave its blessing to Soviet rule, and a day later, on Sept. 18, 1943, an order was promulgated by the church expelling all pro-Nazis from its ranks.

This is a clipping from page 21 of the New York Times for

May 16, 1944

Clipped at the Seat of Government,

An Intimate Picture of Stalin By Noted Soviet Plane Expert

MOSCOW, May 14 (UP).—A rare and intimate picture of Marshal Joseph Stalin in his daily work was given today by Alexander Yakovlev, a famous aviation expert and designer of the Yak fighter plane, in the magazine Pioneer.

Yakovlev pictures Stalin as direct and frank, as hating red tape, and as a booklover who liked to quote the classics to illustrate a point.

"I have met him many times in work," Yakovlev wrote. "Stalin is plain and simple in his conversation. When he speaks with you he paces around his office. When he listens to a person he never interrupts. If Stalin asks a question and a person gives a superficial answer, he interrupts with sarcastic criticism. Many times I have witnessed such a conversation.

"A person says to Stalin, 'Comrade Stalin, you are not allowing me enough time for this job. This work is very difficult.' Stalin replies, 'We speak only about difficult work. That is the reason we invited you here. Instead of speaking of difficulties you should ask what help you need to finish your job.'

CLEAR, SHORT ANSWERS

"Stalin likes clear, short answers. Usually when people meet him for the first time they are not brave enough to answer in this fashion. The first time I met Stalin I looked at the ceiling, wondering how to answer questions. Stalin said, 'Don't look at the ceiling. You won't find the answer there. Better look at me and say what you think.'

"Once I was uncertain whether Stalin would like the answer to a certain question. He saw what was in my mind and said, Answer what you think. Don't try to tell me just things which I like. You are a specialist. You are here not for us to teach you but for you to teach us.'

"Stalin once said, 'If you think you are right, and can tell the reasons why you are right, do not worry about what people think. Do what your head and conscience dictate.'

"When Stalin reads an illiterate document he gets angry. Stalin says, 'Look what this illiterate man says. But if you try to tell him about it he will tell you he is illiterate because his parents were peasants or workers. That is no excuse. Our enemies won't wait to ask whether our parents were peasants or workers. Many people are very proud because they are brave, but bravery without knowledge of military technique means nothing. It is well known that the American Indians were very brave but they could do nothing with bow and arrow when they met white people with guns.'

PRECISE THINKING

"Stalin gives great importance to writing grammatically and speaking precisely. He says if you can't say what you think correctly you can't think correctly.

"Stalin likes to quote the classics, literature, history, mythology. He is very fond of quoting 'the history of the town of goops.' (a Russian classic about a town where people did everything backwards). Once we were going to try out a new plane and someone wanted to take the plane to the place where the pilot lived. Stalin said that was silly to let the pilot come to the factory. 'You work like people in the goop history,' he said.

"Not only in his workroom but in his private apartment Stalin is surrounded by books. Even in his dining room bookshelves line the walls. If a question of geography comes up he always takes his own very old map and says, 'Let's look at my own map. It is true it is very old but still it can be used.'

"Stalin has a wonderful memory and can quote long passages word for word. He likes Gorki and Chekhov."

This is a clipping from page 12 of the Daily Worker for May 15, 1944
Clipped at the Seat of Government.

STALIN PORTRAYED AS FRANK, DIRECT

Russian Plane Designer Says Premier Quotes Classics to Illustrate a Point

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This is a clipping from page 6 of the New York Times for May 15, 1944
Clipped at the Seat of Government.

Truth, Etc.

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¶ Joseph Stalin, a founder of the Bolshevik press, shaped it to Lenin's formula.

Last week Russia celebrated Press Day, 32nd anniversary of the birth of the Soviet press in the revolutionary underground. Florid editorials proclaimed the press's role anew. Writers, editors, correspondents got official awards.

The Soviet press is thousands of town, village and factory papers, shop wall newspapers, group publications for trade unions, the Party, youth, the Army. But most important are the three big Moscow dailies, *Pravda*, *Izvestia*, *Red Star*, and two magazines, *Crocodile* and *War and the Working Class*.

The Big Three rarely appear in Moscow before midmorning. They are sold out almost at once. Lines form at kiosks for them. Nonbuying Muscovites stand in line to read displayed pages. Mats are flown to principal cities for limited reprints. Factories often call special gatherings to discuss the news.

The Big Three are cut from the same pattern. Their page size is the same as that of standard U.S. papers. Each costs 20 kopecks (a subway ride costs 40, a trolley ride 15). There are no comic strips, no columnists, no crime or scandal, few pictures, only a stick or so of sports news about such things as chess championships. Readers do not miss them. The newly literate Russian masses have so vast an appetite for the written word that they are fascinated by news reports which U.S. readers would find dust-dry. The most that the reader gets in the way of entertainment is an occasional sardonic cartoon—usually aimed at Fascism. He finds a back page largely filled with cut-&-dried foreign news from the official agency, *Tass*. The front-page formula rarely varies: a Stalin Order of the Day (*prikaz*) in the two left columns, plus another two columns on military operations (*svodka*). The two inside pages are devoted to feature articles from the front and to uplifting or critical reports from the collective farms and factories—sometimes written by soldiers and workers.

The Party Line. Press Day marks the anniversary of the founding of *Pravda* (Truth) at St. Petersburg in 1912. In 32 years *Pravda* has become the world's biggest daily, with over 3,000,000 circulation, though in wartime its circulation is being held to about 2,000,000. Its two Moscow buildings spread over the equivalent of two New York City blocks and contain a clinic, restaurant, theater for press workers. Its 21 rotary presses (mostly U.S.-made) can print 1,000,000 copies an hour. The *Pravda* plant also produces many a book and other publication, notably *Komsomolskaya Pravda* for Communist youth.

In *Pravda* the Russian reads what the Central Committee of the Communist Party wants him to read. It is the official Party organ. Stalin, as General Secretary of the Party, is always interested in the tone which *Pravda* sets for the rest of the Soviet press. Too busy now to give it close personal attention, he is represented in its management by 43-year-old Alexander Sergeevich Shcherbakov, head of the Soviet Information Bureau, member of the all-powerful Politburo.

Pravda's prewar editorial staff of 250 is now whittled to 50 or 60. It has correspondents with every branch of the Red Fleet and with every army commander in the field. (At least 50 Russian press correspondents have been killed at the fronts.) And when it wants to, *Pravda* can draw on the best of contemporary Russian writers: Gregory Riklin, Mikhail Sholokhov, Konstantin Simonov. The staff writer best known in the U.S. is the one who has most often criticized U.S. citizens: David Iosifovich Zaslavsky, author of *Pravda's* recent cracks at Wendell Willkie (TIME, Jan. 17), at William Randolph Hearst for "spilling poisoned ink," at the New York *Times's* Military Expert Hanson W. Baldwin as "admiral of an ink pool." Zaslavsky, dour and 65, is one of Russia's most prolific and popular writers.

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MAY 15, 1944 p. 92, 94, 96

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Ehrenburg is not a Communist Party member, but is nonetheless one of the Soviet Union's best-paid, most honored writers—winner of a Stalin prize, the Red Banner of Labor, and, last week, the Order of Lenin, Russia's top civilian honor. Incredibly prolific, he writes pamphlets, radio broadcasts, recently published a volume of lyric verse. His only rival in popularity is stocky Mikhail Sholokhov, 36, author of *And Quiet Flows the Don* (TIME, July 2, 1934) and *The Don Flows Home to the Sea* (TIME, Aug. 4, 1941). *Pravda* has been serializing his new epic *They Fought for Their Country*.

The Comic Line. *Crocodile* is little known in the U.S.; few copies leave Russia. But it is more important than any other humorous magazine is elsewhere. LIFE-sized, it is the Soviet *Punch*. Its prewar circulation of 500,000 is now down to 100,000. Most of its cartoons are political or military, and most of its humor is about as subtle as a sledge hammer.

The Class Line. Russia's newest and increasingly important publication is the 32-page, semimonthly *Voina i Rabochi Klass* (*War and the Working Class*), started eleven months ago as a forum for discussion of foreign affairs. It proclaims itself free of official Government or Party influence, declares that its articles represent only its writers' views. But U.S. correspondents frequently find *War and the Working Class* a rich source of clues to future Soviet action.

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Fred Stein

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Red Star sets the tone for all military papers. *Red Navy* and *Stalin Hawk*—for the air force—are closely modeled on it. *Red Star's* battle reports are the Soviet Union's most reliable and most colorful. Since all Russians get military training, all correspondents have military rank. Most of *Red Star's* are majors, who wear no insignia to distinguish them as newsmen. *Red Star's* star correspondent is greying Ilya Ehrenburg, 53, whose dispatches are frequently cabled to the U.S. *Pravda* and *Izvestia* also run his highly colored, hate-filled dispatches.

Ehrenburg is not a Communist Party member, but is nonetheless one of the Soviet Union's best-paid, most honored writers—winner of a Stalin prize, the Red Banner of Labor, and, last week, the Order of Lenin, Russia's top civilian honor. Incredibly prolific, he writes pamphlets, radio broadcasts, recently published a volume of lyric verse. His only rival in popularity is stocky Mikhail Sholokhov, 39, author of *And Quiet Flows the Don* (TIME, July 2, 1934) and *The Don Flows Home to the Sea* (TIME, Aug. 4, 1941). *Pravda* has been serializing his new epic *They Fought for Their Country*.

The Comic Line. *Crocodile* is little known in the U.S.; few copies leave Russia. But it is more important than any other humorous magazine is elsewhere. LIFE-sized, it is the Soviet *Punch*. Its pre-war circulation of 500,000 is now down to 100,000. Most of its cartoons are political or military, and most of its humor is about as subtle as a sledge hammer.

The Class Line. Russia's newest and increasingly important publication is the 32-page, semimonthly *Voina i Rabochi Klass* (*War and the Working Class*), started eleven months ago as a forum for discussion of foreign affairs. It proclaims itself free of official Government or Party influence, declares that its articles represent only its writers' views. But U.S. correspondents frequently find *War and the Working Class* a rich source of clues to future Soviet action.

HOW RUSSIA FOUGHT INDUSTRIAL CHAOS

Five Experts Report on Study of Soviet Management of Factories and Farms

TRACE POLICY CHANGES

Trial and Error Method Has Led to Gain in Efficiency—Many Problems Remain

By WILL LISSNER

A study by five leading specialists of the managers of industry and agriculture in the Soviet Union and of the operation of Russian managements, made public yesterday, indicates that Soviet production has overcome or is dealing effectively with many of the managerial problems that formerly promoted inefficiency or chaos.

The study, issued under the auspices of the Institute of World Affairs and supported by a grant from the Rockefeller Foundation, is the first comprehensive attempt to seek a clue to understanding the economics and sociology of modern Russia through analysis of the changing role of managers in the course of the country's economic evolution.

In the report it is pointed out that Soviet leaders are aware of many unsolved management situations, the handling of which, however, under the impetus of war production, may now be speeded. It is indicated that such solutions as have been achieved, particularly in recent years after the social transformation of 1936-38, came as the result of a consistent development after the close of the period of the New Economic Policy in 1928, and arose chiefly out of trial and error.

Authors Were Active in Russia

The monograph, published by Oxford University Press under the title "Management in Russian Industry and Agriculture," was prepared by Gregory Bienstock, Solomon M. Schwarz and Aaron Yugow, who, until 1922, were active in Russian public affairs as economic and political writers and, temporarily, as officials.

Their project, which was under the direction of the late Arthur Feiler, Professor of Economics in the Graduate Faculty of Political and Social Science, and of Jacob Marschak, now Professor of Economics at the University of Chicago, is a product of the Research Project on Social and Economic Controls in Germany and Russia. The group had the collaboration of Herbert Solow as translator and editor.

Mr. Bienstock points out that relations between plant management and higher agencies of economic administration, the limits of the autonomy of a plant manager, present one of the most complicated and acute problems of all Soviet economy. Only in recent years, he finds, as Soviet economy has become stronger and its leading personnel improved by selection and training, have some plant managers won autonomy and made effective the theoretical rights and powers decreed earlier by the Soviet Communist party and the government.

Now, however, the technical staff is fully subordinated to the manager and the manager has become the only person responsible for the operation of the plant in all its subdivisions. He is himself responsible for promotion and assignment of technical personnel and employes in general. He determines, within a fairly wide framework of rules the scale of wages and the norms of piecework, organizes training, directs competition for greater labor productivity, and is responsible for measures protecting labor's health and welfare.

Intervention by Party

The Communist party continues to intervene actively in industrial management. During the last half-decade leading party circles indicated much anxiety about the shortcomings of industrial leadership, and party congresses reiterated the need for that intervention, their policies on the problem having changed repeatedly. The Communist plant organization seems to be regarded as a part of management.

Mr. Schwartz reports that since 1936-38, when the managing and technical personnel of industrial plants changed, relations between manager and party secretary took on a new character.

"As early as 1936, 97 per cent of plant managers, 82 per cent of chiefs of construction, 40 per cent of chief engineers were Communists," he says. "These percentages increased further. Young engineers, who since 1936, have occupied important positions in industrial administration, have come increasingly to hold party office, even leading posts."

In the earlier period, Soviet industrial management consisted of a triumvirate, the manager, the Communist party organization and the trade union organization, none of which elements had sharply defined powers. By 1936-38, the Communist party was transformed, many of the older members dropped and younger elements from the technical and cultural intelligentsia admitted.

The trade unions underwent evolution after 1928, their influence in the plant diminishing, particularly with the abandonment of collective contracts after 1935, Mr. Schwarz and Mr. Bienstock find. The latter points out, however, that one field was kept open for workers' initiative and action, the organization of conferences on production, whose origin goes back to 1924. In practice, piece rates, the prevailing form of pay, are usually fixed in Russia separately for each plant, Mr. Schwarz says.

Planning Now More Flexible

Economic planning presents less difficulties to management than formerly, Mr. Bienstock reports. Since the purges of 1937-38, the Gosplan, the State Planning Commission, had shown little initiative and usually awaits party directives, he says. Since 1941, planning is somewhat more flexible, and the circuitous route through which plans had to travel for approval has been shortened.

Probably preparing for the eventualities of war, the Government sought to relax to a certain degree centralized planning and management, especially for local industry working mainly for local consumption. The technical, industrial and financial planning by the single plant has received new encouragement, Mr. Bienstock notes, adding, "as a matter of fact, this element of the Soviet planning machinery is in many ways quite similar to the planning of production by the individual capitalist entrepreneur." Mr. Yugow points out that since 1940 the central government has cut by 40 to 55 per cent the number of reports required of management, reports not unlike government questionnaires in the United States.

Gain in Labor Efficiency

The five-year plans brought costs of production down 12 and 10 per cent, on the average, with much higher savings in heavy industry, much lower in consumers' goods industries. The increase in labor efficiency was more striking. Mr. Yugow says:

"Reports on the fulfillment of the first Five-Year Plan indicated an increase of 41 per cent in labor efficiency, as against a planned increase of 60 per cent. The second Five-Year Plan brought about an increase of 82 as against a planned increase of 63 per cent. Reports on the first three years of the third Five-Year Plan indicate an increase of 38 as against a planned increase of 65 per cent for the entire five-year period. * * * The number of auxiliary workers has decreased, although it is in many cases still five to eight times larger than in similar American plants."

Meanwhile sinking funds receive an annual contribution of from 5.5 to 5.6 per cent of sunk costs and by the outbreak of war factory prices of industrial products had gradually been fixed at levels that brought profits to the overwhelming majority of industrial plants. On a basis directly related to managerial efficiency and only indirectly to profits, the managers are rewarded by bonuses of greater importance frequently than their salaries; by apartments or cottages; vacations; free transportation andoth er compensation in kind; and by prestige and power.

One of the collaborators, Mr. Schwarz, advances the hypothesis that the industrial managers, by

N. Y. Times
May 14, 1944 P. 12

2,000,000 MURDERS LISTED BY SOVIET

Charges Indicate Retribution for German Crimes May Shock Western World

2 GENERALS ARE ACCUSED

Prisoners of War as Well as Civilians Said to Have Been Victims of Atrocities

By JOHN MacCORMAC
Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

WASHINGTON, May 12—Confidential reports by British and American officials in Moscow that Premier Joseph Stalin plans to exact a retribution for German crimes against occupied Russia that may shock the sensibilities of the western world received some confirmation today from the Soviet Embassy Information Bulletin.

Individual findings with regard to the atrocities have already been published and a few German officers and soldiers have been hanged for them. Today the Information Bulletin published a statement by the Extraordinary State Committee for the Ascertaining and Investigating of Crimes Committed by the German-Fascist Invaders and their associates, which reports that, according to preliminary data recorded by the committee, the German-Fascist invaders have murdered, gassed in murder vans or tortured to death about 2,000,000 persons in occupied Soviet districts, old men, women and children, peaceful Soviet citizens, as well as a large number of prisoners of war, officers and men of the Red Army. Among those who must be punished for these crimes it lists a lieutenant general and a major general of the German Army.

German Documents Quoted

The committee quotes from German documents captured at Gestapo Headquarters in Kiev operational orders for the mass extermination of Soviet prisoners of war and civilians. These directed that special squads be set up in each camp for war prisoners on German territory, Polish territory and occupied Russian territory.

They were ordered to concentrate their attentions on leading Soviet workers and intellectuals. However, Russian soldiers were not to be spared, since supplement No. 1 to Operational Order No. 14 issued by the Nazi Chief of Security Policy declared that "the Bolshevik soldier has lost the right to be treated as an honest soldier and in accordance with the Geneva Convention."

The Nazis, after they had made use of them, did not hesitate to wipe out leaders of the Bandera, Ukrainian Nationalists, whose aid against the Soviet Union Adolf Hitler had at first sought. One captured order directed that "all active participants in the Bandera movement must be immediately arrested and liquidated quietly after thorough questioning, ostensibly as robbers. * * * This document, after it has has been read, must be destroyed at once by the commander of the squad."

Secret Executions Ordered

Numerous orders of the German military command and German police stress that executions must be carried out as secretly as possible and not in the neighborhood of the camps from which the victims were taken. When the Red Army began to clear occupied territories, says the committee, the German command ordered excavations of graves and cremation of the bodies buried in them.

The committee declares it has established that "the direct organizers and leaders in the mass extermination of Soviet war prisoners and civilians are: Major Gen. von Hindenburg, Chief of Prisoner of War Camps of the First Military Area of Eastern Prussia; Lieut. Gen. Herrgott, Chief of Prisoner of War Camps in the Polish 'Governor Generalship'; Criminal Counsel Schieffer of the State Police Department of Stettin and Criminal Commissar Rashwitz of the Security Police in Cracow."

It says that the direct executors of this extermination of the Soviet people, who must also pay the penalty for it, were the personnel of the Special Squads, of the "operational squads," and of the camps.

This is a clipping from page 4 of the New York Times for

May 13, 1944

Clipped at the Seat of Government.

What Really Happened at Teheran

Here at last is a precise, human report of what Roosevelt said to Stalin and what Stalin said to FDR when the Big Three talked things over.

By FORREST DAVIS

THE President brought his fancy for informal, spirited and idiomatic diplomacy promptly into play at Teheran. He had scarcely dropped his bags in the pillared, yellow-brick palace housing the Soviet embassy, where he was being put up by Stalin, before his host was ambling across the embassy gardens to bid him welcome and to get acquainted. The day, November 28, 1943, was sunny and warm for the season.

Outside Mr. Roosevelt's sitting room, a state chamber incompatibly adorned with czarist gilt and red stars, Red Guards bearing tommy guns vigilantly paced and wheeled. Secret-police operatives lurking here and there amid the massed white chrysanthemums, late roses and silver-boled sycamores of the famous gardens reflected Russian nervousness over the possibility that the Nazis might have dropped parachuting assassins near by. The President, regarding that prospect lightly, had accepted Stalin's hospitality as much for convenience as for prudence, as the American legation, where he passed his first night in the country, was a mile distant from the adjoining Russian and British embassies through narrow, crowded streets. Thus, while the anxiety in the Soviet compound was thick enough to be cut by a Persian *shimshir*, the atmosphere in the presidential sitting room was as sunny as the day.

Mr. Roosevelt, in private life a Hudson Valley squire, received Joseph Stalin, the Georgian cobbler's son who rose through revolution to be ruler of all the Russias, with a hearty, Dutchess-County neighborliness that even the difference in language could not chill. A bit stiff in his newly tailored marshal's field uniform, Mr. Stalin thawed only slowly under the sun of Mr. Roosevelt's justly celebrated charm. If the President's humor at times seems as broad as the Hudson, Stalin, too, is noted for joviality, but on this occasion, unlike what it would be later, his conversation was reserved rather than salty.

His edged wit, aimed at Winston Churchill, subsequently was to affect the amenities among the Big Three. Churchill, although a tough House of Commons controversialist, was easily nettled and retorted to Stalin in kind. It thereupon became Roosevelt's self-appointed chore to moderate the asperities before they drew blood. The President escaped these quarrels, and it was noteworthy, although the political significance remains obscure, that throughout the four days of the meeting, Stalin, while frequently rawhiding Churchill, treated Roosevelt with a consideration approaching deference.

On this Sunday afternoon, however, the personal stresses of the conference lay ahead, and the President and the Soviet functionary, being met at long last, were reasonably well met. To the President, an ingrained optimist who believes in the efficacy of cross-the-table confabulation, the fact that he and Stalin were face to face was at least half his battle. It marked,

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as he saw it, a long step forward in the accomplishment of his "great design" for a peaceable, law-abiding world. At Teheran, in truth, much of the President's strategy to that end was disclosed. The puzzled pundits, patriots and plain citizens who have been unable to decipher the Government's foreign policies could do worse, therefore, than to take note of Roosevelt's behavior there, especially with reference to Stalin, for clues to his underlying objectives.

A study of Roosevelt's Teheran diplomacy does shed more light on his recent attitudes toward the Kremlin's restless self-assertion, the problem of a defeated Germany, Eastern Europe and the shape of the world to come than the guarded, if exalted, generalities of Cordell Hull. It was at Teheran that the President most clearly exhibited his tough-minded determination to enroll the Soviet Union as a sincere and willing collaborator in postwar settlements. That determination, I am able to say, is at the center of his "great design."

The President had persevered, against discouragements, to bring Stalin across the table from himself and Churchill. The conference was occurring principally on his initiative. Throughout the sessions he was to make every endeavor to meet Stalin's mind, to understand his point of view and to assure the Russian of his own complete good faith. It seemed to him that the creation of a reciprocal spirit of confidence among the Big Three was more desirable than specific compacts. For that and other reasons, to be examined hereafter, he exerted himself to keep the discussions fluid, avoiding issues not yet ripe for agreement. How well he succeeded in generating good will between himself and Stalin has not yet been fully determined. That book is not closed.

At the outset, he and Stalin found common ground in the unflattering discovery that neither considered the other an expert on his respective country. When Roosevelt suggested that the mass of the Russians, so long isolated under czars and commissars alike, knew little of our customs, values and institutions, Stalin bluntly imputed a like ignorance of his vast domain to us. The situation called for missionary work, a mutual enterprise hitherto unpublicized that was carried on enthusiastically by both parties. In the course of the cross enlightenment, the statesmen got on relatively easy terms. So much so that when, before dinner, the President stirred a pitcher of his special, extra-dry Martinis, Stalin appraised them with candor. Someone recently asked Mr. Roosevelt if he had reached a first-name basis with the Russian. He replied with a trace of regret that it is almost impossible to address a man by his first name through an interpreter. Hence, he called Stalin "marshal."

The aspect of life in America that aroused the marshal's curiosity most of all was the structure of the federal system. He confessed imperfect knowledge of the division of powers among the nominally sovereign states and the central government. On this, the President delivered an eloquent discourse. So intent was Stalin, so exhaustive was Roosevelt, that the President has wondered if their discussion in any way influenced the marshal's decision, announced early in February, to decentralize the Soviet foreign office and the Red army in favor of the sixteen constituent republics. In as much as our states have neither a foreign policy nor an army, the President doubts that Stalin used the Federal Union as a model, supposing instead that the Russian was at the moment studying federal systems generally for guidance in the change he was soon to promulgate.

Far more significantly, the President conducted at Teheran a seminar, for Stalin's benefit, in the good-neighbor policy. Tracing the improvement in inter-American relations since we abandoned dollar diplomacy and the Roosevelt (Theodore) corollary to the Monroe Doctrine, which we had used to justify meddling in the Caribbean republics, he stressed the advantages accruing to us as the only great power in the hemisphere. In proof, he cited the simultaneous declarations of war against the Axis by our weaker neighbors in December, 1941. Emphasizing the absence from our hearts of any hankering for the lands of our neighbors, the President recommended the policy for strong powers paramount in their regions, such as the United States in the New World and the Soviet Union, presumptively, in Eastern and Northern Europe.

He further remarked that Stalin's task in reassuring his neighbors was simpler in certain respects than our own, the Slavic nations adjoining the Soviet Union being nearer in blood to the Russians than Costa Rica or Colombia to us.

At this point, the marshal volunteered a sweeping declaration of his desire to conciliate his neighbors, saying flatly that he had no desire to own Europe. His country, he added, is only half populated and the Russians have plenty to do at home, without undertaking great new territorial responsibilities. The President, accepting the assurance with gratification, at once voiced his belief in the marshal's good intentions.

The foregoing colloquy, which has not been, I believe, previously reported, provided one of the highlights of the Roosevelt-Stalin conversations. Signifying Roosevelt's solicitude for the small nations of Europe, it perhaps even more importantly afforded him an opportunity to avow his trust in Stalin's word. Since Teheran, the President and the marshal have carried on a personal correspondence, exchanging handwritten, informal letters every three or four weeks, as well as more frequent personal *(Continued on Page 37)*

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cablegrams. Mr. Roosevelt's reliance on the Russian's *bona fides* as expressed at Teheran and subsequently in their correspondence furnishes a key to the Government's hopefully patient dealings with Moscow—bordering at times on what has been termed appeasement—at least up to the time of this writing, which is early in April.

The spring air above the Potomac has been thick with dead cats aimed at the Administration's foreign policies. Since the broad outlines of Far Eastern settlements were sketched at the Roosevelt-Churchill parleys with Chiang Kai-shek at Cairo, the complaints bear almost altogether on European questions. Nor do they refer much to our policy in the Mediterranean; the long-standing criticisms of our military diplomacy in that area having by now become fairly academic. Growing out of a misconception of the nature of the war being waged by the United States, these attacks have been pressed in the main by citizens who see the struggle as overwhelmingly ideological—solely a war on Fascism. By a curious irony, many of these critics applaud Russia's patriotic war while denying us the right to advance our national interest in whatever quarter is most advantageous. The Mediterranean theater is not, however, as crucial in our wartime diplomacy as are Central and Eastern Europe, where the western powers meet the dynamics of the Soviet Union in planning for the future.

The tensions created by Russia's active and often singlehanded political activities in the heart of Europe concentrate attention on the future of the lands into which the Red armies are likely to march. Moscow, therefore, becomes the focal point of our diplomacy. Among the pan-Slav intellectuals of the last century, Moscow was described mystically as the "third Rome," the Eternal City and Constantinople being its predecessors. Because of the strong political warfare being waged by the Kremlin step by step with the Red army's successes, it is not too much to say that nowadays all roads from the west lead to the "third Rome." As matters stood this spring before the invasion from the British Isles was mounted, all discussion of the problems of Poland, Finland, the Danube basin, the Balkans and Germany itself hinged on Stalin. Hence the Administration's Russian policy became the cornerstone of its approach to the whole complex of postwar Europe.

The Europe of 1918—and Now

Specifically, the Administration has been accused of having no policy toward a defeated Germany and at the same time with having secretly agreed to a dismemberment of the Reich at Teheran. The Reich, I am informed, was not partitioned at Teheran. More generally, the President has been charged with failing to formulate, like Woodrow Wilson, a distinctively American policy toward postwar Europe. He is also reproached for reticence, for keeping Congress and the people in the dark concerning his diplomatic moves.

The critics who base their dissatisfaction on comparisons with Wilson's Fourteen Points may not have taken into full account the differences between 1918 and 1944. The Europe of 1918 was still traditional, it had not been ravaged for years by Bolshevik revolutions and Fascist counterrevolutions, and civil war was not everywhere implicit. Then the United States was the rising colossus. Together, this country and the British Empire—the Atlantic powers—overshadowed the world. Each singly dwarfed any possible rival in wealth, area, productive capacity and sea power.

Unless all signs fail, this war will lift the Soviet Union to a power level alongside the English-speaking democracies and, although the United States and Great Britain are bound to emerge stronger, their relative strength declines to the extent that they must admit the great Eurasian land power into their reckonings. Back in 1918, moreover, the warring powers expected again to enter the family of nations when hostilities ceased. The concept of the moral and legal unity of the European community, coming down from the Holy Roman Empire and Christendom itself, still was potent. On it was based international law and the comity of nations generally.

The task, therefore, of an American President seeking to define this country's vital interests in the postwar Europe of the 1940's is widely different from Wilson's. Yet there is one broad resemblance. Roosevelt, too, has a "great design." While the earlier President sought to organize the family of nations into a world structure founded on law, Mr. Roosevelt is striving to bring the Soviet Union, which has fallen out with the European tradition, back into the family of nations as a condition precedent to world organization. Convinced that unless that reunion takes place, there can be no world association, no assured hope of peace, the President's "great design" rests on two sweeping assumptions. First, he accepts the prevalent view that the Soviet Union will be able to organize effectively its manpower and resources in peace as well as war, thus becoming permanently a great power. He further assumes that the interests of a victorious Russian state can be reconciled to those of the Atlantic powers, China and the small nations of Europe and America.

Differing in immediate aim, the Wilson and Roosevelt objectives seem to require different methods. Whereas Wilson could lead forthrightly from strength, the President's objective, as he sees it, calls for finesse, a skillful statecraft that cannot always be exposed to view. In the interest of his objective, Mr. Roosevelt has avoided the slightest cause of offense to the Kremlin. Pursuing a soft policy instead of the firm line urged by

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certain advisers, he has followed the Biblical injunction to walk the second mile.

The core of his policy has been the reassurance of Stalin. That was so, as we have seen, at Teheran. It has been so throughout the difficult diplomacy since Stalingrad. Our failure to renew our offer of good offices in the Russo-Polish controversies must be read in that light. Likewise our support, seconding Britain, of Tito, the Croatian Communist partisan leader in Jugoslavia. So it is also with the President's immediate and generous response to Stalin's demand for a share in the surrendered Italian fleet or its equivalent. Our bluntly reiterated advice to the Finns to quit the war at once without reference to Soviet terms falls under the same tactical heading, although, with Finland, there are, I am told, other considerations.

The President could endorse such counsel the more readily because he credits Stalin's personal assurances at Teheran concerning Finland's independence. Beyond that, Roosevelt, an exponent of the realistic great-power theory, holds that, in the future, small nations such as Finland that are cheek by jowl with powerful neighbors cannot in any case enforce their will by military means. This war teaches the President that hereafter only countries with an abundance of manpower and resources plus huge industrial plants can engage in the complex business of war. To use a Rooseveltian image, Finland's plight with respect to Russia resembles that of a lone man with a pistol confronted by fifty riflemen. If he were president of Finland, he would recommend to his people that they make peace on Russia's terms, disband their armed forces, use the savings to improve the country's well-being and rely on their own good intentions, the self-restraint of Moscow and the moderating influence of an organized world society for security.

The President's Russian policy, although never explicitly defined, has drawn diversified criticism, chiefly on the ground of principle as well as risk. Agreeing with the objective, the critics question his methods. By allowing the Kremlin to take a unilateral course with Poland and Finland, unchecked by word from us, it is held that he has prejudiced the cause of peace by general agreement. The President's tacit acceptance of the transfer of East Prussia and other parts of Prussia to Poland in compensation for the loss of her eastern provinces alarms those who see in such forcible measures a violation of the Atlantic Charter's stipulations regarding territorial integrity. By giving ground, moreover, in the face of the Kremlin's independent assertions, such critics hold that the President has weakened in advance not only our influence in Europe but the very principle of a co-operative peace. The arguments based on risk run something like this:

Suppose that Stalin, in spite of all concessions, should prove unappeasable, determined to pursue his own policy regardless of the west? What assurance does the Roosevelt approach hold that he may not capture all Poland, Finland, the Balkans and even Germany from within, as was the case with the Baltic states, once his armies occupy those countries and he can recognize his own Moscow-dominated undergrounds? A Europe dominated by the hammer and sickle, with the Baltic and Black seas Russian ponds, the Danube basin a Russian protectorate, and Soviet power on the Rhine, might suit this country's vital interests even less than the torn and distracted Europe of 1939.

The President's Gamble

The critics who take this line refuse to be reassured by the trend from Marxism to nationalism in Russia. Unless the Kremlin gives positive tokens of continuing good faith, an extension of the patriotic war into one of conquest would be to them no less disquieting than attempts at world revolution. Czarist Russia's imperialistic record as it pushed from the Baltic to the Pacific in two centuries is not in itself comforting. At its worst, nationalism plus pan-Slavism grafted on militant Bolshevism would give an aggressive regime at Moscow two strings to its bow—the external pressures of a strong national state and the internal weapon of class warfare.

The risks are inherent in the situation. Once Germany falls, there will be no military power between the Russian border and the English Channel. Into this power vacuum neither English-speaking power can move permanently. We have had to face that risk since, in June, 1941, we resolved to help Russia resist Nazi invasion. Our historic interest, like England's, has demanded a European balance of power wherein no single nation commands all the Continent's resources and manpower to our potential disadvantage. Stripped to the bare essentials, we fought in 1917 and are fighting now to prevent the mastery of Europe by one aggressive power. Should Russia, as the sole European power, display tendencies toward world conquest, our vital interest would be again called into account.

Mr. Roosevelt, gambling for stakes as enormous as any statesman ever played for, has been betting that the Soviet Union needs peace and is willing to pay for it by collaborating with the west. By no means unaware of the risks, he declines, nevertheless, to acknowledge them even to close associates. The White House is a delicate sounding board, reflecting everything that happens everywhere on the globe. It would be absurd to suppose that the President has not considered the implications of his Russian policy in all angles and facets. The alternative—a Russia excluded, aggrieved and driven in on itself to prepare for the inevitable war of continents—was to him so much worse that he saw himself with little choice. He chose, moreover, to prosecute his policy so sincerely that the Russians, proverbially mistrustful, could have no ground for misgiving.

With a patience verging on resignation, the President has backed his faith

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that Russia can be drawn into the society of nations. Until Secretary Hull, on March seventeenth, announced that he was questioning Moscow on its unilateral recognition of the Badoglio government, the Administration had given no sign of impatience with Russia's singlehanded diplomacy. Earlier Soviet moves had been unofficially rationalized, explained and excused by the White House and State Department. Roosevelt's unswerving insistence upon his major premise has been likened by apologists to the steadfastness with which Lincoln clung to his "great design," the preservation of the Union, amidst the outcries of the Abolitionists and other hasty critics. Like Lincoln, Roosevelt, it is said, is playing out the string of conciliation to the end.

Not that the Russian policy has been conducted passively. The President has actively supported it, both behind and in front of the scenes. His principal card to date was the Teheran meeting, with its opportunity for exchange of reassurances; an opportunity which may be duplicated before long in a second Big Three conference. To the arrangement of the Teheran meeting the President brought all his powers of persistence.

Stalin's inability or unwillingness to join Roosevelt and Churchill in North Africa in January of 1943 was, as is well known, a disappointment. By spring, the reasons for a face-to-face meeting had multiplied in Roosevelt's mind. Allied fortunes were looking up, and with the expulsion of Axis forces from Tunisia at hand, the western powers stood at the threshold of Europe. In Russia, the siege of Stalingrad had been lifted, relieving that country's apprehensions about the war's final outcome.

The marshal's reluctance to confer being still proof against routine representations, Roosevelt decided in May on a striking personal appeal. The medium was a friendly, man-to-man letter delivered by a personal messenger. I do not believe it has been heretofore noted that Mr. Roosevelt's celebrated letter to Stalin was written by hand, not typed, in order to enhance its personal character. At the moment, the President believed an early meeting, not later than July, imperative. With the utmost friendliness and informality, he set forth his arguments for a summer meeting. He mentioned several places of rendezvous, indicating his preference for one. This one happened to be several thousand miles from Moscow, a spot which must go unnamed here. The President's choice of a messenger, former Ambassador Joseph E. Davies, evoked some criticism because of the coincident appearance of the historically inaccurate and fulsome motion picture, Mission to Moscow, yet it was precisely because of the unalloyed and fervent nature of Davies' attachment to the Soviet cause that he was chosen to break the ice with Stalin.

Council of War—and Peace

The Russian premier's reply was likewise hand-written, in the Cyrillic script, and reciprocally friendly. Assuring the President of his desire for a meeting, Stalin begged for time. He was planning his massive summer offensive—Stalin alone of the Big Three actively directing his armed forces—and he wished to spend much time at the front. He raised no objection to the remote meeting place, thus disposing in the Administration's mind, at least, of the often-mentioned supposition that he fears to get farther than an overnight flight away from Moscow because of uneasiness over palace politics. Stalin suggested that he be permitted to finish his summer offensive, and the time soon thereafter was set for November.

A good many rumors and bits of gossip have eddied about Washington since last December, filling the vacuum cre-

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ated by official silence concerning the actual happenings at Teheran. A fair half of the stories have been improbable on their face, as, for example, the one widely credited in left-wing quarters that Stalin bluntly refused to discuss anything beyond the second front. While it is true that the Russian wished military matters taken up first, a priority with which the others were in full concurrence, on Wednesday, December first, the Big Three ranged the whole compass of political problems. We shall come to those conversations next week.

The military discussions had been concluded on Tuesday, two days having been given to staff talks in which Stalin took a bluffly forthright part, thereby gaining his first broad understanding of the worldwide scope of Anglo-American land, sea and air operations. In return for his enlarged respect for the western Allies, American military men came to admire the marshal's competence, decisiveness and earthy vernacular. It was at a dinner following a military session that Stalin toasted American industrial productivity, acknowledging that without it a United Nations victory would not be at hand.

A further piece of "inside" information portrays Stalin as having offered Roosevelt a worldwide partnership, excluding Britain, reserving freedom of action to the Soviet Union in Europe and territories adjacent to it in Asia, giving the United States full scope elsewhere. In support of this thesis is cited Stalin's hospitality to Roosevelt. The Russian, one hears, sought to draw the President away from Churchill by quartering him in the Soviet embassy, where they might concert such plans privately. Not only is the partnership offer news to the White House, but the President regards its propagation as irresponsibly mischievous, similar in kind to the published story that Stalin crowned Marshal Timoshenko with a bottle to check his volubility at Teheran. Timoshenko was, of course, not present at Teheran.

Stalin and Churchill

The partnership rumor may have gained color from the widely circulated reports concerning the astringent nature of the relations between Stalin and Churchill. The prime minister, a scion of dukes, and the Georgian ex-revolutionary are powerful, opinionated and free-spoken individuals. They had clashed resoundingly during Churchill's visit to Moscow in 1942. They tangled, no doubt inevitably, at Teheran. Stalin's gibes were barbed with memories growing out of the years during which Churchill was the most indomitable, epithetical and effective enemy of bolshevism in the House of Commons. Likewise rankling was the Kremlin's conviction that Churchill had delayed the invasion of Western Europe. To the Russians, Roosevelt has always seemed more eager for the second front than Churchill. This goes back to the attitude of the President on that subject during the holiday conferences at the White House just after Pearl Harbor among himself, Churchill and Maxim Litvinov, the Soviet ambassador. What happened there was first brought to light in articles published under my name and entitled THE JANUARY PROMISE in the Post issues of February 20 and February 27, 1943.

Over the sharp exchanges at Teheran, Mr. Roosevelt played his own light-hearted, colloquial humor. The extent to which the President handles his relations with foreign bigwigs on a human level is not, I believe, thoroughly appreciated. Not only has Mr. Roosevelt been called upon to manage foreign affairs of great scope and gravity over the longest period of any of the Presidents, but he has done so with a fanciful touch that would have scandalized most of his predecessors. You have only to imagine Wilson calling Lloyd George "David" or Clemenceau "Georges," or suppose McKinley gently ribbing a ponderous British ambassador, mimicking his accent to his face, to see what I mean. That Roosevelt has done. To him, Winston Churchill, Mme. Chiang Kai-shek and Stalin are human beings before they are historic personages.

Two recent instances of his colloquial method may be made known here. In a personal note, acknowledging a protest by Badoglio over the President's promise to Stalin of a third of the Italian fleet, he advised the marshal to "keep his shirt on." Recently also he wrote Churchill a friendly chit regarding the controversy over this Government's developing stake in Saudi Arabian oil. There were dark

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suspicions in British oil circles that the United States had designs on their senior position in Iraq and Iran. A British minister had steamed up the prime minister, who wrote inquiringly to the President. In his reply, Mr. Roosevelt expressed surprise that Mr. Churchill should suspect him of making "sheep's eyes" at British oil interests in Iraq and Iran. Whereupon, the prime minister, confessing himself reassured, repeated the phrase with amused relish.

So it went at Teheran. The President quipped and yarned, relieving tension, suggesting bridges of compromise between the Briton and the Russian. A good bit of the time he was third man in the ring; helping the conference over awkward moments. Having planned that the meeting of the Big Three should eventuate in friendly trust among the principals, he devoted himself to bringing that about. The suggestion has been made in Washington, chiefly in circles inclined toward Moscow and averse to the British, that Roosevelt and Stalin made common cause, leaving Churchill, so to speak, outside looking in. I am assured such was not the case with the President.

Similarly with the impression that Anglo-American relations have deteriorated since Teheran. Such a construction does not perhaps adequately reckon with the enormous complexity of those relations. At any given moment there are a score of questions current between Washington and London. On some there is agreement, on others, spirited negotiation, and on still others, disagreement. The President and the prime minister are, moreover, in greater harmony at one period than at another, depending on the issues being threshed out between them. As with all human relationships, this one, too, has its ups and downs. On broad matters of military and political policy, the English-speaking governments have been in remarkably substantial accord, and the notion that election year might drive a wedge out of Administration deference to anti-British sentiment was decidedly not borne out by the concerted action in the case of Eire.

Editor's Note—This is the first of two articles by Mr. Davis. The second will appear next week.

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First Lady Would Like to Visit USSR

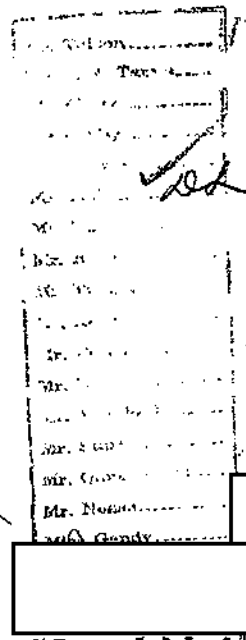
PITTSBURGH, May 10. (UP).—Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, here on a visit, said today she had no plans for more overseas trips, but indicated a desire to visit Russia, "if such a trip would be useful." She did not elaborate.

She declined to enter the guessing-game as to when the invasion of Europe will begin, and smilingly said "no comment" on whether the President would run for a fourth term.

This is a clipping from page 9 of the Daily worker for

May 11, 1944

Clipped at the Seat of Government,



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THE MOBILE PRESS
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5-10-44

GEORGE COX, EDITOR

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Soviet 'Good Neighbor Policy' Aims At Winning Friendship of America

Russia has embarked upon a brilliantly conceived campaign of dissolving old fears and prejudices about her in the the United States in a move to build up goodwill for the Soviet Union in this country.

Premier Stalin has his own ideas about how to promote "a good neighbor policy" and it differs considerably from our own method of sending goodwill missions to Latin America and promises to be even more successful. Stalin reverses the process and invites American visitors to Russia who he thinks will be useful to his purpose and endeavors to see that they return to this country enthusiastic "ambassadors of goodwill" for his nation. It is only human for the recipients of invitations from the Soviet government to feel flattered, so shrewd Joe Stalin has them in a mood to carry back the impressions he wishes to convey even before they arrive in Moscow. Then, too, the attendant publicity is exceedingly beneficial to Russian aims.

Currently, Stalin seems absorbed in trying to break down many Americans' belief that Russia is an antireligious nation and a menace to capitalistic countries. The restoration of the Russian Orthodox Church and the dissolution of the Comintern were viewed with some skepticism in this country. Americans, whose ideas about Russia were formed during the violent Red Revolution when the revolutionists tried to stamp out religion and to establish world Communism, have not been easy to convince of Stalin's sincerity. They have been prone to believe the shift towards religious liberty in Russia and nationalism are mere political gestures born of expediency in this war. The skepticism was heightened by the fact that Russia for long years after the first World War chose to isolate herself from the rest of the world and became a practically unknown land.

With Russia destined to become a world power, Stalin is now particularly anxious to court the friendship and understanding of America, but earlier impressions of the Soviet Union are a barrier. Stalin has set out to do it by judicious invitations to Americans to come see Russia for themselves and talk with him and other Russian leaders.

Thus Eric Johnston, president of the United States Chamber of Commerce, will leave for Russia on Sunday as an invited guest of the Soviet government. Mr. Johnston's visit, if successful from the Soviet viewpoint, will ease fears of many American capitalists about Communism and set at rest their apprehension that Russia will resume attempting to indoctrinate American workers with Communistic principles after the war.

Mr. Johnston's visit follows hard on the heels of a 12-day trip to Russia by the Rev. Stanislaus Orlemanski, a Polish-American Catholic priest of Springfield, Mass. Father Orlemanski, like Mr. Johnston, was invited as a private citizen. He went without sanction of the church and amid the criticism of many Catholic leaders in this country.

The Soviet government's purpose in inviting Father Orlemanski to Moscow where he conferred with Stalin and Foreign Commissar Molotov, was apparently two-fold, to create the impression that Russia is not unfriendly towards the Catholic Church, despite sharp criticism of the Vatican recently in the inspired Russian press, and to dissipate the antagonism of Polish-Americans for the Soviet Union.

In any event, Father Orlemanski, after audiences with Stalin, declared that the Russian leader was "very friendlily disposed toward the Roman Catholic Church" and desired to see a strong free Poland established. Father Orlemanski waxed warm in his praises of the Russians as "wonderful people" and Stalin and Molotov as "great men."

The Russians, it seems, are not only great fighters, but marvelous diplomats, a combination that will make her a power to be reckoned with in the postwar world.

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87 JUN 1 1944

BACKGROUND OF THE CHARTER

The Soviet magazine, War and the Working Classes, takes to task people in England and the United States whom it accuses of attempting to "use" the Atlantic Charter to bolster the "conqueror's pretensions of the so-called Polish Government toward territories in the Ukraine and White Russia." The Russian publication argues that the Atlantic Charter cannot properly be regarded from an abstract point in space but should be read in the light of the conditions actually obtaining when it was formulated.

If this is done, it seems to us that the record strengthens the case for collective action rather than unilateral action in the settlement of problems of this kind. For the record reveals four important entries so far as the Atlantic Charter and Poland and Russia are concerned: (1) On June 22, 1941, Germany attacked Russia, thus nullifying the Soviet-German treaties of 1939. (2) Five weeks later the Government of Russia and the same Government which it now describes as "the so-called Government of Poland" signed a treaty of mutual aid (July 30) in which the Russian Government "recognized the Soviet-German treaties of 1939 as to territorial changes in Poland as having lost their validity." (3) The 1939 partition of Poland was thus rubbed out officially when, in another six weeks (on Aug. 14), the Atlantic Charter was proclaimed, with its pledge against any "territorial changes that do not accord with the freely expressed wishes of the people concerned." (4) Another six weeks later, on Sept. 24, both the Government of Russia and the same Government of Poland signed an agreement in London in which they "made known their adherence to the common principles set forth" in the Atlantic Charter "and their intention to cooperate to the best of their ability in giving effect to them."

This is the sequence of events which made, and still makes, many people in England and the United States believe that the Russian-Polish border problem is essentially a United Nations problem which can be settled most fairly and most hopefully by discussion in common council.

This is a clipping from page 18 of the New York Times for May 9, 1944
Clipped at the Seat of Government.

Soviet Labor Paper Proposes Atlantic Charter Be Strengthened

Although the basic principles of the Atlantic Charter are still "vital and just," they cannot solve all United Nations problems before and after Hitler's defeat, the Soviet labor magazine War and the Working Class declares in its latest issue.

In an article by Prof. Boris Stein, wirelessed via Inter-Continent News, the Soviet journal points out that the Charter was proclaimed on Aug. 14, 1941, when "the U.S.A. was not yet a belligerent, Hitler Germany was at the height of its military power, Great Britain was menaced by invasion, and in the USSR the German hordes were driving for Leningrad and Moscow."

Considering the changes during the last three years, the writer asks whether the Charter is "adequate to solve the most complicated problems facing the entire anti-Hitlerite coalition in 1944?"

"Those who once supported the Chamberlain policy of an agreement with the aggressors," Prof. Stein charges, "are now coming out in defense of the 'purity' of the Atlantic Charter."

They had "no moral doubts" when the Munich Conference helped dismember Czechoslovakia in favor of Germany, yet seek to misuse the Atlantic Charter by posing "moral" objections to any slicing off of German territory, the writer says sarcastically.

"They are giving every support to the aggressive claims of the so-called Polish government to the territories of the Ukrainian and Byelo-Russian peoples.

POLISH AGGRESSORS

"The new champions of the Atlantic Charter are merely encouraging the reactionary Polish emigre elements who, to this day, have not renounced their imperialist claims to Soviet territory and have not broken with the fascists ousted by the Baltic peoples."

The Atlantic Charter requires implementation, the author says, because it "does not mention the problem of an organization for international security after the defeat of the Hitlerite bloc" nor does it "mention fascism and the struggle against it during and after the war."

The Moscow declaration on world organization and security "goes much further," Prof. Stein declares but "it does not solve some problems becoming ever more acute as the war draws to a close."

"One of the main defects of the League of Nations was its helplessness," he recalls.

The Moscow conference pledged the four participants to fight until the Axis powers "lay down arms on the basis of unconditional surrender."

"Can this condition be considered an absolute rule regardless of concrete circumstances?" the author queries, underlining the fact that the Soviet Union did not demand unconditional surrender of Finland.

FURTHER STEPS

There must be "efforts to unite the anti-fascist and democratic forces in the satellite countries, to split them away from Germany and draw them into active struggle against the Hitlerites," Prof. Stein concludes.

"The most vigorous objections must be raised against attempts to start a discussion of the Atlantic Charter for aid to Hitler Germnay or the Polish reactionary emigres, but there can be no objection to a discussion which would add to it and improve it."

Daily Worker
May 9, 1944 p. 12

Reds Favor Discussion On Charter

Moscow, May 7 (AP).—The influential Soviet trade union journal, War and the Working Class, today urged that the Atlantic Charter be left open to discussion to keep up with the constantly changing situation.

An article by Professor Bosir Stein, former chief of the press department of the foreign commissariat, said the charter, as announced in 1941, "formulated correctly" the general principles of peace but that new problems had arisen.

The demand for unconditional surrender of the enemy was cited in the article as "requiring further study for the establishment of concrete conditions to define the necessity of either complete adherence to this principle or some letup from it in connection with some countries."

The article opposed any discussion of the Atlantic Charter that would be helpful to the enemy and criticized the British members of Parliament who insisted that the charter's provision against territorial changes meant Germany could not be dismembered.

It said Parliament members also are "trying to revive the long-solved historical problems such as the questions of territories in the western Ukraine and White Russia and the fate of the Baltic Soviet republic."

"One should protest energetically against any attempts to regain discussions which would aid Hitlerite Germany or the reactionary Polish empire government in London," the article continued. "But one cannot deny discussions which have for their goal the improvement, definition, making specific, and finally developing principles which are the bases of the Atlantic Charter."

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Coffey
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Tracy
Mr. Mohr
Mr. Carson
Mr. Hendon
Mr. Mumford
Mr. Jones
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Nease
Miss Gandy

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87 MAY 15 1944

This is a clipping from page 3 of the Washington Post of MAY 8 1944

Clipped at the Seat of Government.

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MAY 17 1944

Clarify Atlantic Charter, Soviet Writer Asks Allies

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

MOSCOW, May 7—The Soviet publication, War and the Working Class, asserted today that the Atlantic Charter and the Moscow declaration of Foreign Ministers were not sufficiently precise instruments for setting the complicated problems of world war and peace in 1944.

The magazine sharply attacked those in England and the United States who contend that the Roosevelt-Churchill charter is a bar to territorial dismemberment of Germany or who would use it to assist the "conquerors' pretensions of the so-called Polish Government toward territories in the Ukraine and White Russia."

The long article, written by Prof. E. Stein, discusses the necessity for formulating more precise plans to speed victory against Hitlerite Germany and to get machinery ready for keeping a stable peace once victory is won.

Among the questions on which Professor Stein said the United Nations should take a more concrete position is the means for establishing a post-war world organization for security and the sort of force that this organization will have at its disposal to "secure the fulfillment of its decrees by all its members."

Not Applied to Finns

He also raised the question whether it was wise to adhere in all cases to the principle of unconditional surrender first voiced by President Roosevelt and Prime Minister Churchill at Casablanca and later made part of the Moscow declaration. He points out that the Soviet Union thought it best not to ask unconditional surrender in its negotiations with Finland.

Professor Stein indicates a belief that a willingness to forgo such a demand on certain other

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ATLANTIC CHARTER WEIGHED IN SOVIET

Continued From Page 1

Hitlerite satellite states might tend to unite the anti-Fascist and democratic forces in those countries so they could take their lands out of the war on Adolf Hitler's side and join the active struggle on the side of the United Nations.

The magazine emphasizes that the Atlantic Charter and the Moscow declaration, while expressing good intentions on broad principles of world problems, must now be implemented with more specific decisions designed to solve the complicated problems that daily are becoming more acute as the war approaches its conclusion.

It seems clear from this publication that the Soviet Government would welcome further detailed discussion of important policy questions confronting the United Nations. These discussions, to succeed, must take place at the highest level, it would appear.

War and the Working Class said that the leaders of the movement in England that claims the Atlantic Charter bans any territorial changes affecting the German State "are the same people who a while back were for the policy of [former Prime Minister Neville] Chamberlain and were grouped around the renowned Cliveden clique.

Munich View Recalled

"They are the ones who shout now that a dismemberment of German territory in favor of any other governments cannot be approved of morally," the article continued. "It is permissible to remind that such moral doubts in these persons were never aroused at a time when Chamberlain assisted in the dismemberment of Czechoslovakia in favor of Germany at the Munich conference. These same people assisted the conquerors' pretensions of the so-called Polish Government toward territories in the Ukraine and White Russia.

"They strive to bring back problems of history settled long ago, such as the territories of White Russia and the western Ukraine and the fate of the Baltic Soviet Republics. They carefully keep quiet about the fact that the territories that joined the U. S. S. R. did so as a result of a real popular desire of the peoples in the western Ukraine, White Russia, Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia.

"By their statements on this question the new-born defenders of the Atlantic Charter only play up to aggressive reactionary elements among Polish emigrés who have not yet divorced themselves from their imperialistic pretensions to Soviet territories, and also play up to the Fascists from the Baltic States who were evicted by the peoples of those countries.

"Everything mentioned above leaves no doubt that, under the guise of necessity for discussions of the Atlantic Charter, another of the regular attempts is being made to put through a political policy that would be very harmful to the general battle gainst the Hitlerite bloc."

This is a clipping from page 1 of the New York Times for May 8 1944
Clipped at the Seat of Government.

SOVIET SAYS NAZIS MURDERED 102,000

Civilians and War Prisoners Killed Near Rovno, Poland, Commission Charges

LONDON, May 7 (AP)—More than 102,000 civilians and prisoners of war were murdered by the Germans in the Rovno region of Poland, a Soviet extraordinary commission for investigation of German atrocities charged today, as it named the alleged perpetrators of the crimes.

The commission declared in a 5,000-word statement that many persons had been forced to dig their own graves, and that some of the 102,000 bodies showed evidence that the persons had been tortured.

The statement, broadcast by Moscow radio and recorded by the Soviet monitor, said some 49,000 bodies had been found in "the timber dump in Byeli Street in Rovno, and 32,500 were in the allotments (vegetable gardens). Five hundred were on the territory of Rovno prison."

The commission quoted one witness:

"I frequently saw how Ukrainians, Russians, Poles and Jews—Soviet citizens—were killed. They usually were brought to the place of execution, forced to dig their graves and then forced to undress and lie face downward in the graves. They were shot in the back of the head with tommy-guns. Then another layer of people were disposed of. Others were killed with exhaust gas in sealed trucks."

The report said:

"The fact that these crimes were carried out in the place of residence of the former Reich Commissar of the Ukraine, Erich Koch, provides yet another proof that all these crimes were carried out according to a plan for the extermination and for the devastation of Soviet territory, elaborated and put into execution by the Hitlerite Governments."

Named in the report as responsible for the crimes were:

"The Government of Hitlerite Germany.

"Reichsminister Rosenberg.

"Reich Commissar Koch.

"The General Commissar of Volynia and Podolsk Schene.

"His deputy, Schweiger.

"And all persons amongst the German-Fascist invaders mentioned in this document.

"The hour is not distant," the report added, "when they will suffer deserved punishment."

The commission reported that "it is clear the mass murders in the Byeli Street timber dump were carried out at the end of 1941. The mass murders in the allotments were in 1942 and 1943. The murders in the gas-vans, used to kill condemned persons in the prison yard, were toward the end of 1943.

"Many groups of bodies have been burned by the Germans, since the bodies bear proof of torture inflicted before death."

This is a clipping from page 5 of the New York Times for May 8 1944
Clipped at the Seat of Government

MOSCOW SEES BLOW IN WEST 'ANY DAY'

Assails Feverish Drive by Nazi Friends Here and in Britain to Divert Invasion Course

By Wireless to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

MOSCOW, May 7—The last time limits for the Allied invasion of western Europe have been reached, all preparations completed and the Germans "have to await any day now crushing blows," War and the Working Class said today in conjunction with a sharp attack on "advocates of German fascism in the Anglo-Saxon countries," who, it said, are feverishly speculating on the number of casualties British and United States forces will suffer in landing attempts.

These statements are combined with criticism of the advocates of the theory that air power can win the war alone. This notion, the Soviet publication said, has been proved wrong by the experience of the Anglo-American forces at Anzio and Nettuno and at Cassino.

"The time factor must be wrenched from the hands of the enemy," an editorial said. "The sooner the enormous forces gathered for the attack and prepared by our Allies are put into action, the sooner the day of victory will come and fewer casualties will be suffered."

Workers, it said, desire that this shall have been the last May Day celebrated under war conditions and are anxious for a quick victory while the Germans attempt to prolong the struggle.

Attempt to Change Seen

Now, at the last minute, the magazine said, "the advocates of German fascism in the Anglo-Saxon countries are mobilizing their last political reserves to attempt to change the course of events. Either they hysterically speculate on the casualties that will be caused by an invasion" or "they whimper that they—in the fifth year of war against Hitlerite Germany—do not yet understand plainly the aim of this war; or they again and again in disguised form set forth a defeatist, traitorous offer of a compromise peace with Germany."

"And if the renowned Hearst press interpreter, Karl Von Wiegand, sheds crocodile tears about the assertion 'that the invasion will be the largest tragedy to humanity' and that it will 'still further weaken numerically the decreasing white race, while the colored races continue to grow in number'; that the invasion will be 'very costly'—these hysterical cries will only disclose the genuine fear the Germans suffer in the face of invasion.

Theories Termed Harmful

Lieut. Gen. Nikolai Zhuravleff, air aviation expert, is the author of the article attacking what he terms "harmful theories"; that air power alone can win the war. He said that the Red Army campaigns and the experiences of Anglo-American forces in Africa prove "the only way to conquer is by defeating the main military forces of the enemy.

He said that Germany had not won against Poland and France by air power alone. The blitz attempt to knock out England by bombers was an example of a futile attempt to win by air power, he added.

"The Cassino battle has proved a good object lesson of the military possibilities of aviation," General Zhuravleff continued. "After bombing Cassino the Allies could not capture it. This fact found widespread comment in the American and English newspapers, the majority of which considered this setback as proof of the impossibility of achieving victory through air power alone."

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

May 8 1944

Clipped at the Seat of Government.

PATTERN FOR LIBERATION IS SET BY MAJOR POWERS

But Application to Some Small Nations Is Going to Prove Very Difficult

By E. C. DANIEL

By Wireless to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

LONDON, May 6—Allied policy toward those countries which this summer's grand scale offensives are intended to liberate is in principle simple and completely straightforward. The pattern for it is plainly drawn in the treaty between the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia, which Andrey Vishinsky, Deputy Commissar for Foreign Affairs, announced on Monday.

The Soviet-Czech agreement is identical in conception with similar agreements proposed between the Allied powers and the smaller democracies of northwestern Europe—Norway, Holland and Belgium. There is no disagreement in principle among the three major powers.

As stated in its simplest terms, the Allied objective will be to seize, hold and restore to their rightful owners, those territories which the Germans overran in the first two years of the war. Thenceforth the peoples of those countries will be free, in theory at least, to re-establish their own institutions by democratic procedure without outside interference.

That is the principle—uniform for all nations from Norway to Greece, from France to Poland. It is already obvious, however, that application of the principle cannot and will not be uniform, that different situations in the various countries will require individual treatment.

Take several examples. The draft agreements for the gradual restoration of normal self-government in Norway, Holland and Belgium were given British approval some two months ago. Copies were forwarded to the United States and Russia through normal diplomatic channels. Final approval by all three powers is expected any day. Each agreement will provide, as did the Czechoslovak-Russian treaty, for the legal governments in those countries to reassume control over their territories piece by piece as rapidly as they fall behind the active zone of military operations of the liberating armies.

Need Little Assistance

There is little doubt of the ability of governments as stable as those four to re-establish their own authority peaceably with very little assistance from the major powers. There is little doubt of their desire also for democratic solutions of their post-war problems and of their willingness to collaborate in full harmony with the major powers. But in the case of all other governments and quasi-governments of the occupied territories there is cause for doubt as to what course will govern Allied treatment of each of them. What form that treatment will take is at this stage anybody's guess. And the same guess surely will not be right in each and every doubtful case.

This is a clipping from page E-4 of the New York Times for May 7, 1944
Clipped at the Seat of Government.

After months of indecision which began with the military expedient of accepting collaboration with the late arch-Vichyite, Admiral Darlan, in North Africa in 1942, Allied policy toward France has at last approached crystallization. The supreme Allied commander, Gen. Dwight D. Eisenhower, has been given power in the act of liberating France to deal as he did in North Africa with whatever authority that seems best calculated to assure the security of the military forces engaged in the desperate operation against the redoubtable enemy.

That directive has seemed distressingly ambiguous to the de Gaullists, but it now appears by definition of the Allied statesmen themselves that the authority most likely to meet General Eisenhower's requirements is in fact General de Gaulle's French Committee of National Liberation—and not, at any rate, another Darlan.

To explain why the United States and Great Britain cannot come right out and state this fact flatly would mean telling over again the whole story of democracy's struggle to win the war with a clean conscience. That much Britain and the United States are trying to do.

Day of Reckoning

How they will manage remains to be seen, but the effort is certain to try the utmost patience and wisdom of their statesmen. When the time comes, for example, to apply the principle of liberation without dictation to Poland, to what government will the Allies decide in full justice to surrender the authority? It is certain that the Soviet Union will not welcome home as a neighbor the existing Polish regime in London. One might go so far as to predict that Russia, as the chief occupying power, will not yield Polish territory to any government except one elected in Poland under conditions which would assure a full hearing for those Poles in Russia who now seek a more thorough understanding with the Soviet Union.

It is certain anyway that the Red Army will not simply withdraw or stand aloof and allow the Poles to fight out their differences in a civil war of dubious outcome. Whether this means that Poland's first post-war government will be constituted by elections held under the supervision of the forces of one or more Allied powers still remains as a problem to be settled in the future.

In Greece and Yugoslavia similar problems may be posed unless these two nations can quickly reconcile the now highly disrupting differences among their quarrelsome military and political elements.

As Russia may insist on an equal chance for the Left in Poland, so Britain may argue against prejudging the case of the Right as represented by the monarchies in Greece and Yugoslavia. Despite its support of Tito and its acceptance of the upsurging republican influence in the Greek Government, the British Government has never renounced the debt contracted to King Peter and King George before Russia's entry into the conflict.

Debt to Be Paid

This debt will not be paid by imposing these rulers on their people by force. It probably will be discharged by assuring them of a hearing in free elections, held under Allied auspices if the necessity arises.

The ultimate problem is that both the principle of liberation and its application may have different meanings to minds in Moscow, London and Washington, conditioned as they are by divergent ideologies and by different national outlooks.

What Is Democracy?

Democratic solutions are everywhere demanded, but definitions of democracy vary. However, there is no defeatist feeling in London official quarters that these interpretations and methods of applying them cannot be reconciled. Agreement was easily reached on terms for the reoccupation of Czechoslovakia, contrary to the appearance of disunity which was given by a hitch which first made it seem that Britain was holding back its endorsement. Similar mechanical delay has occurred on the side of Russia in handling the Dutch, Norwegian and Belgian agreements.

London's hope for amicable settlement of differences in the future lies in the belief that the most pressing problems of these conquered countries differ from those of Poland, Yugoslavia and Greece only in degree.

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

Clipped at the Seat of Government.

LARGEST UNIT OF USSR IS THE RUSSIAN SFSR

Represents 75% of Country's Area, 50% of Population

Just what is the Russian SFSR, or Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic, which has cropped up frequently in the news of late, is explained in a bulletin of the USSR Embassy.

The SFSR is the largest unit of the USSR, or Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, representing 75 per cent of its area and over 50 per cent of its total population. It is more developed economically than any other Union Republic and is foremost among its peers in political, economic and cultural importance. Moscow is its capital, as well as being that of the USSR.

The Russian SFSR is a union of fraternal nations headed by Russians, which assists all nations of the Soviet Union in their economic and cultural development. It includes fifteen autonomous republics, six autonomous regions and ten national areas and is made up of more than 100 nations and nationalities: the Tatar, Bashkir, Chuvash, Yakut, Buryat-Mongolian, Lezghin, Kabardinian, Balkarian, Kalmyk, Komi, Mari, Mordovian, Ossetian, Chechen, Ingush, Cherkess, Oirot, Khakass, Evenk (Tungus), Lubravetlan (Chukchi), Nentsi (Samoyed) and others.

This is a clipping from page 27 of the New York Times for May 7 1944
Clipped at the Seat of Government.

May Day Slogans

of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

1. Long live the First of May! the day of the review of the militant forces of the workers! Workers of all lands, unite for the struggle for the complete rout of the German-fascist invaders!

4. Long live the great Soviet people, its heroic Red Army and its valiant Navy, successfully driving the Fascist scoundrels from the boundaries of our country!

5. Long live the victory of the Anglo-Soviet-American fighting alliance.

6. Greetings to the gallant airmen of the British and American Air Forces, striking blows at military objectives in Fascist Germany! Greetings to the brave sailors of Great Britain and the United States of America.

7. Patriots of Yugoslavia! Your struggle for the liberation of your Motherland serves as an example for the enslaved peoples of Europe!

8. Patriots of Poland, Czechoslovakia, Greece, France, Belgium, Holland, Denmark and Norway! Rise up in struggle for your liberation from Fascist slavery!

10. Fighting greetings to our brothers-in-arms, the officers and men of the Polish Army in the U.S.S.R., the Czechoslovak Brigade, the Yugoslav Battalion, the airmen of the French "Normandie" Air Unit!

11. Red Army men! Unceasingly improve your military skill, fully utilise our magnificent military equipment, batter the enemy troops till they are utterly routed!

22. Medical workers of the Red Army! Fight selflessly to save the lives of wounded Soviet troops and to return them to the ranks!

23. Workers of the army rear establishments! Drivers and road builders of the Red Army! The successful offensive of our troops depends largely upon you!

24. Brave men and women guerillas! Increase to the utmost your assistance to the advancing Red Army!

26. Workers of the Soviet Union! Care for the families of Red Army men is the sacred duty of all Soviet patriots! Surround the families of the liberators of the Motherland with universal care and attention!

27. Men and women workers, engineers and technicians of enterprises making arms and ammunition! Unceasingly perfect the armament of the Red Army! Everything for the front! Everything for victory!

41. Men and women collective farmers! Let us achieve a high harvest yield! Long live the Soviet peasantry!

51. Long live the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (B), the Party of Lenin and Stalin, the inspirer and organiser of the struggle for victory over the German-fascist invaders!

52. Under the banner of Lenin, under the leadership of Stalin, forward to the rout of the German invaders and their expulsion from the confines of our Motherland!

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U.S.S.R. and I.L.O.

(From "Izvestia," April 25th)

THE 26th Conference of the International Labour Office opened in Philadelphia on April 20. In his inaugural speech, the President of the Administrative Council of this organisation expressed regret about the "gap" caused by the absence from the conference of the representatives of the Soviet Union.

This organisation, created a quarter of a century ago, after the termination of the first world war, is an offspring of the League of Nations. Throughout its existence, the I.L.O. has organisationally formed part of the system of institutions of the League of Nations, and has been under its direct political control and direction. However, it is well-known that as a result of the hostile act of the League of Nations in regard to the Soviet Union, which took place in December, 1939, and which everybody remembers, the Soviet Union has no connection with the League of Nations and its institutions.

Moreover, it should not be forgotten that the International Labour Office itself found nothing better to do than to state, for its part, in February, 1940, that the Soviet Union had "automatically lost the right to membership" of this organisation.

But that is not the only thing that matters. In view of the vital importance of ensuring international co-operation in the sphere of labour, social policy, labour legislation, social insurance, etc., for the popular masses, it will be quite legitimate to raise the question of whether the International Labour Office, in its present state, corresponds to the tasks which face this organisation.

The practical work of the International Labour Office shows that this institution, throughout its existence, has never enjoyed any particular prestige, and as a result its work has been of little effect. For instance, it is known that the numerous recommendations and conventions elaborated by the I.L.O. were seldom applied in practice, and for the most part remained on paper. Not infrequently voices were raised concerning the insolvency and even bankruptcy of this institution.

Matters even came to such a pass that, at the eighth conference of this organisation, Pugh, then Chairman of the General Council of the British T.U.C., could not help noting the "indifference contempt and practically the absence of recognition of the decisions of the I.L.O. on the part of Governments," in so far as those decisions remained declarations which were not carried into effect.

One cannot fail to note that under the conditions of war the prestige of the I.L.O. has by no means increased. At this time, during the life-and-death struggle of the democratic countries against Hitlerite Germany and her satellites, the leadership of the I.L.O. has emphasised in every way that it is not an organ of the United Nations engaged in the struggle against the common enemy, but an "international organisation," into which certain leaders of this bureau have tried to invite even some fascist countries.

It is sufficient to recall such a scandalous fact as the issuing of invitations by the leadership of the I.L.O. to Hitler's satellites, Finland, Rumania and Hungary, to attend the Philadelphia Conference. This fact, which at the time caused deep indignation in democratic public circles of the allied countries, testifies that in the I.L.O. there have found refuge elements which even during the present war wish to find a common language with the Fascist countries.

All this shows that the present organisation of the I.L.O. is very far from fulfilling its tasks. And while it remains an appendage of the League of Nations, which does not figure among living things, the I.L.O. cannot possess sufficient authority, a fact which long ago became obvious to Soviet labour organisations.

Naturally, the Soviet side displayed initiative regarding the need for certain organisational measures, and in the first place for the I.L.O. to cease to be an appendage of the League of Nations and to become an organ of the United Nations, which have rallied for the execution of the great tasks in the struggle against the common enemy of the democratic countries.

Such a situation will remove the obstacles to the participation of representatives of the Soviet Union in the organs of international co-operation in the sphere of labour. Apparently, the necessity for such reorganisation of the I.L.O. is already widely recognised. Thus, for instance, the B.B.C. correspondent at the Philadelphia Conference reports that "it has now been suggested that the I.L.O. should altogether secede from the League of Nations and become an independent organisation, a world parliament of labour.

The Soviet trade unions also voice the desirability of the covenant of the I.L.O. assuming more democratic forms, which would strengthen the voice of the workers' organisations so vitally interested in international co-operation on labour problems. For instance, the Soviet trade unions suggest that the number of trade union representatives in the organs of the I.L.O. be increased.

This suggestion could be put into practice if the number of representatives of trade unions were made equal with the number of representatives of employers and of Governments taken together, whereas under the existing rules every country is represented at the I.L.O. Conference by two delegates from the Government, one from the employers and one from workers organisations.

The Soviet trade unions also suggest that in addition to the narrow sessions of the executive organs of the I.L.O. there should also be held broader conferences of representatives of countries participating in this organisation.

These proposals of the Soviet trade unions, which are now being discussed in Soviet circles; and of which the allied countries have also been advised, are aimed at ensuring more democratic forms of organisation of the I.L.O., which would correspond to a greater extent to the task of international co-operation between democratic countries in the sphere of labour.

Evidently wide public circles in the democratic countries realise that precisely in the sphere of international co-operation on problems of labour and the improvement of the living conditions of the workers, participation of the Soviet Union—the country in which the working class is in power—is especially important and valuable. The necessity of such co-operation, given certain prerequisites, is also recognised in the widest circles of the Soviet public.

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ORDER OF THE DAY

by Marshal Stalin, May 1st, 1944

COMRADES, Red Army men and Red Navy men, sergeants, officers and generals, men and women guerillas! Working people of the Soviet Union! Brothers and sisters who have temporarily fallen under the yoke of the German oppressors, and who have been forcibly driven to Fascist slave labour in Germany! On behalf of the Soviet Government and of our Bolshevik Party, I greet and congratulate you upon May Day!

The peoples of our country meet the day of May 1st in the midst of outstanding successes of the Red Army. Since the defeat of the German divisions at Stalingrad, the Red Army has been conducting a practically incessant offensive. During this time the Red Army has made a fighting advance from the Volga to the Sereth, from the foothills of the Caucasus to the Carpathians, exterminating the enemy vermin and sweeping it out of the Soviet land.

In the course of the winter campaign of 1943/44, the Red Army has won the historic battle for the Dnieper and for the territories of the Ukraine west of the Dnieper, crushed the powerful German fortified defences at Leningrad and in the Crimea. The metallurgy of the south, the ore of Krivoi Rog, Kerch and Nikopol, the fertile lands between the Dnieper and the Pruth have been restored to the Motherland. Tens of millions of Soviet people have been delivered from Fascist slavery.

Acting in the great cause of the liberation of their native land from the Fascist invaders, the Red Army has emerged on our State frontiers with Rumania and Czechoslovakia and now continues battering the enemy troops on the territory of Rumania.

The successes of the Red Army became possible thanks to the correct strategy and tactics of the Soviet Command, thanks to the high morale and offensive ardour of our men and commanders, thanks to our troops being well supplied with first-rate Soviet war equipment, thanks to the improved skill and training of our soldiers.

A considerable contribution to those successes has been made by our great Allies, the United States of America and Great Britain, which hold a front in Italy against the Germans and divert a considerable part of the German troops from us, supply us with very valuable strategical raw materials and armaments, subject to systematic bombings military objectives in Germany, and thus undermine the latter's military might.

The successes of the Red Army could, however, prove unstable and could be reduced to naught after the very first serious counter blow on the part of the enemy, were not the Red Army backed from the rear by our entire Soviet people, by our entire country. In the battles for the Motherland the Red Army has displayed unexampled heroism. But the Soviet people has not remained in debt to the Red Army. Under difficult wartime conditions, the Soviet people has attained decisive successes in mass production of armaments, ammunition, clothing and provisions, and in their timely delivery to the fronts.

During the past year the power of Soviet industry has substantially risen. Hundreds of new factories, mines, dozens of power stations, railway lines and bridges, have been commissioned. Fresh millions of Soviet people have taken their places at machine tools, mastered the most complex trades, become experts in their jobs.

Our collective farms and State farms have stood the trials of war with credit. Under difficult wartime conditions the Soviet peasants work in the fields without folding their hands, supplying our army and population with food, and our industry with raw materials. And our intellectuals have enriched Soviet science and technology, culture and art with new outstanding achievements and discoveries.

Invaluable services in the cause of defence of the Motherland have been rendered by Soviet women, who work self-sacrificingly in the interests of the front, courageously bear all wartime hardships and inspire to fighting exploits the soldiers of the Red Army—the liberators of our Motherland.

The Patriotic War has shown that the Soviet people is capable of performing miracles and emerging victorious from the hardest trials. The workers, collective farmers, Soviet intellectuals, the whole Soviet people, are filled with determination to hasten the defeat of the enemy, to restore completely the economy ruined by the Fascists, to make our country still stronger and more prosperous.

Under the blows of the Red Army the bloc of Fascist States is cracking and falling into pieces. Fear and confusion now reign among Hitler's Rumanian, Hungarian, Finnish and Bulgarian "allies." At present these underlings of Hitler, whose countries have been occupied or are being occupied by the Germans, cannot fail to see that Germany has lost the war. Rumania, Hungary, Finland and Bulgaria have only one possibility for escaping disaster: to break with the Germans and to withdraw from the war.

However, it is difficult to expect that the present governments of these countries will prove capable of breaking with the Germans. One should think that the peoples of these countries will have to take the cause of their liberation from the German yoke into their own hands. And the sooner the peoples of these countries realise to what an impasse the Hitlerites have brought them, the sooner they will withdraw all support from their German enslavers and underling Quislings in their own countries, the smaller will be the amount of sacrifice and destruction caused to these countries by the war, and the more they can count upon understanding on the part of the democratic countries.

As a result of the successful offensive, the Red Army has emerged on our State frontiers on a stretch of over 400 kilometres, and liberated more than three-quarters of occupied Soviet land from the German-fascist yoke. The object now is to clear the whole of our land from the Fascist invaders and to re-establish the State frontiers of the Soviet Union along the entire line from the Black Sea to the Barents Sea.

But our tasks cannot be confined to the expulsion of the enemy troops from our Motherland. The German troops now resemble a wounded beast which is compelled to crawl back to the frontiers of its lair—Germany—in order to heal its wounds. But a wounded beast which has retired to its lair does not cease to be a dangerous beast. To rid our country and the countries allied with us from the danger of enslavement, the wounded German beast must be pursued close on its heels and finished off in its own lair. And while pursuing the enemy we must deliver from German bondage our brother Poles, Czechoslovaks and other peoples of Western Europe allied with us which are under the heel of Hitlerite Germany.

Obviously this task is more difficult than the expulsion of German troops from the Soviet Union. It can be accomplished only on condition of joint efforts of the Soviet Union, Great Britain and the United States of North America, by joint blows from the east dealt by our troops and from the west dealt by the troops of our Allies. There can be no doubt that only this combined blow can completely crush Hitlerite Germany.

Comrades Red Army men and Red Navy men, sergeants, officers and generals, men and women guerillas! Working people of the Soviet Union! Brothers and sisters who have temporarily fallen under the yoke of the German oppressors and have been forcibly driven to Fascist slave labour in Germany! I greet and congratulate you upon the festival of the First of May!

I Order: In honour of the historic victories of the Red Army on the front and to mark the great achievements of the workers, collective farmers and intellectuals of the Soviet Union in the rear, today, on the day of the world festival of the working people, at 8 p.m., a salute of 20 artillery salvoes shall be fired in Moscow, Leningrad, Gomel, Kiev, Kharkov, Rostov, Tbilisi, Simferopol, Odessa.

Long live our Soviet Motherland!
Long live our Red Army and Navy!
Long live the great Soviet people!

Long live the friendship of the peoples of the Soviet Union! Long live the Soviet men and women guerillas!

Glory eternal to the heroes who fell in the battles for the freedom and independence of our Motherland! Death to the German invaders!

(Signed) Supreme Commander-in-Chief, Marshal of the Soviet Union Stalin.

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RUSSIA ACCUSES FOE OF RAZING NOVGOROD

Mass Killing of Civilians and Looting of Cathedrals Charged

An official Soviet investigating commission has issued a report charging German occupation forces with the "premeditated destruction of the ancient Russian town of Novgorod and its monuments of world renown, the mass killing of Soviet civilians and prisoners of war, and the deportation of Soviet citizens to slavery in Germany," the Russian Tass agency said yesterday.

The Tass dispatch, reported by United States Government monitors, said that Novgorod was reduced to a "heap of ruins," with only forty of its 2,346 houses left standing, and its historic cathedrals of St. George and St. Sophia "demolished" and "ransacked."

The Soviet report named as personally responsible for the pillage and destruction two German generals, a Spanish general and the German military commandant of Novgorod; Col. Gen. George Lindemann, commander of the Eighteenth German Army; Maj. Gen. Kurt Wilke, commander of the First German Air and Field Division; Lieut. Gen. Augustin Munoz Grande, commander of the 250th Spanish Blue Division and Captain Ruf, commandant of the town.

In St. George Cathedral of the Yuri Monastery, the report said the Germans "demolished the vault and walls of the tower of the cathedral, adorned with frescoes of the twelfth century."

"St. Sophia Cathedral, built in the eleventh century. * * * The cathedral constituted a treasure house of ancient Russian art."

The report quoted a German war prisoner, Senior Lance Corporal Walter Kulik, as saying that he had seen sheets of gold-leaf "no less than one square meter in size and two or three millimeters in thickness" being removed by German soldiers from the dome of St. Sophia.

This is a clipping from page 5 of the New York Times for May 6, 1944
Clipped at the Seat of Government.

IZVESTIA ANALYZES ROOSEVELT GAINS

MacArthur 'Incident' and Defeat of Willkie Have Aided 4th Term Chance, Paper Says

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

MOSCOW, May 4—The Soviet newspaper Izvestia reported today that American press reaction to Wendell L. Willkie's defeat and to General MacArthur's withdrawal from the Presidential contest demonstrated that President Roosevelt had increased his chances for a fourth term.

A lengthy article, signed by "Observer," reviews in detail the pre-election maneuverings of various candidates in both parties with the usual sharp attack on "the reactionary press of Col. Robert R. McCormick and Joseph M. Patterson" which Izvestia said continued to uphold strict isolationist policies while simultaneously approving Gov. Thomas E. Dewey's latest speech on foreign affairs.

Comment on Mr. Dewey's speech was prefaced by a declaration that until recently Republican candidates "either avoided making statements on foreign affairs or limited themselves to vague statements which did not say anything."

Dewey Statement Involved

"To a considerable degree this is explained by a lack of a desire, or more precisely a fear, of taking a stand contradictory to the general opinion of the wide masses of the United States who back the present foreign policy of President Roosevelt," Izvestia observed. "Mr. Dewey, according to a statement by The New York Post, strives to evade the question of foreign policy in his pre-election campaign.'

"However, the more the campaign spreads the less possible it is to evade this question. And Mr. Dewey made a statement a few days back in which he stated the main principles of foreign policy for which Secretary of State Hull 'doubtlessly deserves to be honored.' It is true that Mr. Dewey criticized the methods used to carry out this policy. But according to several American papers his speech plainly proves that there is no basis to doubt that he has put aside isolationism and is prepared to go for international collaboration.

Waiting by Some Papers Cited

"However, many newspapers, such as The New York Post, The Baltimore Sun and others, offer to wait until the deeds of the Republican party verify Mr. Dewey's words. Several American newspapers emphasize that Mr. Dewey's statement suffers from a lack of concrete undertakings and by the presence of vague formulas.

This is a clipping from page 13 of the New York Times for May 5, 1944
Clipped at the Seat of Government.

RUSSIA PURCHASES POST-WAR SUPPLIES

Commission Works in Britain After Placing Orders for $2,500,000,000 in U. S.

By E. C. DANIEL

By Wireless to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

LONDON, May 4—Soviet Russia's intentions to expand vastly her purchasing of consumer goods and capital equipment from private firms, both in the United States and Great Britain, became known here today in diplomatic circles.

A Soviet trade commission is at present conducting negotiations with British business interests for large post-war deliveries similar to those for which orders totaling $2,500,000,000 already have been placed in the United States. It is understood, furthermore, that those United States orders are only the beginning of what Russia hopes to do.

Russia's population is so great, the devastation of war has been so vast and the country's supplies are so exhausted that $2,500,000,000 in purchases will not even begin to meet her needs. "You can't even buy a suit of clothes in Russia today," said one observer here, illustrating how basic the Russians' requirements are.

Maps Plan for Payment

As to how Russia intends to pay for these purchases, it is understood that the Soviet Government intends to collaborate fully in the creation of post-war machinery designed to facilitate international trade and monetary payments.

It is recalled that Russia gave her assent to the recent Anglo-American plan for the establishment of an international monetary fund only a few days before it was published. The plan was regarded as a concession to American demands that gold be given a prominent, though not predominant, place in the constitution of a post-war stabilization fund. Russia, to the extent that she has large gold resources and wishes to use them for post-war trading, can be regarded as a supporter of the American viewpoint.

News that American firms had received heavy orders from Russia, to be underwritten by United States banks, caused some concern in Britain.

Questions have been raised in Parliament as to whether Britain also would share in Russia's post-war trade. The Government's full answer has not yet been given, but it is understood that the Government itself has not been approached but that negotiations are being undertaken with private interests. Electrical equipment for quick rehabilitation of reoccupied Russian industrial regions is already being made here.

Political Issues Avoided

It is understood that Russia, aware that lend-lease undoubtedly will be suspended soon after the end of hostilities, chose the method of dealing with private firms in the United States because the Government, particularly on the eve of a Presidential election, cannot commit itself sufficiently far in advance.

The Russian agreement with American private firms extends for ten years. It is understood that the American Government has encouraged these firms to make a deal with the Russians to interest them in the practical aspects of future friendly relations with the Soviet Union and to avoid raising the difficult political issues involved in Government action. The British Government has given indications that it will encourage its nationals in the same way.

Meanwhile, there are reports that Russia is not confining her trade explorations to the United States and Britain alone but in a sense is inviting competitive bidding for Russia's market from other nations, including some that are at present occupied.

RUSSIA WILL SEEK HER THIRD WAR LOAN

25,000,000,000 Rubles Set as Goal in Latest Financing

By Wireless to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

MOSCOW, May 4—The Soviet Government has decided to float a third war loan with a 25,000,000,000 ruble target.

Finance Commissar Arseny G. Zvereff said that the loan would be redeemed within twenty years and that the terms were similar to last year's. Private subscribers have the opportunity to set aside a proportion of their earnings and pay as they go over a period of ten months. Redemption will be made in the form of a lottery, the winners gaining considerable premiums and the losers getting their money back at fixed intervals.

Public corporations, farms and factories will invest in the interest-bearing section of the loan.

This year's target, which is one-tenth of the State budget is more than twice last year's. But the 12,000,000,000 rubles aimed at last year underestimated the public's lending capacity. More than 20,000,000,000 was subscribed.

In all, since the war began, the sum of 35,000,000,000 rubles has been lent to the State.

This is a clipping from page 6 of the New York Times for May 5, 1944
Clipped at the Seat of Government.

CONSULATE PLAN IS SEEN

Russians Reported Planning Office in Jerusalem

By Wireless to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

CAIRO, Egypt, May 3—It was reported today that the Russian Government was interested in establishing a consulate in Jerusalem, in connection with which Abdul Rahman Sultanoff, second secretary of the Soviet Legation in Cairo, is now visiting Palestine.

Officials of the Soviet Legation said Mr. Sultanoff was in Jerusalem on special duties but declined to say whether a Russian consulate was planned.

For the last fifteen years the small group of anti-Soviet Russians in Palestine has been slightly augmented but the total is believed small.

This is a clipping from page 36 of the New York Times for

May 4, 1944

Clipped at the Seat of Government.

Russia

Premier Stalin's May Day Order of the Day

LONDON, Monday, May 1 (U.P.)—Text of Premier Josef Stalin's May Day order of the day broadcast early today by the Moscow radio:

Comrades, Red Army men, Red Navy men, sergeants, officers and generals, men and women guerrillas, working people of the Soviet Union, brothers and sisters who have temporarily fallen under the yoke of the German oppressors and who have been forcibly driven by the Fascist into forced labor in Germany, on behalf of the Soviet Government and our Bolshevik party I greet and congratulate you upon May Day.

The peoples of our country meet on May 1 in the midst of the outstanding successes of the Red Army. Since the defeat of the German divisions at Stalingrad, the Red Army has been conducting a practically incessant offensive. During this time the Red Army made a fighting advance from the Volga to the Siret and from the foothills of the Caucasus to the Carpathians, exterminating the enemy vermin and sweeping it from Soviet land.

In the course of the Winter campaign of 1943-44, the Red Army has won the historic battle for the Dnieper and for the territories of the Ukraine west of the Dnieper, has crushed the powerful German fortified defenses at Leningrad and the Crimea and by skillful and vigorous actions has overwhelmed the German defense on the water barriers of the Southern Bug, the Dniester, Prut and Siret [Rivers].

[Almost the entire Ukraine, Moldavia, Crimea, Leningrad and Kalinin regions and a considerable part of White Russia have been cleared of the German invaders. The metallurgy of the South, the ore of Krivoi Rog, Kerch and Nikopol and the fertile lands between the Dnieper and Prut have been restored to the motherland. Tens of millions of Soviet people have been delivered from Fascist slavery.

Russian Unity Acclaimed

Acting in the great casue of liberation of our native land from the Fascist invaders, the Red Army has emerged on our state frontier with Rumania and Czechoslovakia, and now continues battering the enemy group on Rumanian territory. The successes of the Red Army were made possible by the correct strategy and tactics of the Soviet command; by the high morale and offensive ardor of the Soviet soldiers and command; by our troops being well supplied with first-rate Soviet war equipment, and by the improved skill and training of our artillerymen, gunners, tankmen, airmen, signalmen, sappers, infantrymen, cavalrymen and scouts.

A considerable contribution to our success has been made by our great allies, the United States of America and Great Britain, who hold a front in Italy against the Germans and divert a considerable part of the German troops; supply us with most valuable strategical raw material and armaments, and subject to systematic bombardments military objectives in Germany and thus undermine the latter's military might. Successes of the Red Army could, however, prove unstable and could be reduced to naught after the very first furious counter-blow by the enemy if the Red Army were not supported by the strength of the whole Soviet people.

The Red Army in battles for the motherland has shown unparalleled heroism but the Soviet people did not stay far behind the Red Army. In difficult war conditions the Soviet people achieved decisive successes in the field of mass production of armaments, ammunitions, equipment, foodstuffs and timely delivery at the front to the Red Army. In the course of the past year the might of Soviet production greatly increased. Hundreds of new works came into production as well as dozens of power stations, rail lines and bridges. New millions of Soviet citizens have taken their place at the benches, mastered intricate professions and become experts in their jobs.

Says Axis Bloc Is Cracking

Our collective farms and Soviet farms have withstood the test of war with honor. Under difficult wartime conditions the Soviet peasantry untiringly is working in the fields supplying our army and population with food and supplying raw materials for our industry. Our intelligentsia has enriched Soviet learning and technical science, culture and art with new outstanding achievements and discoveries. Soviet women have rendered invaluable service in defense of their native land, working selflessly for the front, courageously bearing all wartime hardships and inspiring to fighting exploits the soldiers of the Red Army—the liberators of our homeland.

The Soviet people is capable of performing miracles and emerging victorious from the hardest trials. Workers, collective farmers, and Soviet intelligentsia, the whole Soviet people, are filled with determination to hasten the rout of the enemy to the full, to restore the national economy wrecked by the Fascists, and to make our land still mightier and more prosperous.

Under the blows of the Red Army the bloc of Fascist countries is cracking and falling to pieces. Fear and confusion now reign among Hitler's Rumanian, Hungarian, Finnish and Bulgarian "allies." Now these flunkeys, underlings of Hitler, whose countries have been occupied by the Germans or are being occupied by the Germans, cannot but see that Germany has lost the war. Rumania, Bulgaria, Finland and Hungary have only one possibility, to avoid catastrophe—to break with the Germans and withdraw from the war.

However, it is difficult to expect that the present governments of these countries will prove capable of breaking with the Germans. It is to be supposed the people of these countries will have to take the cause of liberation from the German yoke into their own hands. And the sooner the people of these countries realize to what a dead end the Hitlerites brought them, the sooner they will terminate all support of the German enslavers and quisling underlings in their own countries. The less destruction will the war bring these countries and the more they will count on understanding on the part of the democratic countries.

Sees Harder Fight Ahead

As the result of its successful offensive the Red Army has reached our state frontier on a line of more than 400 kilometers [250 miles] and has liberated more than three-quarters of the occupied Soviet territory from the German yoke. Our task now is to clear all our territories and restore the state frontier of the Soviet Union along the line from the Black Sea to the Barents Sea.

But our task cannot be limited to the expulsion of enemy troops from the motherland. German troops are now, like a wounded beast which has been forced to crawl back to its hiding place in Germany in order to lick its wounds. But the wounded beast who has retired to its hiding place does not cease to be danger-

This is a clipping from page 6 of the New York Times for

MAY 1, 1944

Clipped at the Seat of Government,

ous. To rid our countries and the countries allied with us from the danger of enslavement we must pursue the wounded German beast, close on its heels, and finish it off in its own lair.

In pursuing the enemy we must liberate from slavery our brothers, the Poles, Czechs and other peoples allied with us in western Europe who presently are under the heel of Hitlerite Germany. It is obvious this problem is a more difficult matter than the expulsion of German troops from Soviet territory. It can be solved on the basis of coordinated efforts by the Soviet Union, Great Britain and the United States of North America by means of coordinated blows from the east by our troops and from the west by troops of our allies. There can be no doubt that only such a combined blow can completely crush Hitlerite Germany.

Orders Salute to Victories

Comrades, Red Army men, Red Navy men, sergeants, officers and generals, men and women guerrillas, working people of the Soviet Union, brothers and sisters who have been temporarily fallen under the yoke of the German oppressors and who have been forcibly driven by the Fascist into forced labor in Germany, I order:

In honor of the historic successes of the Red Army on the front and to commemorate the great successes of the workers, collective farmers and intelligentsia of the Soviet Union in the rear today, a day of world-wide festival of the working people, at twenty-four hours [midnight], a salute in Moscow, Leningrad, Gomel, Kiev, Kharkov, Rostov, Tiflis[illegible] Simeropol and Odessa of twenty artillery salvos. Long live our Soviet motherland. Long live our Red Army and Navy. Long live the great Soviet people. Long live the friendship of the peoples of the Soviet Union. Long live Soviet guerilla men and women. Eternal glory to the heroes who have fallen in the battle for the freedom and indpendence of our country. Death to the German invaders.

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

Clipped at the Seat of Government.

Is the Russian Revolution Over?

An observer finds signs that it has settled down and that the USSR no longer is seeking to impress its ideas on the rest of the world.

By WALTER DURANTY

Correspondent in Russia for twenty years. author of 'USSR'

IS the Russian revolution over, or at least is it settling down, as other revolutionary movements have done, to something more mellow and conservative? And if so, what does this mean for the future of Russia and her relations with the rest of the world?

As far back as the spring of 1941, before Russia was invaded, an American visitor to Moscow would have noticed few outward signs of what he thought sovietism or communism would be like. He would have seen, of course, that the general living standards were much lower than at home—fewer motor vehicles, people less well dressed, and stores ill supplied with goods. But if he had gone to dinner with a Russian friend, say the head of a factory department, a doctor or professional man, he would have been surprised to find that the meal was served in a comfortable apartment or small villa, by a cook or housemaid, that his host talked about buying tickets for the theatre, as he would do in New York, and that he referred to "my automobile." True, the visitor might discover that the car "went with the job," so to speak, and was not owned outright by his Russian friend, although he seemed to have unlimited use of it.

Similarly, in a department store the American would buy and pay for goods just as he did at home, that is, make his selection, receiving a ticket for same, which he would pay with regular money at the cash register, then take back in exchange for his goods. In a smaller store he would probably pay straight across the counter without this intermediate step.

At his hotel the visitor would find things as at home—always, however, allowing for lower standards of comfort and efficiency. He would order his breakfast through room service, sign a check for the [illegible] and give the waiter a tip, order [illegible] theatre tickets from the hotel bureaus, which would supply him with a guide, if necessary, and a private automobile. Or he could take a taxi or street car and pay for it in the usual way. At the station the porter might refuse a tip, with the words, "There's a fixed rate of 10 cents a package," but in all probability he would welcome an extra 20 cents. And the sleeping-car conductor would accept a gratuity with equal readiness.

In short, there would be no particular evidence of sovietism or communism, although the visitor would be told that the

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This is a clipping from page 12 of the New York Times MAGAZINE

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hotel and the stores, like the taxicabs and street cars, and indeed everything else in the country, were owned and managed by the State, and that with few exceptions every man and woman was working for the State, or some State-controlled organization, like a cooperative or a municipal establishment.

All of this simply proves that Russia has gone a very long way indeed from the early days of "militant communism," as it was called, when everyone received the same wages, when rent and travel were free to all, and the average citizen was "paid" with a ticket which entitled him to receive food or goods at certain specified stores. In other words, Russia by now has adopted capitalistic *methods* to a very large degree.

There is a widely differing scale of wages between the director of a plant and the rank-and-file employes. The latter get extra pay for overtime, or for any work they accomplish above their prescribed "norm" or average task. Bonuses are distributed to all employes after a successful year, sometimes in a general form, like a new swimming-pool or factory theatre, but often by individual payments in cash.

As he pursued his inquiries, the visitor would learn that business and industry are financed in much the same way as at home, through a system of central banks and their local branches, that books are strictly kept, and that commercial and other enterprises are expected to make a profit if possible. He would see paid advertisements in the newspapers and elsewhere, and would note on Sundays that although few churches seemed to be holding services, they were crowded by reverent worshipers.

LITTLE less striking changes have occurred in political thought, in what might almost be called the basic directives of Russian policy. As long ago as 1925 Trotsky and the "Old Guard Bolsheviks" declared that Stalin and his associates were betraying or perverting the principles of Marxist socialism and world revolution in favor of a much more national concept in which the interests of Russia alone were the chief consideration. Less than ten years later, when the heresy of Trotsky and the Old Guard had been liquidated and Stalin's authority was unchallenged, there became evident a new and deliberate effort to foster national consciousness. That this change may have been due to the growing danger of foreign war, which Stalin already foresaw, rather than to a further intentional abandonment of internationalist principles, did not make its effects any less momentous or far-reaching.

The first noticeable step was the resumption, in 1934 or 1935, of the pre-revolution word "rodina" (meaning "homeland" or "birthland") by the press, radio and public speakers, instead of the Bolshevik phrase "socialisteechisky otetchestvo" (meaning "socialist fatherland"). This was a significant straw in the wind, and almost immediately there began a marked and universal stress upon the virtues of patriotism and the duty and privilege of all Soviet citizens to fight for their country. Plays and motion pictures celebrated the achievements of a Czar like Peter I, or a great noble like Alexander Nevsky, in defeating foreign invaders. The patriotic services of czarist generals, like Suvaroff and Kutusoff, formed the subject of long eulogies.

And last but not least, Tolstoy's epic ing from "War and Peace," which described the victory of Alexander f the (*Continued on Page 30*) for

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I over Napoleon, was reprinted by millions of copies. Even composers were mobilized, and the Russian air throbbed with the strains of patriotic or martial music. In 1936 was announced the sweeping reform of the educational system, which hitherto had been conducted on a strictly Marxist basis, with the implication that Russian history began in 1917, the year of the revolution, just as the early French Revolutionary calendar had started off from Year I.

THE culminating factor of the "patriotic campaign" was the new Soviet Constitution of 1936. Its fundamental purpose, which succeeded almost completely, was to abolish distinctions between the Russian inhabitants of the Soviet Union and the former "subject races" of Central Asia, the Caucasus and other outlying areas, which had been conquered in the course of centuries by Russian arms, or absorbed by Russian colonization. Henceforth these underdogs were to feel, and did feel, that they were members of one great family, with the same opportunities, privileges and duties. That the Constitution also abolished earlier electoral inequalities between the peasant masses and the urban population was only another step in the same direction, that is, toward greater national unity.

Three years of war have clearly and tremendously hastened and emphasized Russia's progression toward nationalism and patriotic unity, and its apparent retrogression from the original principles of communism or Marxist socialism. Such sweeping political measures as the Pact of Friendship with the Orthodox Church, the dissolution of the Comintern, and the Kremlin's public promise—as specifically embodied in the recent Russo-Czechoslovak treaty—to undertake no territorial expansion or bring about any changes of internal structure in European countries west of the Curzon Line, have been accompanied by a host of internal reforms whose significance is even greater.

THE re-establishment of regiments and divisions of the Guards, of epaulettes for officers, of gold-lace uniforms for Soviet diplomatic officials abroad, of costly stars and decorations for valor, some of them named after Czarist generals like Suvaroff and Kutusoff—all these are signs of the times, as are the stiffening of military discipline, the abolition of civilian commissars as a force of authority in military operations, the ruling that Red Army officers must always be smartly dressed, washed and shaved and must not appear in public "carrying unsightly packages." The list could be prolonged indefinitely, and might be interpreted to prove this or that. But all of it proves one thing: that the system of greater reward for greater service, that is, of reward for initiative, courage and skill has firmly replaced the primitive militant Communist notions of 100 per cent equality in effort and its rewards.

This would indeed make it seem that the Russian Revolution was over, or is anyway settling down, as other revolutionary movements have done, into something more mellow and conservative. Two things at least are certain. First, that the Bolshevik Revolution has ostensibly—and perhaps genuinely—renounced its international aspect and its previous attempts to spread its doctrines across the world by force or guile. Second, that it has reverted from the methods of pure Marxism, which proved impractical, to those of capitalism, in the matter, that is, of stimulus, by extra pay or decorations, by higher rank and comfort, for meritorious service.

Nevertheless, the question remains whether Stalin has indeed and in truth abandoned the prime objectives of the Bolshevik Revolution and whether that revolution can be accurately compared with "revolutionary movements" of the past.

WEBSTER'S Dictionary defines the word "revolution" as "a fundamental change in political organization or in a government or constitution," and goes on to give as an instance the "English Revolution" by which William of Orange and Mary became the reigning sovereigns in place of James II. Lenin and Stalin would never have regarded the transfer of power from one dynasty to another as a revolution, and Lenin did not even consider the Cromwellian revolution in England, which replaced the King by a republic, to be a true revolution, because it was only a transfer of power from one section of the ruling class, or "bourgeoisie," to another section of the ruling class. He is also said to have described the American Revolution as a successful rebellion of colonies against their mother country or suzerain power.

According to Lenin's reckoning, what happened to Russia (in 1917) and France (in 1789) was a real revolution, a violent change of power from the upper or ruling class to the masses, or rather to the self-appointed representatives of the masses. In France those representatives, through internal quarrels, failed to hold power very long, and it soon passed into the hands of Napoleon, who became a military dictator and thus accomplished another revolution, or counter-revolution, as it might now be called. In Russia, however, the Bolsheviks not only retained power but have contrived to get it legalized and made per-

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manent by widespread popular support, which means that there has been no counter-revolution in Russia, as there was in France, and therefore that the social upheaval in Russia is not readily to be compared with other "revolutionary movements."

If it can be assumed that Lenin set out to destroy the power of money and the use of money for private profit, and to replace the system of private enterprise, or capitalism, by state enterprise and collectivism, it is not easy to see much justification for the charges of Trotsky and his sympathizers that Stalin has "betrayed the revolution," or even changed it fundamentally. Even my hypothetical American visitor to Moscow soon realized that beneath the superficial similarity between American and Russian methods there lay the profound and essential difference that there is little or no individualist finance, commerce, industry or agriculture in Soviet Russia today. Which is equivalent to saying that Russia has definitely—if not yet wholly successfully—adopted a socialist or collectivist system, whatever concession it may make to individual initiative.

THERE are three cardinal reasons why this system is likely to be maintained. First, the character of Stalin, who once publicly declared himself as "Lenin's most faithful disciple and the prolonger of his work." Stalin is a man of inflexible will power and perseverance, and there is every reason to believe that he will continue to follow the line appointed by Lenin. Second, the fact that almost none of the present population of Russia has ever gained much from private capitalism, whose benefits, even before the revolution, were enjoyed by a very small minority. Against that, most of the present population has benefited, culturally and materially, from collectivism, despite the great difficulties and sacrifices its establishment involved. Finally, the collectivist system has withstood the supreme test of war in a manner which astonished the whole world.

That leaves the last question of all: What are, or will be, the relations between a collectivist Russia and the rest of the world?

It seems to be a historical fact, and worthy of acceptance, that political, social and economic differences between nations are not necessarily a cause of conflict. To put it more sharply and succinctly, nations fight only when one is determined to get something which the other is determined to retain. The Russians, who sold Alaska to the United States for a fraction of its value, have never given the American people any reason to think that they coveted, much less were determined to get, anything which belonged to the United States. At least, not until the American people, rightly or wrongly, began to believe that the Russians wished to sap, change and destroy the foundations of American civilization and of the American way of life.

THE European fear of bolshevism, which Hitler capitalized so shrewdly, was based upon a similar belief. But if it is now established—as I have tried to establish by a résumé of Russian development during the last twenty years—that Russia no longer wishes to impress its ideas upon other nations against their will, and has indeed modified many of its earlier ideas, then it surely follows that future relations between Russia and the Western World can be peaceful and mutually advantageous.

From an immediate and practical viewpoint it is clear that Russia has everything to gain by peace and by friendship with the United States and the British Commonwealth of Nations. Russia has suffered terribly from the effects of war and faces a gigantic task of reconstruction. Its territory is so vast already as to require no additions except for the basic reasons of self-protection, which hardly exist today and will surely diminish in the future.

There is no motive for war; although it is more than probable that Russia will strive to continue and to perfect its collectivist experiment. By that we may benefit, just as the Russians will benefit by the superior technique and industrial methods of American private enterprise. We have learned much about Russia in this war, but the Russians have learned something, too—that a democratic or individualist system is far from making its people soft or impairing their personal valor and strength to win a war.

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War a Fight for Morality, Not Revenge to Soviets

By RALPH PARKER
(Copyright, 1944, by Field Publications)

MOSCOW, July 29.—Five years ago when the Germans were in the first arrogant flush of success in occupied Bohemia, it was possible to obtain in Prague a German-Czech phrase book, which, its editors claimed, contained everything necessary for a German soldier in foreign lands The Leipzig printing house responsible for it, had also, it was revealed, later run off millions of copies in French, Polish, Syrian, Russian, English and other European and Near East languages.

I remember reporting the discovery of the phrase book and describing it as a reliable guide to the methods the Germans then were using in Czechoslovakia and were preparing to use elsewhere. It seemed to me worthwhile pointing out then that the book containing hundreds of phrases beginning with the words "Give me . . ." did not print an equivalent of "thank you," and that even at that time the German Army seemed to have convinced itself that its relations with the population of the lands it was going to overrun, would be of the gun and bludgeon type.

I was reminded of this book by a story in the Moscow newspapers the other day about a German officer who with about 150 men, presented himself at a Russian farm with one of these phrase books in his hand. The book, which had served him so well in his advance, was found to be quite inadequate for the process of retreat, and in this particular instance had let the Germans down badly, since it did not contain any language suitable for surrendering. A new edition seems called for now

He Writes

Spiridon Samilov a thickset, white-haired wood cutter, chary with words, lives in a forest near Vilna. One night recently the old man who was alone in the house was awakened by a tremendous din Outside in the stockaded farmyard, well over a hundred Germans stood. An officer was thumping on the door.

Samilov admitted him. The German sat down at the table and produced paper and a pencil.

"Schreiben," he said, thrusting the pencil into Samilov's hand, *"sitzen und schreiben."*

Samilov did not understand. The officer produced the phrase book, but searched vainly for the words he wanted.

"Schreiben: Berlin kaput, Hitler kaput. Schreiben!" the officer shouted, thumping on the table.

Finally, the old man understood, and after long thought wrote in the old-fashioned Russian that in his youth he had used when addressing his landlord:

"To the Soviet Command:

"Please accept our humble devotion and receive us as prisoners, for we have marched and marched till we can go no further, and have no bread, and have decided that we can fight no longer. *Hitler kaput. Berlin kaput*, and thus we sign ourselves—Germans."

The officer then sent notice of surrender with two men carrying white flags, in the direction where he believed the Red Army to be. In the morning they returned with three tommy gunners, who took the prisoners into custody.

What is the present Russian attitude to the Germans? Has the hatred diminished as the enemy's weakness has been disclosed?

Before attempting to answer these questions, I think it is important to take into account the contempt that Russians of all kinds have felt for the Germans from the war's early days. There has always been a strong tendency in Russia to repudiate everything European which is lacking in humanity.

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At the time of the invasion, the Germans represented the quintessence of inhumanity, and it was with something like religious wrath that Russia pitted her strength against this evil foe.

The mass atrocities have, of course, helped to determine the Russian attitude, but I think the contempt sprang quite as much from the overbearing attitude of the Germans to the simple Russian peasants in everyday life, from the Germans' complete rejection of cultural values exemplified in their defiling of the museums of Tolstoy, Pushkin, Chekhov and many others whom Russia reveres; from the treatment of Russian women as mere instruments for their lust.

A High Mission

Against this the Russians raised armies, whom the people passionately believe to be essentially human and chaste as perhaps no army in the world has ever been, and inspired with a sense that they are fulfilling a high mission.

The Red Army's triumphs thus are seen as good prevailing over evil in a war which on the first day Commissar for Foreign Affairs Viacheslav Molotov declared was fought for a "righteous cause," going back far into Russian history in his choice of the phrase. The fact that the evil is called fascism does not hide the moral nature of the struggle.

The evil enemy remains evil when beaten. A man still is a fascist even though he is down. Germany must do more than reveal her weakness to cause Russian hatred to ebb.

A clear distinction is drawn in the Russian mind between repatriation and retribution. Time and again the remark is heard in Moscow: "We must never let this happen again."

But just as frequently one hears the view expressed that Russians would never degrade themselves to treat the Germans as the Germans had treated them. Revenge is far from Russian intentions, and the desire that the Germans shall repay does not, it would appear, take precedence over the determination to make the recurrence of German aggression impossible by the adoption of practical measures.

Thus, Russia supports Polish claims on part of East Prussia, Pomerania and Silesia, not to "punish Germany," but to strengthen the barrier against the *Drang nach Osten*.

Last week I asked a Russian woman who during the last year had lost her husband and three sons at the front, what kind of peace she looked for.

She replied: "Nothing we do to Germany can bring my men back to life. All I ask for is that what we do will save my grandchildren from such deaths."

THE RUSSO-POLISH ISSUE

History will doubtless record that the war effort of the United States, as represented by America's own armed might and American aid to the Allies, has been the decisive factor in this war as in the last. It has saved the Allies from defeat and kept the Axis from victory. It has tipped the balance of power so strongly in favor of the United Nations as to clinch their ultimate victory. But because America is fighting a two-front war in Europe and in the Pacific, and is doing so at the end of thousands of miles of hazardous communication lines, Russia still sets the pace of the war in Europe. Faithfully carrying out her part of the military agreement of Teheran, Russia still bears the brunt of the European battle. She is making the greatest direct contribution to the common victory. And since on this common victory depends not only the extermination of the megalomaniacal ideologies of Nazism, Fascism and Shinto Japanism, but the very existence of the United Nations themselves, nothing can separate the Allies in the pursuit of this victory. All enemy propaganda efforts toward that end are doomed to failure.

But when that has been said the world must still face the fact that Russia is setting the pace not only in the European war but also in the European peace settlement, and that she is doing so by unilateral action and by faits accompli based on her military predominance in her own region, without consultation with either the countries involved or with her Allies.

Such at least appears to be made plain by the official Russian statement establishing the eastern borders of Poland and creating a "Polish Committee of National Liberation" in opposition to the existing exiled Polish Government to rule the country under protection of Russian arms. The borders which the statement fixes are presumably those of the so-called Curzon demarcation line, which is but a slight modification in favor of Poland of the German-Russian partition line of 1939. In compensation, the Russian-sponsored Polish Committee unilaterally promises the Polish people to obtain for them the whole eastern part of Germany, including East Prussia, Pomerania and Silesia, which Poland could defend only in an alliance with Russia so firm as to make her wholly dependent on her bigger neighbor.

This raises the question as to how these Russian actions are to be reconciled with Russia's pledges providing for continued consultation between Russia, Great Britain and the United States. The last two countries explicitly continue to recognize the exiled Polish Government. The result of Russia's present action is that there are, in effect, two Polish Governments and two Polish armies, with the danger of civil war between them already looming on the horizon.

Despite this, it is necessary to emphasize again that, bad as the situation is, it cannot be permitted to come between Russia and the western Allies, or to affect their prospects of victory. For without victory there will be no Poland at all, nor any kind of Baltic states. And it is still incumbent on Allied diplomacy to do its utmost to find a way out of the present deadlock. For it is inevitable that these developments will have an important effect on America's attitude toward the peace and her willingness to engage her power in defense of settlements that go contrary to her own convictions and ideals.

This is a clipping from page 16 of the New York Times for July 27, 1944
Clipped at the Seat of Government.

Would End Spy Spots in Europe

Noted Soviet writer Ilya Ehrenburg, in the latest issue of War and the Working Class, sharply attacked those elements in England and the United States who are fearful that all the Nazi criminals will be made to pay for their crimes.

Those so-called neo-pacifists, said Ehrenburg in the Soviet trade union journal, "fear lest 'the poor Germans' would be hurt if not only a few Nazi leaders but all who committed crimes at their order were punished, if the Germans were forced to undo the damage they have inflicted in occupied territories and if they were moved out of countries where these minorities served as a fifth column.

"The protectors of the poor Germans are especially upset by the projects of transferring to Germany the German minorities from Czechoslovakia and from those regions which will be handed over to Poland. Germans in many countries have proved to be uncomfortable citizens. Nobody wants to maintain colonies of spies and saboteurs. The desire of the Czechoslovaks, Poles, French and Belgians to get rid of these centres of revolt is justified. For Germans living outside Germany, Deutschland has always been 'uber Alles.' Let them go then to Germany. This is no cruelty or revenge, but mere justice."

This is a clipping from page 4 of the Daily Worker for July 26, 1944
Clipped at the Seat of Government.

JOHNSTON PICTURES RUSSIA FOR DEWEY

He Tells Governor That Stalin Asked Him for Description of Republican Candidate

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Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

ALBANY, July 21—Governor Dewey left Albany for his Pawling farm tonight after discussing postwar trade with Russia and reconversion of American industry for several hours with Eric Johnston, president of the United States Chamber of Commerce.

Mr. Johnston, who returned July 13 from Russia, said the Governor showed a keen interest in his talks with Premier Stalin, as well as in Russian production, the feeling of the Russian people toward Americans and his impression of the Red Army. Although Governor Dewey did not commit himself, he listened carefully while his visitor emphasized his belief that the United States, if it intends to do business with Russia after the war, must be prepared to extend long-term credits.

"We discussed my Russian trip and foreign trade with Russia," said Mr. Johnston. "We also talked about long-term credits and all the other things essential to discuss if we are going to do business with the Soviet Union."

Stalin Inquired About Dewey

Mr. Johnston related that Premier Stalin asked him for a description of Governor Dewey.

"He asked me who the Republican nominee probably would be," the visitor explained. "I told him I thought Governor Dewey would be nominated and he wanted to know about him. I described the Governor to Marshal Stalin."

Mr. Johnston said this country had a great opportunity to do business with Russia after the war in durable goods, provided we were willing to extend credits of from fifteen to thirty years, depending on the life of the goods involved.

He emphasized that his belief in good trade relations with Russia after the war did not involve approval of Russian ideology and said the United States frequently had traded with nations having ideologies ~~different~~ from our own.

"Do you think it would be possible, then, to do business with Hitler?" he was asked. "It is a different matter," he replied, "when it is a question of doing business with people who are dishonest or do not speak the truth. I know of no instances where the Soviet Union did not live up to the terms of its credit."

Mr. Johnston spent six weeks in Russia, nearly half that time in Moscow. He returned to New York City tonight and will go from there to thhe Pacific Coast. His home is in Spokane.

Townsend a Political Visitor

Former Senator John G. Townsend of Delaware, chairman of the Republican Senatorial Campaign Committee, also called on Governor Dewey today. The party "has a hcance" of defeating twelve incumbent Democratic Senators and capturing a majority in the Senate in November, he told the Governor.

"It means we will have to get the breaks," he added, "but we have a good chance in several border States. I also think we have a good chance in New York, if we get the proper candidate, and I think we will.

"I don't think there is any doubt about the House of Representatives. We will win a clear majority. And I also think we will win the Presidency."

Mr. Townsend said he and Governor Dewey did not discuss Senatorial candidates so much as the general picture. He mentioned Maryland as a border State where "Tom Dewey is awfully strong." Asked about campaign contributions, he said that "more people want to give this year than at any time in the last twelve years.

Bricker Coming to Albany

COLUMBUS, Ohio, July 21 (AP)—Gov. John W. Bricker, Republican nominee for Vice President, said today that he would go to Albany next week to confer with Governor Dewey.

He said he had been invited to address party conventions in Michigan and Vermont, but could not accept until he knew more definitely what his plans would be during the next few weeks.

This is a clipping from page 10 of the New York Times for July 22, 1944

Clipped at the Seat of Government.

Talks on Peace Council Set; Russia Not to Sit With China

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

WASHINGTON, July 17—Long under consideration among the four big powers, exploratory conversations on an international organization for maintaining peace have been agreed upon and will be held here, beginning probably early next month, Secretary of State Cordell Hull announced tonight.

The discussions will be in two parallel sets, as at Teheran and Cairo, so Russia and China will not meet around the conference table, since the Soviet Union is not at war with Japan.

"The four Governments signatory to the declaration of Moscow," Secretary Hull said, "are agreed that informal conversations and exchanges of views on the general subject of an international security organization will soon begin in Washington, probably early in August.

"It has been decided, following discussions with the other Governments, that the first phase of the conversations will be between representatives of the United Kingdom, the United States and the Soviet Union and that conversations on the same subject between representatives of the United States, the United Kingdom and China will be carried on either at the same time or shortly thereafter.

"These conversations will be followed by discussions with the other United Nations."

It had been hoped that Russia would consent to sit with the delegates of China, inasmuch as the discussions will concern post-war security. Separate conferences of Marshal Josepf Stalin and Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek with President Roosevelt and Prime Minister Churchill were arranged

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last winter for Cairo and Teheran when war strategy was planned.

However, the Soviet Government remained firm and Britain and the United States decided no longer to urge a single conference upon the Kremlin. It was this point of procedure that delayed Russia's final acceptance of the invitation. It was originally hoped that the exploratory discussions could be undertaken this month.

There never appeared to be any differences that would prevent the conversations from being held; only differing viewpoints on procedure and approach.

In the matter of approach, Washington and London were prepared to exchange papers outlining general principles of the world organization they envisioned to prepare more completely the groundwork for the exploratory conference. But here also Moscow saw matters from a slightly different perspective. It is said to have been hesitant about setting on paper its views concerning post-war organization in advance of the projected meeting.

Secretary Hull's announcement that after the discussions among the four big powers, the subject would be taken up with the other United Nations was in line with assertions previously made by him and other officials concerning the program.

The post-war plan, while visualizing a structure described as similar to the old League of Nations but with power more concentrated in the four nations at the top, does not contemplate, according to President Roosevelt, forefeiture of national sovereignty.

Mr. Hull will have available the staffs of the State Department and other Government departments and agencies as well as any officials he may specially designate to conduct the conversations.

The United Kingdom delegation is to be headed by Sir Alexander Cadogan, permanent Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, and Hubert Miles Gladwyn Jebb, chairman of Britain's Inter-Departmental Post-Hostilities Committee.

The Russian delegation has not been announced, nor has the Chinese, but it is considered possible that some of China's representatives at the Monetary Conference in Bretton Woods, N. H., may participate.

Russia

This is a clipping from page 1 of the New York Times for July 18, 1944
Clipped at the Seat of Government.

RUSSIAN MIGRATION NOT PLANNED AHEAD

Removal of Men and Machines to Siberia and Urals Was Unforeseen by Red Army

INDUSTRIES TO STAY THERE

Many Refugees Already Have Returned to Seared Homes —Some Plants Will Stay

By W. H. LAWRENCE

By Wireless to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

TASHKENT, Uzbekistan, U.S.S.R., July 9 (Delayed)—For the first time foreign correspondents have been able to see and hear the details of the world's greatest industrial migration—the swift movement of men and machines from German-occupied or threatened industrial sections of the Soviet Union to the refuge of the Urals, Siberia and central Asia.

This is a story now two and one-half years old, but one that has never been told before and one that has lost none of its flavor through age. It is an accomplishment that entailed moving millions of men, women and children, hundreds of industrial plants and tens of thousands of machines within the space of a few weeks or a few months over rail systems already clogged with troops and supplies. It caused the creation of new cities or a tremendous overcrowding of old ones.

All details of what those operations involved cannot yet be told, but information gathered by this correspondent on the trip to Magnitogorsk, Sverdlovsk, Omsk, Novosibirsk, Alma Ata, Tashkent and Samarkand left no doubt that this tremendous movement of productive resources was one of the main reasons why the Red Army could fall back as far as the Volga and then turn on the Germans and defeat them decisively.

Evacuation Not Anticipated

So far as this correspondent could learn there was no master evacuation plan for Russian industry in advance of the war. The speed, efficiency and thoroughness with which the original move was made had led many to think that even before the war the Soviet Government had marked machines in the Kharkov tractor plant, for example, for removal to a specific factory in a chosen remote town in case of emergency.

But, according to officials with whom we talked, the whole project was improvised and carried out under conditions of the greatest emergency and necessity for speed. According to Rodion M. Glukhoff, vice chairman of the Council of People's Commissars of the Uzbek Republic, his area usually had word that it would receive a specific factory only two weeks in advance of the arrival of the first trainloads of machines and of workers.

In that brief period, he said, factory space had to be provided for machines, and housing and food had to be arranged for the workers. Transportation arrangements had to be made to obtain raw materials for fabrication and to ship finished goods to the front.

Some performances were truly remarkable. A factory making complicated Douglas two-engined transports [DC-3's], and employing thousands of workers, moved all its machines and half its workers to central Asia, turning out its first plane thirty-five days after the arrival of the last equipment.

We saw the plant in operation during our tour. The final assembly line was in the former hangars on the airport, and despite the dispersed character of its new production facilities, the factory's output record was respectable.

Movie Studios Removed

In Siberia we saw a well-organized optical plant scattered through a series of buildings that formerly had been a technical institute. We were told it had been moved west in November, 1941, and had begun production twenty-two days after the arrival of machinery in Siberia. The factory turns out the most complicated gun sights and range finders and other optical equipment superior in quality to the captured German material we inspected in the same factory.

Because motion pictures play a large part in Soviet informational effort, officials in the stress of war even created a new Hollywood—they moved studios, artists, directors, composers, technicians and equipment from Leningrad and Moscow to far-off Alma-Ata, where twenty-five full-length pictures were produced during the war.

On the set of "Ivan the Terrible" we talked with the English-speaking Soviet director, Sergei Eisenstein, who said that two parts of this three-part story of Czar Ivan's life had been finished and when presented would give a new and more favorable impression of one of the Czars who materially expanded the territory of Russia.

Populations Swollen

But the big job, and the one that will receive important mention when the history of this war is written, was the removal of men and machines from overrun areas so that they could take up again teh job of fashioning the implements of war for repelling the German invaders. It is not possible yet to tell that story for reasons of military security. Accurate over-all statistics concerning the number of factories and of people move dmust wait, but these population figures for individual towns and areas will serve to illustrate the magnitude of the task:

City.	Pre-War Population.	Today's Population.
Magnitogorsk	160,000	240,000
Sverdlovsk	500,000	750,000
Omsk	320,000	514,000
Novosibirsk	450,000	700,000
Alma-Ata	180,000	400,000
Tashkent	700,000	850,000
Samarkand	140,000	360,000

Mr. Glukhoff told us that the Uzbek Republic, which formerly had a population of about 6,200,000, had received more than 2,000,000 refugees, or an influx of about one-third of its pre-war population.

Such tremendous population in-

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creases, even when spread out over a three-year period, would create major problems and worries for city administrators of any country, but the men who run Soviet cities had the problem of caring for the increases in the course of a few weeks or a few months.

Red Army Had First Lien

Such a large-scale movement of peoples seeking refuge from the advancing German Army created problems of food, housing, fuel and water, to mention only a few. The problem of caring for them, important as it was, still remained secondary to the major task of keeping the Red Army in the field supplied and fed. For that reason, local and regional government units of the areas affected had to solve most problems with their own resources.

The major problems of resettlement have been solved. In fact, many, many thousands of those refugees—perhaps a large majority of them—already have left their temporary homes in the east and have gone to rebuild their war-seared dwellings in the liberated areas of the west.

In Uzbekistan we were told that more than 90 per cent of those who had been sent there had already left for their homes. Whether this condition is true throughout the Urals, Siberia and Central Asia we were not able to learn But the evacuated factories and the workers who toil in them, for the most part, will remain where they are now, thereby permanently building up the districts that gave them refuge.

In Tashkent we were told by Mr. Gluchoff that Leningrad was putting up an argument for the return of some factories and some workers that Tashkent wished to retain, but that the final decision on the relocation of these enterprises would be made by the Central Government in Moscow.

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JOHNSTON EXTOLS SOVIET PEACE AIM

Chamber Head Says Stalin Appears Intent on Building Nation and Its Trade

By JAMES B. RESTON

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

WASHINGTON, July 13—Soviet Russia will cooperate with the United States in promoting peace and trade after the war, but will nit be a serious competitor in the world export markets "in our lifetime," Eric Johnston, president of the United States Chamber of Commerce, told reporters today.

Noting that the Soviet Government was intensifying its control over all Russian business and industry, Mr. Johnston, who returned yesterday from a six-week trip to the Soviet Union, said this would not, in his opinion, prevent the United States from increasing its trade with Russia, provided American business was prepared to grant long-term credits to the Soviet Government.

Moreover, he added that "the credit of the Soviet Union is as good as any credits in the international field." The resources of the Soviet Union, he emphasized, are vast and the Russians can repay their obligations to us in copper, manganese, tungsten, platinum, cobalt, nickel, furs and many other resources that we could use or store against a day of necessity.

Russia's Natfonalism Deepens

Mr. Johnston, who had a long conversation with Premier Joseph Stalin and was permitted to visit parts of the Soviet Union that he said had not been seen by an American since 1926, enumerated five trends tat impressed him during his visit:

First, he said, there is in the Soviet Union "a rediscovery and glorification of Russia's past." This was evidenced by renewed interest in Russia's national heroes, such as Kutuzov, Suvorov, Peter the Great and Ivan the Terrible. he last, he remarked, had been renamed "Ivan the Good."

Second, he said, there is "a growing, intense nationalism" within the Soviet Union, whose people, he felt, through sorrow and hardship and achievement in the war, have attained great faith "in their ability to do anything they desire if they only put their minds to it."

Third, he continued, there is "a feeling o fa definite need for a long period of peace." This is induced by the necessity to rebuild Russia after the terrible destruction of the war, by a desire to raise the standard of living of the Russian people and by Marshal Stalin's own desire for peace.

Sees No Serious Conflict

"I believe," Mr. Johnston said, "that it is Marshal Stalin's complete desire to rebuild Russia and not to engaged further in world conflict if he can avoid it. Russia is operating under a completely different economic system than we are. She is the most collectivized state the world has ever seen. But I seen no reason why we cannot cooperate in spite of that.

"I think that we have no conflicts of interest, other than that, perhaps. Neither one of us, I'm sure, wishes territorial aggrandizement from the other. I think a prosperous United States and a prosperous Soviet Union will go far toward preserving the peace of the world after the war."

The fourth thing that impressed him, Mr. Johnston said, is Russia's desire "for cooperation with America." This desire is heightened by Russia's respect for production and her feeling that the United States symbolizes production.

Last, he said, the Russian suspicion of foreigners seems "to be lessening to a certain degree." He asked that four American reporters accompany him on his trip beyond the Urals, and while this had been refused twice by the Soviet Foreign Office and once by the Soviet Foreign Trade officials, the request was granted by Marshal Stalin.

What Russia Wants of Us

In the course of an hour's questioning by the reporters in a conference room at the Chamber of Commerce headquarters, Mr. Johnston also made the following points:

Russia wants from the United States: Credits, mining machinery, road-building machinery, hydro-electric equipment, rolling stock (Mr. Johnston said Marshal Stalin told him Russia intends to double and more its railroad system after the war), ships, trucks and machinery for the manufacture of consumer goods.

Marshal Stalin discussed the question of what Russia expects from Germany after the war, but was "just as vague about it as I am at the moment." Questions about reparations were avoided, Mr. Johnston said, and he stayed away from all discussion of Russia's territorial ambitions.

The airplane is going to provide the means for an unprecedented development of vast stretches of the Soviet Union. Airfields, "rather crude and primitive," are being built "at most of the important spots in Siberia and central Asia" and these are being used for all kinds of transport. Mr. Johnston said he saw the Russians flying quantities of crude sulphur from isolated mines that had no other means of transport with the outside world.

The spirit of the Red Army and the Russian people impressed Mr. Johnston more than anything else. Everything in Russia was secondary to winning the war. The people in the industrial boom towns behind the Urals did not have even what we would consider the necesities of life, but were working away at the central task of defeating Germany.

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SAMARKAND LIFTS MID-ASIA'S BLIGHT

Uzbek and Kazakh Republics Prosper Under Impetus of Vast Soviet Programs

FARM YIELDS MULTIPLIED

Johnston Party Impressed by Industrial, Agricultural and Cultural Metamorphosis

By W. W. LAWRENCE

By Wireless to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

SAMARKAND, Uzbekistan, U. S. S. R., July 7 (delayed)—Here in ancient, glamorous Samarkand it is possible to get the full flavor of the great experiment in industrial, agricultural and cultural uplift being carried out among the peoples of Uzbekistan and Kazakhstan at a pace that has been spurred rather than retarded by the impact of the greatest war in the world's history.

After five days' intensive touring in these two central Asiatic republics it is the considered judgment of this correspondent that more progress has been made in the twenty-one years since Soviet rule was firmly established here in 1923 than in all the other years since Alexander the Great first captured Samarkand in 329 B. C.

It is no exaggeration to say that conditions here at present are far superior to those in near-by Iran, which has been under the influence of western civilization for a much longer period. It cannot be denied by any visitor here that results evident to the naked eye and obtainable from conversations with the highest officials that these republics are an impressive testimonial to what can be accomplished under the centralized Soviet system, which decides what is best for the natives and then sees to it that they conform.

"Starvation Steppes" Renamed

Industry is being introduced, though it is not possible, for reasons of military censorship, to indicate the full scope or amount of production being turned out for the Red Army. Agriculture has been put on an advanced scientific basis with intensive use of fertilizers and continuing development of irrigation systems on a scale so large that the famed "starvation steppes" known to travelers from all parts of the world have lost their identity.

More and more schools are being built, and officials told us that a 90 per cent illiteracy condition had now been exactly reversed. The native theatre, preserving the folk lore and customs of these ancient people, receives the fullest encouragement and productions we saw in Alma Ata and Tashkent were eye-pleasing, soul-satisfying performances.

It is not the purpose of this report to give the impression that all defects have been eliminated. Officials frankly admit that housing and sanitary conditions for the natives, especially in the "old towns," are far from satisfactory. They know their distributive machinery must be improved vastly.

But, looking upon what has been done thus far as only the beginning, these officials, in making it possible for us to see everything we requested, asked only that we measured both the evident accomplishments and defects against an imagined background of thirty years ago, which was possible because we had seen the present-day Middle East.

Johnston Is Enthusiastic

For the greatest part of this tour we accompanied Eric Johnston, president of the United States Chamber of Commerce, whose years of experience as an American industrialist and Marine Corps captain in China combined to make him a good judge of the results thus far obtained by the belated arrival of the scientific age in this section of the world. After visiting territory in and around Alma Ata and Tashkent, but without visiting Samarkand, Mr. Johnston, an American capitalist who wants no part of the Communist system for the United States, was so impressed that he offered a toast in a Tashkent factory in tribute to "the tremendous progress made here in the last twenty years under Communism and the Soviet system."

For this correspondent, who was added to Mr. Johnston's party by the personal intercession of Premier Joseph Stalin, one of the most impressive indications of the extent of these central Asiatic republics was the fact that two of them—with a population of about 12,000,000—were able to receive, shelter, feed and provide employment for about 3,000,000 refugees driven out of their homes in other parts of the Soviet Union by the advance of the German Army.

Ninety per cent of these refugees have now returned to their former homes, but the factories and industrial workers removed from front-line areas in the face of the German threat will remain where now situated, thus speeding up the permanent development of this section of the Soviet Union.

Because this is a land of warm sun and remote from the great consumer's goods markets, the extent of the agricultural progress here has been greater than the industrial development. But the factories we saw were well ordered and apparently efficiently operated, as indicated by the production statistics given to us.

The Stalin Textile Trust at Tashkent is one example of industrial efficiency and it is possible to present these figures concerning its operation:

Before the war it had 165,000 workers, of whom 70 per cent were women. Now it has 14,000 workers, 80 per cent women. Its daily production is 260,000 running meters of cotton with an annual value of about 500,000,000 rubles at the current ruble value—or about 150,000,000 gold rubles. Officials said its pre-war profit rate

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was about 60,000,000 rubles annually. It was highly mechanized and clean.

Big Canal Built in Forty-five Days

It is possible also to draw a conclusion about the energy and performance of these people, when they are under direction, from the amazing statistics of the construction of the 217-mile Ferghana Canal, built in 1939. Rodion M. Glukhoff, vice chairman of the Council of People's Commissars of the Uzbek Republic, who received the Order of Lenin for his part in supervising the canal construction, told us it was completed in forty-five days through the efforts of 220,000 workers. Another canal to irrigate another 500,000 hectares is now being built, and one of the things for which officials pressed Mr. Johnston was the use of his influence in speeding up the delivery of essential hydro-electric equipment from the United States.

An old pre-revolutionary canal also has been extended in recent years to increase its flow by nine times, making the total area under irrigation from it 1,000,000 hectares. A hectare equals two and a half acres.

But it was on agricultural experiment stations that we got the best picture of the scientific manner in which this reformation of Central Asia is being carried out. We walked bareheaded under a broiling sun, which sent thermometers in the shade to 118 degrees Fahrenheit, to inspect apple, grape, apricot, peach, cotton, sugar-beet and other food-producing crops on which amazing results are being obtained.

Statistics on Uzbekistan

Here, for the Uzbek Republic, are a few statistics that will indicate the present performance and future prospects:

It grow 63 per cent of the Soviet Union's cotton with a total of 800,000 hectares, yielding on an average 175,000 kilograms a hectare with seed.

Sugar-beet production began here in 1942 after the loss of the Ukraine and this year it has in cultivation 35,000 hectares for sugar production and 15,000 hectares for seed production in preparation for resowing the Ukrainian areas. Currently Uzbek sugar beets yield about 25,000 kilograms a hectare, compared with the pre-war Ukrainian yield of ~~36,000~~ kilograms a hectare, but it is expected that in the post-war period, when additional quantities of fertilizer and water will be available, the yield can be increased to 80,000 to 90,000 kilograms a hectare.

It has 30,000 hectares of grapes, yielding fifteen to fifty tons a hectare—a rate well above the Crimea, which formerly was Russia's No. 1 grape-producing area.

In Samarkand Province alone 930 collective farms have increased their sowing area by 150,000 hectares since the war began.

Among the most interesting experiments we saw were those at the Samarkand experimental fruit station, where a new type of apricot has been developed in recent years. Named Kur Sadik, which means "the blind sadik," its advantage is that when ripe its sugar content is 30 per cent and that after ripening it will dry itself on the tree in ten to twelve days with a sugar content of 50 per cent, or it can fall to the ground, remaining there without danger of rotting for a month. In terms of labor saving, officials told us, this means that 1,000 hectares of Kur Sadiks can be harvested by about 100 men.

At Samarkand also they have developed a new type apple by mating the early Samarkand variety and the European Lanzberg variety. It ripens in mid-June, which according to officials here is two to three weeks in advance of other known varieties. Their goal is an apple that will ripen in early June. We were told that American peaches, especially the Cumberland variety, are best for Uzbekistan and that American apples, such as the Delicious, Winesap, Golden Grimes and Jonathan, have a great future in this area.

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MONETARY PARLEY WAITING ON RUSSIA

United States Urges Reply Be Expedited on Gold Share of Devastated Countries

By RUSSELL PORTER

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

BRETTON WOODS, N. H., July 12—The United States has asked Russia to expedite her reply as to whether she is willing to abandon or modify her position that war-devastated countries should be allowed to pay less gold than others into the proposed International Monetary Fund to stabilize currencies.

This was officially confirmed today by an authorized spokesman for the United States delegation at the United Nations Monetary and Financial Conference. At the same time it was denied that anything like an "ultimatum" had been issued to Russia, as published in some quarters.

Although the question appears technical, it was officially asserted that it is the main issue holding up agreement on the relative quotas to be paid, partly in gold and partly in national currency, into the proposed $8,500,000,000 fund by the forty-four united and associated nations participating in the conference. It is also stalling agreement on the make-up of the executive committee which will control the management of the fund.

United States' Position

The United States wants every member country to pay 25 per cent of its quota or 10 per cent of its gold holdings, whichever is smaller, in gold. Russia, supported by France and other invaded and occupied countries, says all nations that have sustained property damage because of enemy invasion or occupation should be permitted to reduce their gold contributions by 25 to 50 per cent, depending upon the amount of devastation they have suffered.

Great Britain has not made its position clear, it was stated by conference officials. On behalf of the British delegation, it was said that its attitude was that the United Kingdom did not expect any outside help in meeting its post-war relief and reconstruction problems, although the damage done by robot planes and previous bombing logically comes under the "devastation" clause.

A British spokesman said tonight that his delegation was opposed to any clause that would reduce the gold contribution of any member, devastated or not, and would so state its position when the issue came up before the special subcommittee on liberated areas. But if the clause was inserted over the British objection, it was added, the British would expect to be included in its operation.

One Delegation Stands Firm

The United States delegation is standing firm so far against any weakening of the proposed gold link in the fund. It has made clear its belief that Congress, which has the constitutional right to approve or reject the fund, will turn thumbs down if it suspects any attempt to ignore or neutralize the $20,000,000,000 in gold, four-sevenths of the world supply, now held by the United States.

Effect on Congress in Mind

Conservative banking and political opinion in this country, now the world's greatest creditor nation, has already come out for a fund with more gold and less paper money in it than the United States delegation favored.

This point of view is expected to carry weight in the coming Congressional debates. If our delegation should agree to the gold content of the fund being further diluted by other countries putting in less gold and more paper, it is feared the "sound-money" opposition might become stronger and possibly kill the plan.

On the other hand, the British as a debtor country, do not want the pound sterling to be tied too closely with gold. They want "cheap-money" in order to regain their world trade and rebuild their internal social and economic structure without accumulating too much of a debt burden. Lord Keynes, chairman of the British delegation, recently told the House of Lords it could rest assured that he would not accept at Bretton Woods any return to the pre-war "rigid" gold standard.

It was recalled in American circles here that Lord Keynes also told the House of Lords that the plan to be discussed here was the reverse of the old gold standard, a conclusion that differs from the official United States interpretation, which says the plan represents the furthest return to the gold standard that is possible under present world conditions.

Strength of "Link" at Issue

Lord Keynes has said here he favors the "link" to gold included in the plan, despite his previous statements that the gold standard was a "barbaric relic," but the issue seems to be how strong or how weak the link shall be. The Americans want to keep it as strong as as possible, but others appear to be intent on weakening it.

The Russian delegation, it was officially revealed, has taken the position that the devastated countries should get special concessions because of the destruction and damage done to their factories, homes and other physical plant.

The less gold they have to pay into the fund for the purpose of currency stabilization, they say, the more gold they will have available to use outside the fund for

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financing the rehabilitation and reconstruction of their economy. They assert this is simple fairness to compensate for their war losses and give them a better chance to compete in post-war world trade with countries like the United States, whose production plant has expanded instead of contracted because of the war.

Virtually all the invaded and occupied countries have lined up behind the Russian position. They say the less gold they have to put in the fund, the more gold they will have to finance purchases of goods from the United States for reconstruction.

Russia brought up the question before the conference opened, in talks between financial experts of the various governments. It was officially explained here that the present situation was caused by language difficulties in the technical discussions. The Russians believed, it was said, that the United States had made a definite commitment to support the Russian position regarding the concessions for devastated countries. On the contrary, the United States delegation says, it merely agreed to give "consideration" to the Russian argument.

Under pre-conference instructions from Moscow, it was explained, the Russian delegation felt that the issue was not subject to debate here. When it found that the United States considered the matter still open, the Russians cabled Moscow for further instructions several days ago.

Moscow's answer is now being awaited. If there has been no reply when the commission in charge of fund problems meets tomorrow, it was officially stated, it was possible that a table of quotas would be made public with a blank space for Russia.

Replies to Taft's Attack

Replying to the attack on the fund made by Senator Taft of Ohio yesterday, a spokesman for the United States delegation said that if the fund was beaten in Congress, the American taxpayer would be saddled with the entire cost of post-war world reconstruction.

If the fund and the world bank for reconstruction also being discussed here are approved, it was said, the risks will be distributed over all the united and associated

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SOVIET INDUSTRIES TO RIVAL AMERICAN

Great Urals Arms-Producing Center Geared for Post-War Expansion Like Ours

STEEL OUTPUT INCREASED

Stalin Sets 60,000,000-Ton Goal in New 5-Year Plans—Plants Show Profit

6

By W. H. LAWRENCE

By Wireless to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

NOVOSIBIRSK, U. S. S. R., July 2 (Delayed)—A quick look at the factories of the Urals-Siberian area is all one needs to confirm the belief that here is not only a great war production center, but an area that will be one of the world's most important industrial sections in the future, benefiting immensely from the two five-year plans that Premier Joseph Stalin projects for the immediate post-war period.

Together with Eric Johnston, president of the United States Chamber of Commerce, I have just visited factories in Magnitogorsk, Sverblovsk, Omsk and Novosibirsk. I have seen the progress made in carrying out Marshal Stalin's 1930 plan to create a second metallurgical center, replacing the former primary reliance on the Donets Basin, and I have gathered sufficient information to support the prediction that this part of the Soviet Union in the not distant future will rival the most important American districts, such as Detroit, Pittsburgh and Chicago, in economic developments.

The Soviet Union's plans for a forceful future are as ambitious as the Red Army's performance in the war. Mr. Johnston revealed in a conversation with a Magnitogorsk steel plant manager that Marshal Stalin had told him of a design to boost the Soviet Union's steel production from the current and pre-war 22,000,000-ton capacity to an annual output of 60,000,000 tons—second only to the United States, which has a capacity of 100,000,000 tons annually. Steel being the primary metal of industrial development, it can be assumed that plans for building other industries are on a proportionate level.

Plants Far From Blackout

One significant fact strikes you the first night you are in the Urals. For the first time in eleven months, this correspondent emerged from the blackout. This not only was pleasant, but when thought about it is of prime economic significance. Here, half way between Poland and the Pacific, factories are virtually bombproof from any potential enemy. It is probably for this reason, as well as military necessity, that the Urals have profited from the present war more than any other section of the Soviet Union.

Not only has the Urals' own industrial development program received a tremendous impetus from the terrific demands of the Red Army for munitions of all kinds, but it has been a sheltering place for literally hundreds of factories that had to be evacuated from the Ukraine, the Donets Basin and important industrial areas, such as Moscow, Leningrad and Stalingrad, when the advancing German Army threatened them in 1941.

These evacuated plants and their workers will remain where they have been evacuated, and we were told, the liberated districts will create new industries to replace them. Thus the Urals today and in the future probably will be Russia's number one industrial region.

Some factories we saw in this area were modeled after American production units, notably the Magnitogorsk steel mill, which resembles the Carnegie Illinois plant at Gary, Ind., and when completed it is designed to outproduce the Gary plant. Some plants had a large percentage of Amrican tools. Others were predominantly Soviet machine-equipped. But there was a certain amount of pleasure also in watching heavy German-made equipment fashioning implements of war that we knew in a few weeks would be smashing Germany.

This was the first trip that foreign correspondents had made into the factories of the Soviet rear and as a result of our journey, made possible by Marshal Stalin's personal approval, were able to present for the first time some individual production and employment statistics that will indicate clearly the level at which Soviet men, women and children are creating weapons for their army.

Some Production Statistics

Here, in thumbnail fashion, the most vital statistics given to us by plant managers and other Soviet officials with whom we talked:

In the Magnitogorsk Iron and Steel Combine iron ore from a magnetic hill less than two miles away joins with coal from the Kuznetz combine, 1,200 miles distant to more than double the total steel production of pre-revolutionary Russia. It employs a score of thousand workers, including 45 per cent women, in six blast furnaces, eight rolling and two blooming mills and a great many construction owrkers are rushing additional units into production.

The plant does an annual business of 1,200,000,000 gold rubles annually and expects to make a profit of 50,000,000 rubles this year. A total of 2,000,000,000 rubles has been invested in the plant, which lost money until 1939. Steel is sold for 230 rubles a ton. The magnetic hill has proved reserves of 300,000,000 tons of ore assaying 60 per cent iron and 85,000,000 tons assaying 45 per cent iron.

The machinery plant before the war manufactured 30,000 tons of mechanical equipment annually on special order, but now it has been converted to manufacture chassis for medium tanks. Based on a constant gold ruble price, production now is seven times greater than before the war. The plant has a great number of workers, of whom 35 per cent are women.

The artillery plant produced the artillery guns that played a big rol ein smashing the Mannerheim Line and knocking out the vaunted German Tiger and Panther tanks. Before the war it had 15 per cent women. Production during the first half of 1944 was six times that of the first half of 1941, but fire power has increased even more.

The tank factory before the war repaired locomotives, but it was converted to tank production in four months after the invasion. Before the war it had 300 employes; now it has several times as many employes, of whom 40 per cent are women. In 1943 it had a total production of 400,000,000 gold rubles, on which a loss of 7,000,000 rubles was sustained owing to heavy capital investment. It is now expected that the plant will be on a profit-making basis in the final quarter of 1944. Its type of a new tank, from another factory already has seen action at the front and the heaviness of its armor plating has increased its effectiveness against the Germans.

The Novosibirsk region has increased its war production during the first six months of 1944 by 4 per cent over the entire year 1943.

One optical plant, moved from Moscow in November, 1941, established itself in the old technical institute building and it was turning out optical instruments for all kinds of military equipment within twenty-two days. The optical plant had 7,000 workers, 35 per cent women, in Moscow before and now it has thousands of additional workers, of whom 30 per cent are women. It made a profit of 11,000,000 rubles in 1943.

From these figures it is clear that the Soviet Government tries to run its factories on a profit making basis even in time of war. We were told that the factory managers and workers get large premiums for overfulfilling production quotas, with some managers making more than 10,000 rubles monthly and some workers getting as much as 4,000 rubles a month. The average base pay for factory managers is about 3,000 rubles while workers average about 750 rubles monthly.

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Russian Families

Not many years ago Soviet Russia was, among other things, the place where in order to obtain a divorce, it was merely necessary to send a post card to one's spouse, saying, in effect, "I guess I don't like you so much any more; please send my extra socks to this address," and to report the matter to the nearest branch office of the marriage bureau. Russia was also the country where the limitation of offspring was strongly encouraged by the state and where abortion was legalized and would be performed for the asking at state clinics. But under the new laws promulgated last week at Moscow, divorce becomes more difficult to obtain in Russia than in some parts of the United States, and concurrent with the new laws comes the announcement of an elaborate program for the encouragement of larger and larger families. There will be tax penalties for childless couples and special benefits and honors for highly multiparous families. If the implications of the new edicts are to be taken seriously, the social standing of Russian women will hereafter be something in direct ratio to the number of their offspring.

It takes a little reflection to grasp all that is implied in this latest pronouncement. Russia has already one of the highest birth rates in the world. While there are no trustworthy data on the matter, it is probable that before the German invasion the death rate, which must have been enormously high in the post-revolutionary years and during the periods of famine, had been decreasing. Of course, Russia has suffered tremendous losses of population as the result of the invasion—counting the slain, the deported, and the victims of hunger and disease, the figure may run into the tens of millions. But Russia is a country of nearly 200,000,000 souls and, with its normal rate of reproduction, it would not take more than a generation or two to replenish this loss. A steady rise in the birth rate, accompanied by steady decrease in the infant and general mortality rates, and with the new births more or less evenly divided between males and females, would eventually give Russia a wealth of manpower that no combination of European powers with declining birth rates could match.

A general increase in the size of Russian families would mean eventually a movement of population away from the big urban centers, that is to say, a reversal of the trend which followed the October Revolution and the collectivization and industrialization programs. A "mother heroine," however heroic, could scarcely raise a family of ten or more children in such housing conditions as existed in Moscow in the 1920s and 1930s. The early Communist conception of marriage was largely biological, and seemed to envisage a society in which children would be reared not in homes or by parents but in state creches, kindergartens and schools. Yet one of the acknowledged purposes of the new Russian program is to encourage home ties and to strengthen family loyalties, something utterly contrary to the original *ethos* of Bolshevism. It is described by correspondents as part of the officially encouraged Russian religious revival.

A good deal of skepticism as to the genuineness of the revival persists in this country, and various theories have been offered to explain Stalin's strange and sudden eagerness to dose the Russians anew with "the opium of the people." Perhaps a new rumor that the Polish-American priest, Father Orlemanski, has been summoned to the Vatican to give an account of his conversations with Stalin may be an indication that some of the skepticism is evaporating. Certainly the evidence is steadily mounting that since the German invasion Russian society has been in process of a reorientation as profound as that of the years 1917-1925, and that, as applied to the new society, the word "Communist" has become altogether meaningless.

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Soviet Edicts Tighten Divorce Law, Encourage Big Families by Grants

Dissolutions Require Court Procedure, With Judge Urged to Seek Reconciliation— Special Medals Honor Mothers

By Wireless to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

MOSCOW, July 9—The Soviet Government issued a stringent decree yesterday making important changes in divorce procedure. In future, a divorce will be obtainable only after a decision of the courts. The old method of divorce by declaration and registration at the marriage bureaus has been superseded.

Prospective applicants for a divorce henceforth will be obliged to state their reasons and satisfy the courts those reasons are serious and valid. Courts are enjoined to reconcile the disputants wherever possible. The divorce fees, which formerly were fixed at a maximum of 500 rubles, have been raised to 2,000.

To protect health, certain changes in the law affecting abortion also were announced. The changes facilitate the obtaining of abortions for valid reasons connected with health and will operate to curtail illegal abortions.

Coincidentally, the Government has introduced new scales of family allowances, which will provide down payments and monthly grants to all mothers of families of four children and more. Family allowances previously were granted only after the birth of a seventh child.

The new scheme, which applies to unmarried mothers as well—an unmarried mother receives aid for the education and rearing of children from the first child—has been accompanied by measures increasing the holidays prospective mothers can claim and also provide for post-natal vacations.

Prospective mothers or five or more children will now qualify for medals. For rearing families of five and six, a Motherhood Medal is awarded; mothers of seven, eight or nine children will receive the Order of Glory, while mothers of ten or more children will in future be known as "Mother Heroines."

Simultaneously with the decree of the new measures, taxes previously imposed on bachelors have been extended to cover partners in childless marriages, who will pay 6 per cent of their income. Parents of one child will pay 1 per cent; parents of two children, one-half of 1 per cent.

There are many exemptions, including men serving in the Army and their wives.

Divorce Now Hard to Obtain

MOSCOW, July 9 (AP)—The Supreme Soviet's new divorce decree, which went into effect yesterday, requires both parties to file a petition in court and appear personally before a Peoples' Court, which hears all the evidence, then seeks to determine it if cannot effect a reconciliation. If this is believed impossible, the petition can be carried to a higher court. Witnesses must be heard in both courts.

Should the higher court decide to grant a divorce, then the paper will be returned with signatures to the registration office, where it may cost the petitioner anywhere from 500 to 2,000 rubles.

The new divorce ruling is probably the most sweeping change made by the Russians toward establishing stronger family ties and is in keeping with the current emphasis on religion, children and motherhood.

It is taken as further evidence that the Russians are vitally interested in building up family life and the home.

From now on, to obtain a divorce in the Soviet Union, persons must have a good reason, and must prove it.

No longer will such explanations as "I can't get along with my wife" or "My husband gets on my nerves" do.

How long such a procedure will take was not indicated, but it would appear that considerable time would be needed.

The Government also enacted new exemptions for pregnant women. Their leave from work was extended from the present sixty-three days to seventy-seven—thirty-five before birth and forty-two afterward. Pregnant women will receive a double food ration after six months of pregnancy. New facilities in kindergartens and nurseries will be provided for nursing mothers.

This is a clipping from page 17 of the New York Times for July 10, 1944
Clipped at the Seat of Government.

Abroad

Bastions Fall and Rise in the Path of Destruction

By ANNE O'HARE McCORMICK

In Caen the Allies have captured not a city but a ruin. "The devastation is simply infernal," says a British colonel. The front-line reporters compare it to Cassino and Stalingrad. Along the river front the wreckage is so complete that even the jeeps are stalled. Not a soul is to be seen in the skeleton houses. Only a few wounded civilians remain out of the 54,000 inhabitants of the most interesting town in Normandy.

The blasting necessary to end the siege was so terrific that only a miracle, one would have said, could have saved anything of the magnificent eleventh-century architecture which Caen enshrines. Yet the reports indicate that such a miracle has taken place—a miracle of marksmanship. Due to the careful aim of the RAF, total destruction is said to have stopped at the center of the city. The two great abbeys built by William the Conqueror seem to be still standing. The cathedral is damaged but not destroyed. There is hope that some of the lovely old buildings in the heart of the town, irreplaceable examples of early Norman Gothic, have survived.

It was a French general, in command of the troops that captured Siena, who broadcast an order to spare the priceless art treasures of that Italian hill town. At Caen a British commander followed the pattern by giving orders to save for France a precious part of her historic heritage. The Second Army has won the key to the Paris road against the fiercest resistance so far put up on the Norman peninsula. It is an important strategic victory, and the British will get a special satisfaction out of this costly and destructive battle because they have also succeeded in saving the monuments that have commemorated for nearly a thousand years the glory of the Conqueror of England.

Everywhere the bastions on which Nazi power rested are falling. On the southern front Livorno is burning. In the east there is fighting in the streets of Vilna. The Russians are racing toward Kaunas and the borders of East Prussia to seal off the Baltic states. They have reached the River Bug on the way to Warsaw and to the military contact with the Polish underground, on which the political settlement between Poland and Russia will largely depend.

Swift in the east, slower in the west and the south, everywhere there is movement, and everywhere the Germans are giving ground before it. It is the movement of victory; but everywhere the joy in victory is shadowed for all of us by the mounting evidence of what it costs in the lives and unfulfilled promise of this generation, in the treasure that past generations spent their lives to create.

"There is no jubilation in seeing what war does to a city," says a reporter at Caen. There is no thrill of victory in the thought that the battle must move on and mow down other French cities. In Italy the Fifth Army has taken Volterra, that strange and somber town which is still haunted by the Etruscans, and moves on toward the incomparable treasure-house of Florence by way of Arezzo, Cortona, Gubbio, San Gimignano "of the beautiful towers," medieval prototype of New York's skyline.

We shall win many ruins before the horror is over. We shall have to build on ruins. Already, indeed, there are odd signs of the new beginnings. The peasants who came back to a bombed village in Normandy while it was still smoking and began to rebuild houses out of the rubble are a portent of the passion to resume.

The Italian Government will return to Rome this week. It will be accompanied by the Allied Control Commission and will have little more power than it wields at Salerno, but this is none the less a further step toward the resumption of independent political life. If the Allies are wise they will let the Italians make their own experiments and mistakes. Italy's real patrimony lies in her past, and she will be poorer for every monument lost in the war, but to build a future for nearly 50,000,000 people out of the most meager economic resources she cannot revert to the political past, either Fascist or pre-Fascist. Fascism was erected on the collapse of the system that preceded it, and we could make no greater blunder than to force a return to that system because it was labeled democratic or boost the old men who shirked or were unable to assume responsibility when they had the chance.

The most literal example of beginning over again comes from Russia. In the decree of the Supreme Soviet making an end to easy divorces and putting a substantial premium on big families, the Russians have swung back full circle as far as the domestic revolution is concerned. The early Bolsheviks did everything to weaken and dissolve the "bourgeois institutions" of marriage, the family and the home. Now Stalin is going to great lengths to strengthen them and thus strengthen Russia.

This implies more than the triumph of human nature over theory, or, if you like, the triumph of the experience distilled into conventions over rebellious human nature. In its recognition of the old axiom that the family is the cell of the nation, it is another proof of the profoundly nationalistic and conservative trend of Soviet policy. If it is true, as the Soviet attitude toward Italy, Spain and France seems to indicate, that Stalin does not desire revolution in Europe, it may be because he wants no more revolution in Russia. Domestically, at least, all the turns are to the right.

So it isn't only old things that fall and new things that rise. In the churn of war new things fall, too, and old things rise again.

This is a clipping from page 14 of the New York Times for

Clipped at the Seat of Government.

	POPULATION 1, 1941	PREDOMINANT ETHNIC STRAIN	CHIEF NATIONALITIES	AREA	LOCATION	CAPITAL
[illegible]						
[illegible] SOCIALIST REPUBLIC						
[illegible] R. S. F. S. R.)	114,337,428	Slav	[illegible]; Ukrainian 7.8%; Tatar, 2.8%	6,522,570	Soviet Eur[illegible]	Moscow
Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republics						
BASHKIR A. S. S. R.	3,304,476	Turco-Tatar	[illegible]; Russian, 39.9%	54,233	Southwest [illegible]	Ufa
BURIAT-MONGOLIAN A.S.S.R.	569,713	Mongol	[illegible]; Russian, 52.7%	127,020	South Central [illegible]	Ulan-Ude
CHECHEN-INGUSH A.S.S.R.	732,838	Japhetic	[illegible]; Ingush, 13%	6,060	Caucasus	Grozny
CHUVASH A. S. S. R.	1,110,592	Turco-Tatar	[illegible]; Russian, 15.8%	6,909	Middle Volga River	Cheboksary
CRIMEAN A. S. S. R.	1,184,060	Turco-Tatar	[illegible]; Russian, 42.2%	10,036	Black Sea	Simferopol
DAGHESTAN A. S. S. R.	971,500	Japhetic	[illegible]; Russian, 12.5%	13,124	Northeast Caucasus	Makhach[illegible]
KABARDINO BALKARIAN A. S. S. R.	377,466	Japhetic	Kabardin, 60%; Balkarian, 16.3%	4,747	Caucasus	Nalchik
KALMYK A. S. S. R.	231,935	Mongol	Kalmyk, 75.0%; Russian, 10.7%	28,641	Mouth of Volga	Elista
KOMI A.S. S. R.	335,172	Finno-Ugrian	Komi, 92.3%; Russian, 6.1%	115,251	Northwest Urals	Syktyvkar
MARI A. S. S. R.	607,874	Finno-Ugrian	Mari, 51.4%; Russian, 43.6%	8,991	Middle Volga River	Yoshkar-Ola
MORDOVIAN A. S. S. R.	1,248,982	Finno-Ugrian	Mordovian, 37.4%; Russian, 57.3%	9,843	Middle Volga Basin	Saransk
NORTH OSSETIAN A. S. S. R.	345,592	Iranian	Ossetian, 84.2%; Ukrainian, 6.5%; Russian, 6.6%	3,093	Caucasus	Ordzhonikidze
TATAR A. S. S. R.	3,067,740	Turco-Tatar	Tatar, 50.4%; Russian, 41.8%	26,200	Middle Volga River	Kazan
UDMURT A. S. S. R.	1,282,987	Finno-Ugrian	Udmurt, 52.3%; Russian, 43.3%	11,491	Middle Volga Basin	Izhevsk
YAKUT A. S. S. R.	420,892	Turco-Tatar	Yakut, 81.6%; Russian, 10.4%	1,169,927	Northeast Siberia	Yakutsk
Autonomous Regions						
ADYGEI A. R.	254,055	Japhetic	Cherkess, 47.8%; Russian, 25.6%; Ukrainian, 23.3%	1,505	Northwest Caucasus	Maikop
CHERKESS A. R.	97,233	Japhetic	Kabardin, 33.3%; Beskeskabuz, 29.7%; Nogaitsi, 16.8%; Cherkess 7.2%	1,273	Caucasus	Sukhumi
JEWISH A. R.	113,925	Jewish	Jew, 40% (est. 1936)	11,301	Far East Siberia	Birobidzhan
KARACHAI A. R.	157,540	Turco-Tatar	Karachai, 83.3%; Ukrainian, 4.4%	1,521	Caucasus	Mikoyan-Shakhar
KHAKASS A. R.	294,404	Turkic & Mongol	Khakass, 51.3%; Russian, 45.5%	15,164	South Central Siberia	Abakan
OIROT A. R.	169,631	Turco-Tatar	Russian, 52%; Altai & Oirot, 47.2%; Telenget-s, 3.4%	37,940	South Central Siberia	Gorno-Altai
National Districts						
[illegible] BURIAT MONGOL N. D.		Mongol		10,960	South Central Siberia	Agunskoe
[illegible]KOE N. D.		Paleo-Asiatic		254,091	Bering Strait	Anadyr
[illegible]SKI N. D.		Mongol		705,033	North Central Siberia	Turu
[illegible] PERMIAPSK N. D.	*Figures not available*	Finno-Ugrian	*Figures not available*	8,916	Northeast Siberia	Kudymkar
[illegible]AK N. D.		Paleo-Asiatic		149,965	North Far East	Palana
[illegible]ETS N. D.		Mongol		73,975	Northeast Soviet Europe	Nes'kaya
[illegible]VOGUL N. D.		Finno-Ugrian		11,301	Northeast Siberia	Ivdel-Vogulsk
[illegible]MYR N. D.		Mongol		250,615	North Central Siberia	Dudinka
[illegible] ORDIN BURIAT N. D.		Mongol		11,121	South Central Siberia	Ust-Ordynsk
[illegible]MAYO-NENETS N. D.		Mongol		176,760	Southeast Siberia	Vanavara
[illegible] SOVIET [illegible] REPUBLIC	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

BYELO-RUSSIAN S. S. R.	10,533,541	Slav	Byelo-Russian, 80.6%; Jew, 8.2%; Russian, 7.2%	[illegible]	West Soviet Europe	Minsk
KARELO-FINNISH S. S. R.	892,977	Finno-Ugrian	Karelian and Finn, 75%; Russian, 25% (est. 1941)	61,220	Northwest Soviet Europe	[illegible]
ESTONIAN S. S. R.	1,130,000	Finno-Ugrian	Estonian, 87.7%; Russian, 8.2%	18,050	Baltic Sea	Tallinn
LATVIAN S. S. R.	1,980,502	Baltic	Latvian, 75.6%; Russian, 13.5%	24,000	Baltic Sea	Riga
LITHUANIAN S. S. R.	3,134,070	Baltic	Lithuanian, 85%; Russian, 2.5%	22,800	Baltic Sea	Vilna
MOLDAVIAN S. S. R.	2,521,225	Rumanian	Moldavian, 70% (est. 1941)	13,050	Southwest Soviet Europe	Kishinev
GEORGIAN S. S. R.	3,722,253	Japhetic	Georgian, 67.7%; Armenian, 11.6%; Turkic, 5.2%	29,375	Transcaucasia	Tiflis
ABKHAZIAN A. S. S. R.	293,147	Japhetic	Abkhazian, 27.8%; Georgian, 33.8%; Armenian, 12.8%	[illegible]	Transcaucasia	Sukhumi
ADZHAR A. S. S. R.	169,946	Japhetic	Adzharian, 53.7%; Georgian, 11.[illegible]%; Armenian, 7.9%; Russian, 7.7%	1,050	Transcaucasia	Batumi
SOUTH OSSETIAN A. R.	111,501	Iranian	Ossetian, 69.1%; Georgian, 26.9%	1,135	Transcaucasia	Tskhinvar
ARMENIAN S. S. R.	1,346,409	Japhetic	Armenian, 81.9%; Turkic, 8.3%	11,500	Transcaucasia	Erevan
AZERBAIDZHAN S. S. R.	3,372,791	Turco-Tatar	Turkic, 63.3%; Armenian, 12.4%; Russian, 9.7%	33,000	Transcaucasia	Baku
NAKHICHEVAN A. S. S. R.	138,528	Turco-Tatar	Turkic, 84.5%; Armenian, 10.8%	[illegible]	Transcaucasia	Nakhichevan
NAGORNO-KARABAKH A. R.	180,063	Japhetic	Armenian, 89.1%; Turkic, 10%	[illegible]	Transcaucasia	Stepanakert
KAZAKH S. S. R.	6,458,175	Turco-Tatar	Kazakh, 57.1%; Russian, 19.7%; Ukranian, 13.2%	[illegible]	Central Asia	Alma-Ata
UZBEK S. S. R.	6,601,649	Turco-Tatar	Uzbek, 76%; Russian, 5.6%	156,000	Central Asia	Tashkent
KARA-KALPAK A. S. S. R.	111,501	Turco-Tatar	Karakalpak, 29.1%; Kazakh, 27%; Uzbek, 26.4%	29,651	Central Asia	Turtkul
TURKMEN S. S. R.	1,317,093	Turco-Tatar	Turkmen, 72%; Uzbek, 10.5%; Russian, 7.5%	161,250	Central Asia	Ashkhabad
TADZHIK S. S. R.	1,508,540	Iranian	Tadzhik, 78.4%; Uzbek, 17.9%	55,455	Central Asia	Stalinabad
GORNO-BADAKHSHIAN A. R.	41,769	Iranian	Iranian, 87%; Khirgiz, 13%	24,500	Central Asia	Khorog
KIRGHIZ S. S. R.	1,533,439	Turco-Tatar	Kirgiz, 66.6%; Russian, 11.7%; Uzbek, 11%	76,000	Central Asia	Frunze
TOTAL POPULATION	202,467,877			TOTAL AREA	[illegible]	

CAPITALISM AND SOCIALISM, A NEW SOVIET APPRAISAL

By Calvin B. Hoover

A GREAT deal of interest has been aroused by the recent appearance in a Soviet publication of an article dealing with fundamental elements of the capitalist and Socialist economic systems. The article, "Some Questions in the Teaching of Political Economy," which appeared in the periodical *Under the Banner of Marxism*,[1] has been taken to be an authoritative pronouncement of the most far-reaching importance, representing a radically-changed appraisal by the Soviet Government of the nature of capitalism and Socialism, fraught with bright prospects for the future relations between the U.S.S.R. and the capitalist countries. Is this interpretation correct and are the happy expectations which are based upon it justified?

There can be little question of the importance of the article, even though there is considerable misunderstanding in this country about the "official" character of anything which appears in Soviet publications. To judge from some comment, one would almost suppose that Stalin or at least his personal representative censors everything which is published in the Soviet Union. It is perfectly true that no one in Russia would publish anything which he thought would be viewed unfavorably by Stalin, since the consequences would probably be serious indeed. This fact does most importantly condition the nature of everything which is printed. Though a Soviet writer knows that Stalin or anyone close to Stalin will read only a small proportion of what appears in even the more important books, periodicals and newspapers, he will not disregard the possibility that his product will receive such attention. Nevertheless, very little which is published in Russia can automatically be considered an authoritative pronouncement, even though practically every author in the U.S.S.R. writes with the earnest intention of avoiding conflict with any state or party official more powerful than himself.

[1] The editors of *Pod Znamenem Marxizma* (*Under the Banner of Marxism*) are L. A. Leontiev, M. B. Mitin, P. N. Fedoseiev, V. C. Kruzhkov, L. A. Orbeli, V. P. Potemkin, P. F. Judin, S. I. Vavilov, M. P. Tolchenov and M. N. Korneiev. The article in question appeared in the issue No. 7-8, 1943, p. 56-78. It is unsigned and seems in the nature of an editorial. Most of the American comment on it has apparently been based upon a very useful summarized translation by Henry F. Mins, Jr., which appeared in the Spring 1944 issue of *Science and Society*. My thanks are due Dr. W. A. Wiczwieg, of the Duke University School of Medicine, who collaborated with me in the article's translation and analysis.

It is perfectly possible that the position taken by the writers of the article in question might later be sharply repudiated by Stalin without anyone feeling that such action meant that Stalin had changed his mind. It is certain, however, that the article would never have been written if the authors had any premonition that their position would be repudiated by Stalin. It has happened, times without number, that articles have been published and policies advocated, which have turned out to be contrary to the party line as later established by Stalin, or by some other party official if the matter were not considered important enough to warrant Stalin's attention. If a heresy is considered sufficiently dangerous, the writer may be required to confess his errors publicly, as were Bukharin, Tomsky and Rykov among many others. The public confession of error has been so often correlated with eventual liquidation as to render it an experience not lightly to be risked.

The occasion for the publication of the article in *Under the Banner of Marxism* was the resumption of the teaching of political economy in the higher schools after a considerable period of suspension. Defects in the textbooks used earlier were characterized at a meeting of the Central Committee of the Communist Party as amounting to "wholesale transformation of the subject of political economy from a general historical science devoted to the study of the living tissue of society into a collection of anti-scientific abstractions and lifeless schemes." Due to these errors, "students lost the sense of the progressiveness of the development of human society." The present writers conceive their responsibility to be that of outlining the proper principles and methods for teaching political economy and of preparing textbooks on the subject, now that instruction is to be resumed.

Far from suggesting a repudiation of Marxism, the writers show an almost agonized concern that their principles and method should be considered rigorously Marxian in the most orthodox sense. At the same time, they reflect a sense of confidence in the efficacy of the present Soviet economic system and a consciousness of its permanency. Consequently they are able to say that in spite of the fact that the Soviet economic system is founded squarely upon Marxist principles, Marx could not be expected to have been able to draw up a blueprint of the exact structure and mechanism functioning of a present-day Socialist economic system. The errors and mistakes in the teaching of political economy in the past thus were due not to any lack of validity in the Marxian doc-

trines but to the attempt to interpret these doctrines too rigidly and too abstractly. These mistakes could have been avoided if the development of society had been considered from an adequately historical point of view.

The thesis of the article is that the present Soviet economic system is quite consistent with Marxism and that any insinuations to the contrary represent the stupid failure of left wing Communists to understand Marx and Lenin, the present Soviet economic system, and the nature of the laws of economic progress. A fundamental error of these critics was the idealization of the primitive communism which existed at the dawn of history. The development from primitive society into the class society was erroneously presented not as progress but in terms of mankind's banishment from Paradise through original sin. Thus the goal of the Soviet economic system was represented as a communism in which the way of life would be similar to that of primitive times. Actually, mankind lived under the most miserable conditions at this earliest stage of human development. Communal organization was a necessity if men were to obtain the barest means of subsistence. There was no surplus product during this period, either for the use of exploiting classes or as a source of accumulation for the improvement of the means of production, for cultural advancement or for any other purpose.

It was an inexcusable error, the authors of the article maintain, to fail to realize that great progress took place when mankind evolved through the stages of slavery and of feudalism to capitalism. Under capitalism the great improvements in the means of production which had been made possible by the development of a surplus beyond that necessary for immediate subsistence permitted the development of a still larger surplus product. It is true that under the capitalist system this surplus product became, in the main, the property of the parasitic bourgeoisie and was accompanied by economic crises with their attendant miseries. Under Soviet Socialism no part of this surplus product has to be turned over to parasitic owners of private property nor does it lead to periodic crises of overproduction. It is used as the source of improvement of capital equipment, for education and cultural purposes, and to provide the means for national defense.

There is a difference, too, between capitalism in different countries and in different stages, the writers allege. The monopolistic, imperialistic capitalism of Fascism and Hitlerism is anathema.

The capitalism of the United States and Great Britain is at least accompanied by democratic and parliamentary institutions, including labor unions. Interestingly enough, the writers claim that the Soviet system is even more democratic and that it affords the greatest opportunities for "full blossoming of the individual."

The writers refute as erroneous the doctrine that economic laws do not exist under Socialism. There are economic laws under Socialism just as under capitalism, they say, although they are not the same laws. The important difference is that under capitalism economic laws operate outside social control to produce catastrophic results. Under Socialism economic laws are used for social ends. Thus there is a law of value under Socialism. There are, they explain, two kinds of prices in Soviet Russia: one governs in the fully socialized area of the economy and another in the "free or private markets" in which are sold the products produced by peasants in their individual gardens or those produced by individual craftsmen. The first type of price is consistent with the laws of value of a Socialist economy. It reflects the elements of cost of production, as established by the prices set by the state on labor of various kinds and qualities and on capital equipment. Price in the free or private market reflects only the current inability of the economy to produce sufficient goods to satisfy the demand at prices which reflect costs in the socialized economy.

The Soviet Socialist economic system has, however, emancipated itself from the capitalist law of average profit. Under the Soviet system, the writers continue, it is possible to undertake industrial production even when the cost in the initial stages is so high that the average rate of profit cannot be earned. This does not in the least mean that cost of production is ignored; the writers insist on the desirability of precise cost accounting. It does mean, for example, that the steel industry of the Urals could be put into operation even though the cost of bringing together iron ore and coal from distant points seemed prohibitive. As methods of production were improved and more favorably located supplies of coal were discovered and developed, the cost could be lowered.

The value of labor, and hence the wages which it earns, is not measured by the amount of time which workers expend but by the value which the labor contributes to the product. This, of course, justifies almost any conceivable differences in rates of compensation between citizens of the Soviet state. Thus it is an important device for repudiating the Communist doctrine of distribution of

income, "From each according to his ability, to each according to his need." The correct principle of distribution is now declared to be, "From each according to his ability, to each according to his work."[2]

A strong tone of Soviet nationalism runs through the entire article. There are repeated references to the Soviet fatherland. Again and again the authors point proudly to the success of the Soviet economic system in building an industrialized Russia which could so successfully provide for national defense. Prospective teachers of political economy are admonished that the teaching of economics should not only further the building up of Socialism but should also promote "love of our Soviet fatherland and hatred of its enemies."

II

It is remarkable how successfully the authors harmonize the tenets of the present Soviet economic system with the principles of Marx and Lenin. It is true that this requires skill and care in selecting appropriate passages from Marx and Lenin. But Stalin long ago chose with great shrewdness the ideological ground upon which he intended to defend the kind of economic society which he rules. Indeed, it requires no great *tour de force* to find in Lenin's "State and Revolution" alone the necessary sources for such a defense. In the main the authors of the article had only to follow the line already marked out by Stalin.

In order to appreciate this it is necessary to recall the essential steps which have been taken since the October Revolution in molding the Soviet state to its present form. Stalin has claimed for many years that the régime which he has established constitutes the first stage of Communism, and should be called Socialism, in contrast with the second and ultimate stage, which is Communism proper. In this final stage the state would no longer exist, and distribution would, indeed, be "from each according to his ability, to each according to his need." Until such a stage is reached, however, the state must continue to exist and distribution must be according to the value of services performed.

This concept is definitely advanced by Lenin in his "State and Revolution," written in 1917, although there are numerous ambiguities and even contradictions in his exposition of the [illegible]. In an embryonic form it can even be found in Marx. The concept

[2] It is ironic that both the Soviet economic system and capitalism lay claim to the same distributive principle.

seems to have developed in the course of a conflict with the ideas of Proudhon concerning the nature of the revolution which was to overthrow capitalism. Marx pointed out that it was absolutely necessary for the workers to organize a "dictatorship of the proletariat" if they were to hold the power which they had seized. To do so they must temporarily carry on some of the forms of the state and society which had been overthrown. It seems certain that both Marx and Lenin believed that this period would be very brief and that as soon as the conquest of power had been complete the state would "wither away" and the workers themselves would administer industry. Indeed, Lenin is most categoric about this withering away of the state. He changed his mind, however, as he perceived the difficulties of destroying capitalism, of maintaining the dictatorship of the proletariat, and of founding a Socialist society.

Lenin in 1921 inaugurated the New Economic Policy, or "Nep," which he characterized as "a step backward, the better to leap forward," and which did reintroduce some of the elements of capitalism. This period was accepted by Communists of the left with the greatest reluctance, and it seriously complicated the ideological timetable. There was no way in which the period of "Nep" could be integrated into the stages of Communism which Marx or Lenin had foreseen; yet during this period the mold which was largely to determine the shape of things to come was taking form.

In 1929, in the second year of the first Five Year Plan, Stalin surprised his Trotskyist opponents, who were accusing him of preparing a "reaction of Thermidor," by inaugurating his first and only sharp turn to the left. Almost all of the capitalist elements of "Nep" were liquidated, as were the Nepmen and kulaks themselves. A gigantic stride was also taken toward the collectivization of agriculture, which was later to become complete. A wave of terror was instituted against the "former people" who had been associated in any way with the bourgeois Tsarist state. The personal property of kulaks, Nepmen and "former people" was forcibly expropriated.

This sharp and powerful turn to the left was accompanied by an attack on the leaders of the right wing of the party, such as Bukharin and Rykov. Stalin nevertheless took steps to halt the leftward trend when it had gone as far as he considered advisable. He stopped dead the movement toward the renewed equalization of wages which had swept the country in 1929 and 1930.

He slowed down, but took care not to halt, the rate at which agriculture was being collectivized, and he redressed some of the worst abuses of power which were being carried out at the expense of the peasants. Yet a couple of years later he was to hold to his policy of industrialization, and of collectivization of agriculture, even though it meant death by starvation for countless peasants.

After this one leftward turn in the early thirties Stalin inclined in the direction of the right and toward a policy of Soviet nationalism. He had earlier repudiated the Trotskyist doctrine of "permanent revolution" and had liquidated the abortive effort to spread the world revolution to China. He was now in the course of proving what he had so long contended, that Socialism could be established in one country, even if no international revolution took place. Gradually the position of the new professional and governing classes was improved. The limitation on the amount of wages or salary which a member of the party could accept was dropped. Greater differentials in salaries and wages were granted. The "progressive method" of education, found wanting in the development of the technicians required by a greatly expanded industry, was abandoned and the old formal system of education was reintroduced.

The glorification of the Spartan way of life for the governing class began to disappear.[1] Military titles and the trappings and other accompaniments of formal military discipline were revived in the Red Army. The Order of Suvorov was added to those of Lenin and of the Red Banner. Russian historical figures were no longer ridiculed and despised; such "heroes" as Alexander Nevsky and Peter the Great were dramatized and glorified in film and literature. The teaching of history was altered and new textbooks were written in accordance with the new trend. The Society of Proletarian Authors was dissolved and the old operas, ballets and plays, never wholly displaced, were restored to favor.

It must never be forgotten, however, that in all this there was little evidence of a renewed "retreat to capitalism." A new type of state had evolved which was almost wholly collectivist, absolutist and authoritarian. It shows signs of permanency and absolutely no sign of "withering away." In this new society there is no private property of consequence in the means of production.

[1] When I revisited the Soviet Union in 1939 no sight impressed me more than an advertisement on a large signboard which I saw in both Kiev and Moscow, done in a style which [illegible] credit to *Esquire*, depicting a lady in evening dress drinking from a champagne glass. [illegible] advertisement of Soviet champagne! Ten years earlier such an advertisement would have been considered an impossible blasphemy.

Instead, substantially all means of production are in the hands of the state. The Soviet state has become the most powerful and all-pervading form of political and economic organization of human society which has ever existed. Yet Stalin has been able to root it into Marxian-Leninist doctrine by using the exceedingly convenient concept of the two successive stages of Communism. Stalin and his followers vigorously deny that this new political-economic state form is state capitalism. Whether it is, or whether it is indeed a form of Socialism, is perhaps a matter of semantics. It is certainly fundamentally different from the political and economic system which exists under the quasi-laissez-faire capitalism of the United States.

The authors of the article in *Under the Banner of Marxism* make several references to the second stage of Communism in which the state withers away and distribution is according to need. There can be little doubt, however, that this second stage of Communism has come to play somewhat the same rôle for Soviet writers as did the second coming of Christ for the later Christian theologians. The evidence seems very strong that Stalin, on the basis of experience, has decided that the first stage of Communism, which he styles Socialism, is to be the permanent form of Russian state and society.

Plainly the authors of the article are fully aware that this is so. There is no reference to the withering away of the state under present circumstances. There is a reference to the incorrectness of the charge of bourgeois critics that the state intervenes in the Soviet economy even more than it does in a capitalistic economy. The authors say that this represents a misunderstanding of the rôle of the state under the two different systems. In the capitalistic economy the state intervenes in an effort to overcome the contradictions of capitalism, or in the interests of one class against another. In the Soviet economy the state is not "intervening;" the Soviet state is itself the instrument of society and operates without contradictions in the interest of the whole of society. The authors have a somewhat obscurantist allusion to the direction of the economy by the Communist Party and by the "builders of Socialism," and there are a number of references to the brilliant leadership of Stalin. They do not otherwise attempt to explain the glaring discrepancy between the original Marxian-Leninist concept of the first stage of Communism, which definitely presupposed a much reduced rôle for the state, and the present Soviet system of a dictatorship state. There is no refer-

ence in the article to world revolution and the references to capitalism are unusually objective in their nature. But world revolution in the Trotskyist sense has not been an objective of Soviet foreign policy for a long time.

sent an authoritative statement marking out a new party line; even though the authors would not have written it if they had not been quite sure that it was in accordance with the party line. Actually its significance lies partially in the fact that there is relatively little new in it. It definitely accords with actual developments in Soviet principles, policies and practices over the years. It is important precisely because these principles, policies and practices have now been so fully accepted in the U.S.S.R. that a group of writers feels safe in spelling them out for the use of teachers of political economy and writers of elementary textbooks on economics. There can consequently be no possibility that their article is a statement of policy issued for its effect upon officials or public opinion in foreign countries.

III

What is the significance of the evolution of the present form of the Soviet state for the rest of the world? Perhaps of most importance is the answer it provides as to the power of survival of a modern, collectivist, industrial state both in time of peace and under the utmost strain of war. It is easy to forget that 20 years ago and less it was confidently maintained and very widely believed that Socialism was practically an economic impossibility. We should also remember that it was usually taken for granted that Socialism meant an increase in democracy and a decrease in the authority of man over man. The predestined failure of a system of Socialism was often assumed to arise out of the inability of such a society to induce appropriate economic action from the populace. Consequently one would be quite wrong to say that the development of the Soviet state has proved that democratic Socialism would "work." But it has clearly been demonstrated that a collectivist state can exist and function, even under the most difficult circumstances, when it is organized on the basis of command and obedience.

Communists, whether Trotskyists or Stalinists, used to assume that the successful establishment of the Russian state would inevitably be accompanied by the spread of the proletarian revolution in all lands. However, the Soviet régime has long ceased

simply to embody a segment of the revolutionary world proletariat which had succeeded in capturing the great Russian semi-colonial fortress of capitalism and was intent on pursuing the proletariat's main purpose — the extension of that conquest to the rest of the capitalist world. The revolution which, beginning in Russia, was supposed to evolve a classless, stateless world society, has become a single state, Russia. That state is not by any means identical in characteristics with the bourgeois, democratic states of the West; but it nonetheless shares with them many of the essentials and even the trappings of sovereign nationalism.

The Soviet state does not, and indeed could not, deny its pedigree. Quite regardless of the foreign policy it follows, the Communist Parties of all lands will continue to recognize its leadership, invoke its prestige, and seek its aid. The brilliant success of the Russian armies against the Wehrmacht guarantees Soviet power an important rôle in the postwar world. The Communist Parties throughout the world which were faithful to the U.S.S.R. in the period of great tribulation cannot be expected to forego invoking the help of Soviet power in the time of triumph. The Soviet state, similarly, cannot be expected to disavow all kinship and sympathy with Communist Parties in other countries, nor fail to use these parties as an instrument of Soviet Russian foreign policy where opportunity offers.

The relationship between the Soviet state and the Communist Parties of other countries may be expected to be close when there is no conflict between the interests of Soviet Russia as a national state and the interests of any one of the Communist Parties. The Soviet state may even find it more natural to maintain friendly relations with Communist governments than with capitalist governments. This may not always be true, however. In the defeated Axis countries particularly, the Soviet state might conceivably prefer governments from which it would have no compunctions about exacting reparations. Likewise, when internal stability in other countries is to the advantage of Soviet Russia for the sake of trade relations or for some other reason, the interests of Russia as a nation might well override any ideological sympathies. In no case does it appear likely that the interests of Communist Parties in overthrowing capitalist governments would be allowed to take precedence over the national interests of the Soviet state.

The recent decision of the Soviet Government to give prelimi-

nary approval to the plan for an international stabilization fund, involving as it does participation in international economic affairs with capitalist countries, great and small, serves to illustrate the fact that the Soviet state has long passed the stage where there is any feeling of embarrassment about such dealings.

The monopoly of foreign trade which is so appropriate to the Soviet system of a collectivized economy and which has served the Soviet state so well is not at all likely to be given up. Indeed, the Soviet trading monopoly is so integral a part of the economic system as to be inseparable from it. Before the war the effort to achieve as high a degree of economic self-sufficiency as possible dominated the foreign trade policy of Soviet Russia. This may be somewhat relaxed if military considerations no longer seem so compelling; but no great results should be expected from such a development.

Theoretically at least, a collectivized economy with a state monopoly of foreign trade has a powerful advantage in carrying on trade negotiations and bargaining with other countries and their nationals. Participation by Soviet Russia in an international agreement to lower tariffs, for example, would of itself be meaningless, since all the purposes of a tariff from the national point of view can be attained much more directly by the simple decision of the state trading monopoly to buy or sell or not to buy or sell. On the other hand, a state with a collectivized economy normally has no motive, as capitalist countries sometimes do, for trying to sell as much as possible and to buy as little as possible. Furthermore, the development of the Communist Party in Russia from the spearhead of a revolutionary movement into the administrative bureaucracy of a state means that in this field also there is almost no prospect of the foreign trade policy of Soviet Russia being dominated by revolutionary purposes. Consequently, a serious potential barrier to trade between Soviet Russia and capitalistic countries has disappeared.

All things considered, it is correct to conclude that Soviet society has evolved into a state form which has resumed the coloration of Russian nationality. Both in the economic field and in the political field the U.S.S.R. can be expected to act toward capitalistic countries primarily as a dynamic national state, even though still strongly conditioned by its collectivist and authoritarian form.

IS RUSSIA GOING CAPITALIST?

The Soviet Union is heading economically and politically in a direction all its own, neither toward capitalism nor socialism—but toward 'stateism'

By EUGENE LYONS

Editor, "The American Mercury;" author of "Moscow Carrousel," "Assignment In Utopia," "The Red Decade;" United Press correspondent in Moscow, 1928 to 1934

We hear, more and more often, that Soviet Russia is "going capitalist." The American Communist Party, which is a kind of foreign branch office of the Soviet regime, has just come out for private enterprise and has called off attacks on capitalism. In Russia, official economists have revised their doctrines in a spirit more friendly to the capitalist system, though still insisting that their own "socialist" system is "the most progressive, the most advanced" in all history.

Is Soviet Russia in truth going capitalist? What is the actual, functioning economic set-up like? What would it mean to you—a wage earner, farmer or professional man—to live and work in Russia?

Unfortunately, asking such questions is easier than answering them. The difficulty is that there are, as yet, no generally accepted *names* for the Russian economic set-up—at least no names that will carry a clear meaning to American minds.

Take the words socialist and communist. There are differences but, for practical purposes, we can treat them as one. The Soviet people are told that what they've got is socialism. Uncritical foreign admirers repeat this claim as though it were a fact. Yet Russia only faintly resembles the society foreseen by socialist prophets and dreamers.

RUSSIA'S POLITICAL PATH HAS BEEN MISINTERPRETED

The fact is that Russia is not socialist or communist—and never has been. Variations in income and social status are as great as in most other countries; the gap between the best-off and worst-off groups is growing ever wider. New classes, as exclusive and arrogant as the old, have arisen. There is scarcely a trace of political democracy. Despite a paper constitution, Stalin's dictatorship is ruthlessly enforced with all the instruments of police, purges and total propaganda.

To call this "socialism" or "communism" is enough to make Karl

Marx, Eugene V. Debs and even Lenin and Trotsky turn in their graves. But because the Russian set-up is not communist does not mean that it is capitalist. A lot of the confusion on the subject, in fact, grows out of the common assumption that the farther Stalin's country moves away from communism the closer it comes to capitalism as we know it in this land.

Calling the country socialist, as its friends on the Left do, does not make it so. And calling it capitalist, as its friends on the Right are beginning to do, will not make it so. You can redefine a giraffe to make it a horse, and you can redefine capitalism to bring Russia into that category. But there is still the reality under the misleading labels.

Forget for a few minutes whether you like communism or abhor it, whether you believe in capitalism or not. Just look at the facts—economic and political—about Russia.

THEIR SO-CALLED "CAPITALISM" IS NOT AMERICAN VARIETY

What does the average intelligent American mean by capitalism? He means the system that we live under here in the United States: private enterprise in industry, farming, trade, commerce, the professions, with private profits as the number one objective. He means competition, free trade unions, the right to change jobs, businesses, and his place of residence.

In the light of these common-sense essentials, the Russian set-up is decidedly *not* capitalist. By any of these ordinary tests, it is absurd to say that the Soviet nation is "going capitalist." True, there have been changes in the nature of the Soviet economic system every year. To date, they have not brought into being any of the major characteristics of capitalism as we understand it here.

The decisive fact is that economic life in Russia is owned and controlled—lock, stock and barrel—by the government.

Think of a huge private corporation, such as U. S. Steel or General Motors. Assume that it expands its activities to swallow up all other businesses, including farms, the medical and legal profession, all transport, communications and merchandising. Then suppose that 100 per cent of the ownership and control of this supertrust resides in the government. There you have an approximation of what the totalitarian economic state in Russia looks like.

Once you have that picture in mind, you begin to see how shallow and misleading it is to refer to Russia as "capitalist," considering that the United States is the world's most typical capitalist nation.

GOVERNMENT OWNS AND OPERATES ALL INDUSTRY

The Soviet state monopolizes everything, from the smallest newsstand and grocery store to the largest metallurgical plant. Some of the Soviet wholesale and retail trading outfits are called "co-operatives" and outwardly resemble the genuine co-operatives in other countries—the Swedish, for example. But they are wholly controlled and administered by the government.

The same holds true for the so-called "collective farms." These are "co-operatives" in form only. They are centrally controlled and

managed by the state—their every step prescribed from headquarters.

Everybody in Russia works for one employer—the state. Everybody buys everything, except for a very tiny, unimportant private margin, from the state. This is the central economic fact in Russia. None of the revisions in methods and doctrines that have caused the vague talk of a "restoration of capitalism" have touched this core of reality.

RUSSIA IS FARTHER FROM CAPITALISM NOW THAN BEFORE

So far as the governmental-supertrust aspect is concerned, Soviet Russia is farther from capitalism in the American sense than ever before. The reforms are strictly within the framework of a totalitarian state economy. As yet, there is no impressive indication of any reforms that contradict or go outside this framework. Those who profess to see a trend to capitalism are, therefore, fooling themselves and others.

Nor is such a trend to be detected on the political side. The mischief of fostering illusions about a "revived capitalism" in Russia is that it also fosters illusions about the political side of the Soviet regime. Unfortunately, there was not the slightest relaxation of the political dictatorship and the prevailing terror in the years before Russia came into the war; and in the nature of the case, there could be no such relaxation during the war.

Within the framework of the state-monopolized economy, the affairs of the nation and of its people are conducted on a purely money basis. There is nothing new about this. Except in the very first couple of years, when barter was extensively used, it has been true of Soviet

economy at all times. There have always been considerable differences in income. A railroad manager received more than a section hand, an engineer more than a mechanic, the bureau head more than his secretary, a general more than a lieutenant. But until about 1931, the variations were kept within reasonable limits; and in any given trade or profession all wage earners received more or less similar payment.

For the last thirteen years, however, the differentiations have grown greater. Piece work (which is frowned upon by American unions) became the accepted method of payment, so that the more-skilled earned more than the slow-pokes. In order to stimulate output, Stalin introduced a speed-up system, with higher earnings, special bonuses and other inducements for the able and the ambitious. It is primarily this encouragement to personal initiative within the bounds of state monopoly that has caused reports about a revived capitalism.

CLASS DISTINCTIONS EXIST IN THE SOVIET UNION

Class distinctions have been growing in Russia. There is about as much difference in living standards between a bank president and a bank janitor in Russia as in the U. S. A. The upper crust of government officials, police dignitaries, military men and technological experts constitute an *elite* whose superior status can be measured in income, power or both.

Even the growing incentives to personal initiative, however, should not be exaggerated. What a government gives it can take away just as arbitrarily.

It is not generally understood that all Russians, in peace or war, are tied to their jobs or their collective farms. They are not allowed to change employment without official sanction. They are forbidden to move from one city or region to another without permission of the authorities. The same authorities can assign them to new work in the most distant places, can revise wages, alter prices and fix working conditions. The trade unions, being 100 per cent under control of the same state, are just another branch of government. Striking, of course, is treated as a rebellion against the government, and is punishable by death.

Suppose you were a metalworker or stenographer, a bricklayer or mine foreman in Soviet Russia. Outwardly, your life would not seem much different than elsewhere. You would be receiving wages according to your skill, just as in America, and would live according to your income. You would bank your savings and would be urged to buy government bonds that pay handsome interest. If you made a valuable invention, the state might reward you for your good work with a decoration, a large sum of money or both.

It is conceivable, though most unlikely, that you might earn and save enough money to retire and live on it. But none of this affects the over-all economic system, because you could not launch a business, do any private financing, or invest your money in going concerns.

FARMS OPERATE ON A SHARECROPPING BASIS

If you were a farmer (peasant is the European word for it), you would then be working on a "collective farm," in just about the way that peasants in other countries work on a landlord's estate. The farm would be operating on what is, in effect, a sharecropping basis. Only such crops as the government ordered could be planted on your farm.

Of the total produce, the government would take away the lion's share in payment for the use of its machinery, for taxes, seed credits and other charges. What is left would then be purchased by the government at prices of its own determination. The resultant income would then be divided among all members of the collective, not share and share alike as most foreigners suppose, but in strict accordance with the amount and kind of work performed. Some peasants earn five or ten times as much as others on the same collective farm.

What if you are a professional man, like a doctor, a lawyer or opera star? You would then be working on salary for the state hospitals, state theaters or lawyers' collectives. But you would probably be allowed to do a certain amount of individual work, such as visiting private patients for a fee, giving a concert for some organization's meeting, or giving counsel to an individual in trouble with the law. There have been ups and downs in this respect, and it is in line with the general encouragement to personal

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IS RUSSIA GOING CAPITALIST? (CONTINUED)

initiative within the "socialist" framework that this kind of extra-curricular activity has been growing.

Now, if the Russian set-up is not socialism, communism or capitalism, what is it? There we collide with the difficulty mentioned at the outset: there are, as yet, no explicit names to sum up this hybrid system.

Most economic students are inclined to call it "state capitalism." They point out that the Italian system under Fascism and the Nazi system in Germany—because they retain large chunks of the conventional capitalist kind of ownership and private profit-taking—represent "limited state capitalism." The Soviet economy, by the same token, is absolute or extreme "state capitalism." The label, however, is unfortunate. It may lead some Americans to suppose that it is related to private capitalism, whereas it is the direct opposite.

RUSSIAN SYSTEM IS "STATEISM"

Other observers, myself among them, prefer to describe the Soviet set-up as "stateism" or "state feudalism." The government plays the role of the feudal lord, except that its feudal holdings include industrial as well as landed "estates." The workers on the farms, in offices, mines and factories are tied to their tasks, wholly at the disposal of the "feudal master" in approximately the same way as the serf of old.

But whatever name future historians will settle on to depict the unique society that has evolved in Russia, it is certainly not yet capitalism. There are no clear signs that it is veering in the capitalist direction. If the trends of the last few years continue, we may expect to see more differentiation in incomes and living standards. We may look for even clearer class distinctions, since economic inequality is reflected in social inequality. The essential framework—the government supertrust covering practically all economic effort—and is likely to remain. It is this economic monopoly on which the power and privileges of the new ruling class and *elite* group rests. In the final analysis, Russia cannot go capitalist in any true sense without going politically democratic, and it is farther than ever from any such change.

RUSSIA'S POSTWAR AIMS

BY RALPH PARKER

Moscow by wireless

THE Soviet Union's Foreign Commissariat, sprawling along two sides of Vorovsky Square, is somewhat grim in appearance. Inside, the broad corridors and lofty apartments have a substantial air matched by solid, monumental furniture. In this thoroughly European building, Soviet foreign policy is developed. Outside, diplomats park their cars and pass through guarded, glass-paneled doors. Once only a trickle of diplomats passed through those doors. Those were the days when the appearance of old Rolls-Royces in the capital's streets caused heads to turn curiously. But almost every month since 1942, the Teheran plane brings in representatives of yet another government which wants first-hand accounts of the Soviet Union.

But, what is the Soviet Union's foreign policy? How does the Union envisage relations with the rest of Europe? Eighteen months ago, I put the last question to a very important member of the Soviet government.

He corrected me sharply when I suggested that Russia might want to exercise predominant power in the affairs of Europe. "An equal voice," he said with great emphasis. "We mean to have an equal voice in European affairs."

That statement was made at a most significant moment. Russian generals were drawing up final plans to envelop von Paulus' armies before Stalingrad. General Montgomery had just broken through Rommel's positions in Egypt. Stalin was soon to make the friendliest comments to that date on his allies' war effort. The Anglo–Soviet alliance was five months old. It was the turning point of the war.

> Russia's foreign moves have aroused all kinds of fears and conjectures, but they fit into a neatly consistent policy as this Moscow correspondent pieces it together

Yet the Red Army at Stalingrad was then nearly eight hundred miles from the frontiers of Rumania, and the Germans were much nearer Iran than the Russians were to Poland. The Red Army had in places been driven back almost to the frontiers of European Russia. Now, have the spectacular changes on the eastern front since then made Russia desirous of asking for more than that "equal voice" in European affairs?

The answer to this, as to all questions on Soviet foreign policy, is likely to be confusing, unless one clearly realizes that Russia will make no move in European foreign policy if she thinks such a move will prolong the war one day.

As Moscow sees it, a protracted war means a Europe starved and terrorized. Germany, which has lost the Ukrainian granary, will squeeze from France, Holland, Czechoslovakia, and Hungary every ounce of grain and vegetable oil it can lay its hands on. If the war is prolonged sufficiently to enable the Germans to collect this year's harvest, Moscow foresees for those countries bordering on Germany a fate perhaps more terrible than that suffered by the people of occupied Russia. Germany's leaders have made it plain that before their own people go hungry dwellers in occupied lands will starve.

We need not look for humane motives in Russia's calculation, although perhaps nowhere is sympathy for the suffering European peoples so strong as in Moscow. But the fundamental aim of Russia's long-range strategy is that order shall prevail in liberated Europe. She believes that if

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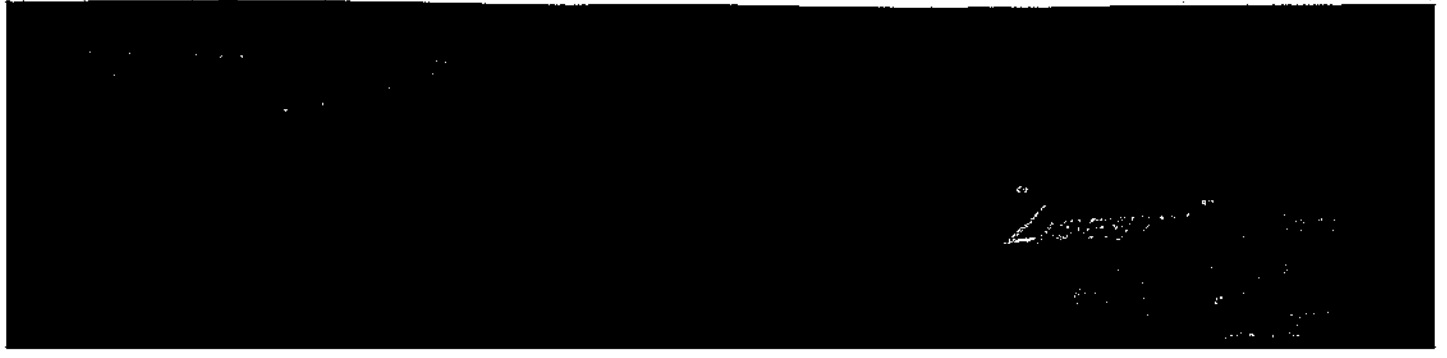

RUSSIA'S POSTWAR AIMS

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the war goes on much longer the task of restoring and maintaining that order will be so great that it may retard her great plans of reconstruction at home.

If the Kremlin had presented unreasonable terms to Finland, or had told Rumania that her war guilt was as great as Germany's and demanded complete overthrow of the existing regime, the Soviet Union could have been justly accused of risking lengthening the war. When the Allies' delegates visited Moscow last fall, some feared that the Soviet government would adopt an uncompromising attitude toward Hitler's satellites. They left Moscow with their fears justly allayed. Moscow's terms to Finland, its patience with the Finns since the terms were rejected, and its attitude to Rumania as expressed in Molotov's declaration of April 2 are directly in line with the decisions reached in Moscow last October.

This thread running through all the Soviet's decisions on foreign policy—the desire to ease the path to victory—was also seen when Russia pressed for the broadening of Badoglio's government. The Russian delegation to the Mediterranean Consultative Commission was shocked at conditions found in the rear of Allied armies.

AN account of contemporary Italy was published in the fortnightly, War and the Working Class. Nikolai Marev spent the winter traveling in southern Italy and Sicily, visiting most important centers. An acute observer, he paints a picture of a people confused, aimless, ill-fed and undisciplined, of a land prostrate and contributing almost nothing to the Allies' war [illegible] in Italian cities. He wrote, "I would answer yes and no. Insofar as there are plenty of men in uniform about, military vehicles and traces of war damage, the answer is yes. But if it's a question of what the people are talking about, how they eat, sleep, and spend the days and nights . . . it is certainly no. . . . In the big cities, life was moving clumsily and awkwardly along—a life far from the realities of the great struggle against the Germans."

Marev describes how Naples danced and sang under air raids. He tells of inadequate air-raid shelters, of an Italian army, ill-clad and undisciplined, wandering aimlessly on the roads and retarding the flow of the Allies' transport. He saw speculation and black-marketing in food, basic products, and fertilizers. The population, wandering in search of subsistence, was swept by wild rumors. Skilled workers were dissipating their energies in petty commerce, selling tangerines, nuts and trinkets.

In Russia the reality of war pervades every recess of national life. All this aimlessness filled the Russian observer with the sense that something must be done to make Italy's contribution to the war effort a valid one. Although Marev's impressions do not bear an official stamp, their publication in the influential War and the Working Class gives them a certain authority. Their effect on public opinion was profound. Russians compared the conditions described in Italy with those which Soviet power creates in liberated territory. The comparison was detrimental to those Allied organizations which are responsible for making southern Italy count in the war effort. The articles reminded Italians that the main task is to fight the Germans, and that victory would solve many of the problems on which they are now frittering away their energies.

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Publishing the article was a bold gesture, or Russia thereby assumed a certain responsibility for future events in Italy. Some may have thought: Russia would leave the Allies to stew in their own juice. If those suspicions were harbored, the Kremlin's Italian policy proved them unjust. Far from isolating herself from the situation or aggravating its difficulties by encouraging the Left Wing party exclusively, Russia used her authority to speed the Allied war effort in Italy. Why?

FIRST and foremost, Russia is proud of the authority her government and army have won among people of all parties, save the blindly reactionary. She means to use that authority to advance the date of victory. Second, Russia's leaders recognize the value of the Allies' Italian campaign in the total war. The expressions of disappointment at the check short of Rome, which have appeared in the British and American press, have not been echoed here. Third, Russia doesn't want future relations with her allies to be spoiled by the suspicion that she is using her influence on the Left Wing to spread revolutionary doctrine. Recent developments in Soviet foreign policy will make it difficult for any radical Left Wing group to convince London and Washington that it has Moscow's support.

Does this mean that the Soviet Union has abandoned hope of a democratic Europe? That the defeat of Fascism is an end in itself? Hardly so. A people who have fought and worked for a stake in their nation's future, and to whom defeat would mean the loss of everything gained will hardly oppose any advance of democratic principles.

When Imperial Russia crumbled and Lenin wielded power, socialist Russia's paramount problem was self-defense. With anguish, Russia's leaders saw the historic strategic zone in the west overrun by Polish armies, the division of the Ukrainian people perpetuated, and Leiningrad dangerously hemmed in by small lands with aspirations to independence.

For a period before the first Five-Year Plan was put into operation, Moscow hoped that the struggle of the Soviet masses for work and bread would win sufficient sympathy abroad to prevent any attempt at organized attack on the U. S. S. R. But the prophetic voice of the poet, Vladimir Myakovsky, was already popularizing the idea of vigilance against Fascism, and warning those who had Lenin in their heads that they must also have guns in their hands.

As the Soviet Union became more powerful, producing steel to forge into cannon and grain to feed the workers crowding into industrial centers, its diplomats were busy trying to isolate Fascism and, when this failed, to divide the lands where Fascist tendencies prevailed.

But again and again Soviet spokesmen found that they were speaking to deaf ears. Russia found, between her frontiers and Germany, only one power which was apparently aware of impending attack. By an alliance with Czechoslovakia, she saw a chance of outflanking the German armies should they strike eastward across Poland. Moscow shrewdly calculated that the Wehrmacht wouldn't dare attack the Soviet Union while the Bohemian fortress held. As Moscow saw it, the situation in the summer of 1938 favored those lands that were threatened by a resurgent Germany. A war then—a war wherein the Czechoslovakian people were ready to fight, even in the front line—could have been won if France had honored her pledges to Prague. The anger which Munich caused in Moscow derived from two aspects of that shameful agreement. The Red Army saw its strategic plans torn to shreds and, to add smart to the wound, the word was given out that Russia was unwilling to fulfill her part of the Soviet-Czech alliance.

When Munich was followed by the inevitable results—Prague's occupation and the seizure by Germany and Hungary of all the approaches to Carpathian passes—the Soviet leaders were as badly placed strategically as they had been in the early days of the revolution. This was made plain to the Anglo-French mission which visited Moscow in the summer of 1939. The Russians said that their resistance to Germany could succeed only if the Red Army were given facilities to advance westward to meet the shock. If the British and French governments had correctly estimated the Red Army's strength, would they still have found it impossible to prevail on Poland and the Baltic states to permit this strategic operation? Was not the reason for the breakdown of negotiations a profound underestimation of Russia's true strength and, perhaps, an overestimation of their own?

The expulsion of the Soviet Union from the League of Nations in December, 1939, deepened the impression in Moscow that many lands preferred to see Russia rather than Germany go down.

THE men at the head of the Soviet Union now are those who led her through that anxious period before the war. And these leaders believe that the foreign policy they pursued before the war was the right one. Thus, the Soviet Union's postwar aims approximate those of prewar days: security on the western frontiers, a defensive alliance with Czechoslovakia and Poland, good relations with the Western democracies, including France, and vigilance against any attempt of European powers to form a combination against her. But the all-important difference is Russia's intention to build up a system of collective security.

Russia believes that no one will again underestimate her power, and hopes that dread of her interference in the internal affairs of other lands will rapidly fade away. She has welcomed an alliance for war and peace with Britain. In public statements regarding the future of Poland and Czechoslovakia, and the Finnish and Rumanian situations, Russian leaders have made it plain that the Soviet policy is one of non-intervention.

However, any British or American statesman who arouses the suspicion that he is seeking an exclusively Anglo-American solution of European problems will risk provoking a demonstration of Russian disfavor. Advocates of a Central European federation will be reminded that such ideas are too close to the *Cordon Sanitaire* to be approved here.

As regards her Western neighbors Russia hopes that never again will Germany or any other nation be able to maneuver Slav against Slav. If the all-Slav committee can foster Slavic unity, it will have fulfilled its mission, for then the Germanic Drive toward the East can never recur. In Moscow's opinion, the Slav nations have a dangerous tendency to fragmentation, which makes them easy prey

for the Germans. Only the Germans can gain from a situation where Ukrainian is dominated by Pole, Croat by Serb, and Slovak by Czech. And Russia will countenance no system where the Germans stand to gain.

Russia believes it to her interest that the Slav nations should be strong. A weak Poland, events of the past twenty-five years have shown, is a danger to Russia. A Czechoslovakia on which a Munich can be forced, a Yugoslavia which, through internal disunity, can be toppled, a Bulgaria so internally corrupted that its rulers are forced to lead it into adventurous policies, are dangerous to Russia. If they are strong internally, these lands, Russia believes, can never be turned against her or go down one by one before the Germans.

Measures to strengthen her Western neighbors take precedence, in Russian postwar policy, because this concerns her security. Better economic relations with the Soviet Union can certainly help these countries. For instance, Lodz, the Manchester of Poland, need have no recurrence of unemployment when its textile industry begins to export to the Ukraine in exchange for the iron which the Ukraine can send to Poland. Czechoslovakia need no longer depend on overseas markets or on Germany's importations, when Russian markets are open to her. There will be Russian fertilizers for the barren soil of Bosnia and Montenegro, and tractors for Bulgaria.

Fundamentally, the problem of good relations between Russia and her principal allies over the European question is one of confidence. Convince Russia that the British and United States interests in the lands which affect her security will not weaken the Union's defenses; convince her allies that the Soviet Union's interest in these lands is to see them strong and truly independent. Then there need be no serious obstacle to the development of fruitful relations. If Russia were convinced that her Western allies would not again permit a strong expansionist Germany, and if the bogy of a Russian-German alliance were finally exorcised from Western minds, long peace would be assured in Europe. The past has left a legacy of mutual suspicion. If it remains, the future can be no less grim than the past, and the lives of European children will be even more tragic than those of their parents.

THE END

Russia's Try to Limit Gold Share Poses New Issue in Fund Talks

Delegates Stress Her Inability to Export in Early Post-War Period—Others Say She Is Secretive on Reserves

By JOHN H. CRIDER

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

BRETTON WOODS, N. H., July 6—Delegates to the financial conference struggled tonight with a serious problem raised by Russia regarding the amount of her gold contribution to the proposed international monetary fund.

Soviet insistence that Russia could not afford to part with as much gold as present draft plans of the fund would provide set in motion today discussions concerned with several possible solutions to this problem. One suggestion was to increase the fund by possibly half a billion dollars.

The Russians look on their gold as the principal if not the only important means they will have to obtain foreign purchasing power in the period immediately following an armistice. They state that Russia will be unable to do much if any exporting of commodities or manufactured products and that the devastation there will surpass that of any other nation.

As one of the world's largest gold producers, probably second only to the Union of South Africa, Russia would be required under the present draft to put up $250,000,000 in gold.

Under the formula currently discussed Russia would obtain access to $100 of foreign exchange for every $25 in gold she put up without drawing upon the fund's elastic provisions which permit temporary use of exchange in the amount of 100 per cent above a country's quota.

Amid the major problem of the confernece some delegates are asking whether Russia, for years secretive about her gold reserves and gold production, would make such data available to the fund.

This involves not only Russia, but other countries as well, for one of the principal changes to result from putting the international monetary fund into effect would be "to bring into the daylight," as Lord Keynes said at his press conference today, the traditionally dark actions of central banks.

While there seemed to be every reason to fear that the Russians might insist upon their customary secrecy about gold reserves and production, important Soviet sources indicated today that Russia probably would make her gold figures public if the fund should go into operation as a truly international institution for stabilizing currencies.

Citing past trade rivalries and war necessities for keeping such information secret, these Soviet sources stated that the reasons for secrecy would no longer exist.

The question of making trade and reserve figures publicly available has an important connection with the trouble the conference is having over the matter of sanctions, or means to enforce such economic policy changes as the fund's board may deem in the interest of the world as a whole.

The British delegates, in their effort to permit nothing to develop here which would in any way tie the hands of their Government on domestic policies, have been working for as much elasticity in the fund as can be obtained, while others, notably the Canadians, incline to the view that the fund should have "some teeth."

This argument runs head on into the blunt fact of sovereignty, involving the unwillingness of any nation to surrender its ultimate right to make decisions for itself.

Therefore, because the funds appeals to world opinion through its reports and recommendations will probably be about the only real power it possesses, great importance attaches to those of its provisions which require full disclosure of such financial data as may be pertinent to trade balances.

This is a clipping from page 9 of the New York Times for July 7, 1944
Clipped at the Seat of Government.

RUSSIAN COLOSSUS

(An Editorial)

ALLIED military men recognize the Russian offensive as the biggest thing that has happened in the European war. In the number of men and machines involved, in the length of line and speed of advance, in the size of Nazi losses, and in potential, this offensive is historic. While Americans and Britons are naturally more interested in the progress of their own forces on the Normandy front, they are not unaware of the larger front in eastern Europe.

Political implications are no less sweeping than the military. Russian primacy in eastern Europe will be one of the bed-rock facts of the post-war world. From military victory she will emerge incomparably the strongest land power in the world. As such her influence in international affairs will be second only to that of the United States, the largest industrial, sea and air power.

The rise of this new colossus is a stabilizing force in that it probably ends in this century any chance of lone German domination of Europe and the Middle East. But it can be a disruptive force in the sense that the new giant is an uncertain factor—will this power be used for good or ill, and how?

* * *

As the Red armies plunge into Poland and Romania, this question becomes practical and immediate.

There is as yet no adequate assurance that Stalin's statesmanship in that area will be equal to his military success. But there is somewhat more hope than a few months ago. American correspondents with the Red army in Romania report little or no interference with local autonomy. Tho the Polish-Russian dispute is still unsettled, since Premier Mikolajczyk's visit to Washington there are some signs that these Slavic neighboring nations are coming to understand that their future security depends on mutual co-operation.

That, in turn, raises the German question. Failure of Poland and Russia to get together would be an invitation to future German militarism. What is Stalin's German policy? Does he want a weak or a strong post-war Germany? Does he want a demilitarized Germany to function as a peaceful part of a united Europe? Or does he fear a strong Europe, and want to make Germany a semi-satellite or junior partner of Russia in the domination of Europe—a Moscow version of the old Junker plan for a Russian-German alliance? There are hints, but nothing more, that Stalin may prefer a united and healthy Europe in which a peaceful Germany could earn an honorable tho not a dominant position.

Another fear is that Stalin will try to communize Europe. But the recent profitable trend for Russia has been toward expanding nationalism, rather than revival of the earlier Red plots to revolutionize other countries. Russian imperialism is probably a more potent force than the nominally defunct Communist International.

Also, Americans and others wonder what role Russia will play in the Orient. Will Stalin make world deals with the colonial powers? Or will he co-operate with the United States and China for progressive self-government in Asia and the Indies along Philippine lines? Or will he seek balance of power thru alliance with a puppet Japan? Here again those closest to the situation have hopes of Moscow acting with Washington.

The net of all this is that Russia looms ever larger on the military and political horizons, that she apparently is generally friendly toward the United States, but that Russian post-war world policy is still unformed, or at least unknown to others.

Wash. Daily News
July 6, 19[illegible]
p. 1

PEACE BODY TALKS DELAYED BY SOVIET

Stalin Objects to Signing Post-War Plans Now and Balks at Parley With China

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

WASHINGTON, July 5—The exploratory conversations between representatives of the United States, Britain, Russia and China on the formation of a world organization to enforce the peace have been delayed because of their failure to reach agreement on questions of approach and procedure.

Evidently the differences among the great powers are not serious and the discussions will be held, probably in August, but it now appears doubtful that they will be held as early as intended or in the form intended when Secretary of State Cordell Hull issued his invitation to Britain, Russia and China last month.

The United States and Britain favor the preparation and exchange of papers outlining the general principles of the world organization they have in mind before meeting in Washington to start the exploratory conversations. Both countries have been prepared to exchange these papers for several weeks and it was hoped that the papers would have been exchanged and the conversations started by this time.

The Soviet Government, however, is said to have hesitated to commit

Continued on Page 7

PEACE BODY TALKS DELAYED BY SOVIET

Continued From Page 1

its post-war peace plans to paper ahead of time, and while Marshal Stalin has indicated his willingness to allow his representatives to take part in conversations with the officials of the State Department and the British Foreign Office, he has evidently insisted that the Soviet officials should not engage in conversations with the representatives of China.

In the past the State Department and the British Foreign Office have fully understood Marshal Stalin's unwillingness to participate in conversations with China because Russia is not at war with Japan, but it was hoped here that Moscow would make a distinction between conversations relating to the war and conversations relating to the organization of machinery to keep the peace after war.

The Russians are said to have insisted that they cannot enter into multi-lateral discussions with the Chinese, so there will probably be two sets of discussions, as at the Cairo and Teheran conferences, the first with the United States and Britain talking to China, and the second with the United States and Britain discussing the peace problem with the representative of Russia.

The conversations, when they are held, will be conducted first by "experts" from the various foreign offices. The British delegation will be headed by Sir Alexander Cadogan, permanent Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs since 1938, and Hubert Miles Gladwyn Jebb, chairman of the British Government's inter-departmental Post-Hostilities Committee. Neither the Chinese nor the Russian delegations have been chosen though the Chinese representatives at the monetary conference at Bretton Woods, N. H., may take part in the peace discussions.

Until the Russians do decide that they want to put the broad principles of their peace plans on paper, it is doubtful that Washington and London will "exchange papers" on their plans. Both Governments want to avoid the impression that they are in any way reaching agreements with each other before the official conversations begin, and for that reason little is expected to be done until the officials of the four Governments convene in Washington, perhaps next month.

This is a clipping from page 1 of the New York Times for July 6, 1944
Clipped at the Seat of Government.

RUSSIA'S ECONOMY TO REMAIN 'CLOSED'

Article Reveals Plan to Enter World Markets in Post-War Drive to Improve Plant.

HIGH EFFICIENCY SOUGHT

Planned Direction Declared to Be Economic Necessity for Socialist Society

By WILL LISSNER

In the post-war period Soviet Russia intends to continue as a closed economy, sealed off from crises produced by competition in the world economy, but taking part in the world market as buyer and seller to take advantage of the international division of labor in order to build up as rapidly as possible her technological plant.

As buyer and seller, Russia hopes to have a favorable bargaining position by achieving high efficiency in production, keeping production costs at a minimum, and driving to accumulate means of production and to establish new industries by subsidy and by maintaining reserves of commodities as a protection against monopolistic "squeezes."

This is made clear in the article in Pod Znamenem Marksizma (Under the Banner of Marxism), reporting the recasting of Soviet economic theory on the basis of concepts contributed by Premier Joseph Stalin, directed by the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist party. The text of this article, in an English translation made for the American Embassy in Moscow, has just become available here.

The scope of Russia's post-war hopes provides some clue to the question perplexing American business men whether Russia's purchases here in the immediate post-war years will amount to $100,000,000 a year, as some American Government officials predict, or $1,000,000,000, as some visiting Russian Government officials indicate.

Prof. L. A. Leontieff and the committee of Soviet economists who collaborated with him in preparing this document argue in it that the collectivization of agriculture and the industrialization of the economy were "laws" of the socialist economy, just as the maximization of profit is a "law" of capitalist economy.

"Today's students are the cadres of tomorrow's Soviet intelligentsia, whose experience it will be to work in an epoch of the greatest changes, of extraordinary rapid developments, in an epoch exceptionally complicated in the interweaving of economic and political problems," the Soviet economists write.

"The key to the understanding of the character of the economic laws of socialism is to be found in the rich experience of the practice of socialist construction, which is summed up and theoretically generalized in the works of Lenin and Stalin, and in party decisions."

These laws explain and make clear Soviet "lines" and policies, they say:

"To deny the existence of economic laws under socialism means to surrender to the most vulgar voluntarism, which amounts to replacing an orderly process of the development of production by arbitrariness, chance, chaos. It is natural that with such an approach to the matter any criterion of the correctness of this or that line, of this or that policy, is lost and that there is lost the understanding of the conformity to law of various phenomena in our social development."

Planned Direction Stressed

These laws, the economists continue, are consciously applied and utilized by the Soviet State.

"Socialist society sets as its task the active changing of the conditions which were bequeathed to it by the past * * * in conformity with the basic task of constructing socialism and of the further movement to the higher phase, communism," the Soviet statement notes.

Pointing out that "the planned direction of economy is an unqualified economic necessity for socialist society," and that "under capitalism the planned direction of national economy is unrealizable, because capitalism is based on private property in the means of production," they say that Socialist Russia is at a level of development of productive forces sufficiently high for society as a whole to take these forces in hand and direct them, but not high enough for the realization of that high productivity of labor, that abundance of products, necessary to satisfy all demand.

Explaining that labor must be paid according to its performance, and that prices must be based on social costs of production and "fixed with certain deviations from their value in accordance with various tasks facing the Soviet State, and also in dependence upon the quantity of commodities of given types which, with a given scope of production, and allowing for the needs of society, can be placed on sale," they go on:

"Between the organized market, which is in the hands of the Soviet State, and the uncontrolled market, a struggle takes place. In order to command the whole market completely, in order to enjoy the possibility of completely dictating prices on the market, the Soviet State must have at its disposal tremendous masses of commodities, tremendous reserves of all types of commodities."

By defining the private sales of different types of individual Soviet citizens, the Russian economists make clear that when they refer to "the uncontrolled market," they mean the competitive market for consumers' goods within Russia, as opposed to the state-organized market for producers' and consumers' goods. The same struggle between markets takes place, however, in the case of the world market.

Under "conditions of the development of the economy without

crises" made possible by collective property in the overwhelming majority of enterprises, "the Soviet State can carry on production proceeding from the basic interests of socialism," not subordinate to the capitalist law that "it is impossible to develop a branch of production which at first operates at a loss and which does not bring in profit," they say.

Quoting from Marx, they say that surplus labor not only will not diminish in Socialist Russia but will even increase, to provide for social needs, for the formation of a social reserve fund for insurance against accident, natural calamities, etc., and for the fund of accumulation for expansion of production, and for "a gigantic work of construction in the U. S. S. R." Socialist society, they declare, "is faced by tasks of gigantic proportions, the solution of which is inconceivable without the expenditure of surplus labor by each worker, peasant and intellectual in the Soviet Union."

In making this document available in part in the United States, in spite of the importance which the authors said explicitly they attached to it as a weapon for winning the war and solving post-war problems, American Communists operated in a curious manner.

Science and Society, the Marxist quarterly, which is controlled by the official Communist group, allotted to the translator only eleven pages, although the same issue of the magazine contains a seventeen-page article on "The Social Thought of Diderot," and an eighteen-page article on "The Trade Unions and the Populist Party," a study in late nineteenth century social history.

Henry F. Mins Jr., Science and Society's translator, omitted every reference that might explain the background or the significance of the article, or might indicate that it followed a "directive" of the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist party for the "recasting" of the whole work of economists as scientists as well as the guidance of teachers. In a letter to the editor of THE NEW YORK TIMES published April 13 he described the article as "a picture of current Soviet economic teaching," although presumably he had read the whole of it in Russian, since he referred the readers of his letter to the Russian article.

In his letter to the editor Mr. Mins wrote that the writer "and his headline writer leave the impression that 'Communist dogmas have been basically revised' and that 'the revised doctrines' will remove ideological obstacles to collaboration between Russia's socialist economy and the capitalist economies of the United States and the British Commonwealth."

In a section of their study which was not published in translation by Mr. Mins the Soviet economists wrote:

"The appearance of the 'Short Course in the History of the Soviet Union,' that encyclopedia of fundamental knowledge in the sphere of Marxist-Leninist theory, armed all forces of scientific workers, including economists, and gave them a model and an example for the recasting of their whole work. By a directive of the Central Committee of our party a great work has been carried out toward the creation of a 'Short Course' in political economy. In the course of this work the Central Committee of the party gave a number of most important formulations of policy and guidance regarding the most basic problems of political economy."

After this statement the Russian economists went into the problem of defining the subject matter of the science. Later on, after dealing with the problem of primitive communism and the theory of economic development, they set out differences which they see between the monopolistic capitalism and the imperialism of the "bourgeois democratic countries" and of "fascist countries," and between the "elementary democratic liberties" of the Anglo-American regime and "the most unenlightened reaction" of the Hitlerite regime.

This they base on the Lenin-Stalin theory and the Lenin-Stalin analysis, and close by quoting Stalin's refutation of the contention that the Anglo-American regime is a "plutocratic regime." As they remark, quoting Stalin, "It is only necessary to compare these two sets of facts in order to understand."

Mr. Mins said that comparison of the news article "with the article in Science and Society reveals many inaccuracies, misinterpretations and even interpolations." No inaccuracies in direct quotation or interpolations within direct quotations—which are the only findings not based on opinion that can be established by comparison—were found. As for misinterpretation, an editorial writer reported in the editorial columns on April 13: "We can only reply that the translator himself seems to have misconceived the article's real significance."

Comparison of Mr. Mins' translation with the one that was made for the American Embassy, however, revealed several inaccuracies and many departures from translating practices commonly followed in scholarly publications.

He presented the article as "a translation of the essential parts of an article in Pod Znamenem Markxizma," whereas in one place he digested the text in his own language without indicating that he was doing so. In another he rewrote a paragraph to tone down its reference to Stalin and his genius as the contributor of the theory, admitting only that "Stalin contributed a great deal to this theory." In another he omitted an explicit reference to Trotskyism-Bukharinism as the source of the idea that economic law does not operate under socialism.

Referring to the collective farmer, he translated "his personal, auxiliary farm" as "his personal auxiliary income." He rendered "the age-old opposition between intellectual and physical work" as "the old opposition between mental and physical work." He gave "the distinction between physical and intellectual work still exists" as "differences continue to exist."

Other Changes Found

He translated "Socialist management" as "Socialist economy"; "cost of the commodity" as "value of the commodities" (although this idea is contradicted in the second sentence following); "a cost expression" as "in value form"; "unbusinesslike" as "waste," and "cost accounting" as "economic bookkeeping." He omitted a phrase which would have identified the cost accounting as social accounting, that is, cost accounting from a social point of view.

Although his aim, he said in his letter to THE TIMES, was to further collaboration between Russia and her Anglo-American allies, he omitted all reference to the Lenin-Stalinist theory and analysis of the difference between the imperialisms and the internal regimes of Russia's allies and those of the common enemy, the Nazi-Fascist countries.

This difference was expounded publicly, in almost identical terms, many months earlier by Earl Browder, general secretary of the Communist Political Association, and it would have been news, to the general public as well as to scholars, that it was being taught to all Soviet students of economics. This analysis and theory was declared by Maurice Hindus, in a Moscow dispatch in The New York Herald Tribune of April 18, to be a "new thing," an "addition" to Stalinism and Marxism.

Mr. Mins indicated that he was making an omission from the text only in a single place, marking it by points (. . .), a typographical symbol identical with the three asterisks (* * *) used in THE TIMES style. Actually he made from one to five omissions on each page, with the exception of a single one.

Press Comment Noted

The Daily Worker, official Communist newspaper, of April 4 revealed that the central committee of the Soviet Communist party had something to do with the document, but did not say what. "The article in 'Science and Society' clarifies some of the concepts of Soviet, or socialist, economy," it said, but it hit as a "horrendous conclusion" the idea that "a revolutionary change in the official economic philosophy of Soviet Russia * * * has just been propounded."

The New Masses, Communist weekly journal, of April 18 derided the idea that "this is nothing less than 'a sweeping change in Marxian economic dogma' and 'a revolution in the official economic philosophy of the Soviet Union,'" and asserted that "this article, written by a number of Soviet economists, is designed to correct certain defects in teaching economics."

The New Republic, independent

Socialist and liberal journal, reported on April 17 that "the latter [the Soviet economist] did not contemplate 'a revolutionary change in the official economic philosophy of Soviet Russia,' * * * but had the much more limited objective of revising the teaching of economics in Russian schools, especially on the elementary level, which was felt to have several defects." It said, however, that the Russian report tried to work out a law of value and give new explanations of phenomena.

With the writers of the statement talking about a "recasting" of the science, a term used in economics to denote the emergence of a school of thought, Ralph Parker, then Moscow correspondent of THE TIMES, and Maurice Hindus, Moscow correspondent of The Herald Tribune, interviewed unnamed Russian economic authorities. These Russian spokesmen reported, according to THE TIMES dispatch published April 17 and The Herald Tribune of April 18, that there was nothing ~~new in the~~ ideas, except that Mr. Hindus noted the new theory of imperialism.

This is a clipping from page_____ of the New York Times for

Clipped at the Seat of Government.

Russians Set Up Council To Deal With All Churches

By Cable to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

MOSCOW, July 1 — The Soviet Government has established a council for conducting its relations with leaders of the various religious faiths in Russia. The Government's representative on the council is Ivan V. Poliansky.

The Christian faiths included within the scope of the council's work are the Armenian, Gregorian, Roman Catholic, Greek Catholic and Protestant. Other faiths named are Mohammedan, Jewish and Buddhist, as well as sects of those faiths.

This is a clipping from page 10 of the New York Times for

Clipped at the Seat of Government.

SOVIETS' REVISIONS OF MARX VERIFIED

Text of Moscow Document Shows Changes Even Greater Than Reported Earlier

TENETS MODIFIED IN 1942

New Teachings on Economics Remove Ideological Bars to Allied Collaboration

By WILL LISSNER

An English translation made for the United States Embassy in Moscow of the text of the study in Pod Znamenem Marksizma (Under the Banner of Marxism), to which attention was called in a news article in THE NEW YORK TIMES of April 2 reporting that Marxist economic theories as they had been officially taught in Soviet Russia have been basically revised, reached New York yesterday.

The text disclosed that Soviet economic theorists had gone even further in revising economic theory, and in removing ideological obstacles to collaboration between Russia's socialist economy and the capitalist economies of Russia's democratic allies, the United States and the British Commonwealth, than has been indicated in the condensed version of the document printed in the Spring issue of Science and Society, New York Marxist quarterly.

In an attempt to divide Socialist Russia from her Western allies, German Nazi and Italian Fascist radio propagandists, in broadcasts beamed to Russia, have harped on two themes, that the economies of the United States and Britain were "capitalist," that is, exploitative; and that their democratic forms of government were "plutocracies," or, as the broadcasters put it, "pluto-democracies" or spurious democracies.

The text shows that as early as 1942, when some sections of American and British opinion still held to the fear that the Russians would deny full collaboration to the Western allies in the assault on Hitler in Europe, theoretical revisions of Marxism were introduced in Russian universities, higher educational institutions and organs of popular culture to combat the Nazi-Fascist propaganda line and lay a firm basis for collaboration among the great anti-Hitlerite powers.

Omitted Section Is Given

In a section of the document completely omitted from Science and Society's condensed version, new emphasis is given to the theory of the progressive development of capitalist economies as a whole under democratic institutions, and to democracy as a distinguishing feature of the social structure of "bourgeois democratic countries" (the United States and England), contrasted with that of the fascist countries. In this section, Professor L. A. Leontieff and his associates write:

"Under present conditions, under conditions of the great patriotic war of the Soviet people against the German fascist usurpers, themes devoted to the monopolistic stage of capitalism, to imperialism, acquire special significance.

"In the period of the World War of 1914-18, Lenin pointed out that it was impossible clearly to define the character of this war without being grounded in the fundamental problem, the problem of the economic nature of imperialism.

"To have a full and profound understanding of the righteous, liberating character of the war of the Soviet Union and its Allies against Hitlerite Germany it is very important to be armed with the Lenin-Stalin theory of imperialism in general and the Lenin-Stalin analysis of the predatory, brutal nature of German imperialism in particular.

"In the process of teaching, it is necessary to point out the distinguishing peculiarities of the monopolistic stage of capitalism, to characterize its fundamental symptoms, to indicate its historical position as the eve of the socialist revolution of the proletariat.

Lenin's Theory Recalled

"It is necessary to devote proper attention to the law of the uneven economic and political development of capitalism in the epoch of imperialism, discovered by Lenin and worked out by Comrade Stalin, and the conclusion, based on this law, of the possibility of the victory of socialism in one country. * * *

"It is necessary to keep in view that the decay of capitalism * * * in no way excludes, as Lenin pointed out, the development of capitalism as a whole at a rate faster than in the preceding epoch. It is necessary to have in mind also Lenin's indication that imperialism is dying, but not dead capitalism.

"Lenin pointed out that the dominance of monopoly is connected with the tendency to reaction in the political sphere. Under contemporary conditions, the forces of reaction have found their most extreme embodiment in Hitlerite Germany. * * * Lenin always emphasized that any sort of nihilism in questions regarding democracy was fadically foreign to proletarian revolutionaries. He wrote: 'Socialism is impossible without democracy * * *.'

Hitler Regime Denounced

"The working class and all the progressive strata of contemporary society are in no way indifferent to the difference between the social structure of bourgeois democratic countries on the one hand and fascist countries on the other. The Hitlerite regime presents the embodiment of the most unenlightened reaction, barbarism and cannibalism. The Hitlerite adventurers are the chained dogs of German plutocracy, they are greedy, bloodthirsty, predatory mercenaries of the German Junker landlords, financiers, bankers, monopolists and industrialists.

"It is necessary to remember the words of Comrade Stalin to the effect that the Hitlerites are the sworn enemies of socialism * * *.

"In order to conceal their reactionary-Black Hundred charac-

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ter, the Hitlerites brand the Anglo-American internal regime a plutocratic regime. But in England and in the United States there are trade unions of workers and employes, there are workers parties, Parliament, while in Germany under the Hitlerite regime all these institutions have been destroyed.

"'It is necessary only to compare these two sets of facts in order to understand the reactionary nature of the Hitlerite regime and the falsehood of the babblings of the German Fascists about Anglo-American plutocratic regime.' (Stalin.)"

Churchill Told of Change

An allusion to this development in Soviet thought was made by Prime Minister Winston Churchill of Great Britain in an address in the House of Commons on May 24, when he said, despite contradiction by William Gallacher, Communist member: "Profound changes have taken place in Soviet Russia. The Trotskyite form of communism has been completely wiped out."

In the news article of April 2 it was reported that there had been several significant developments in Soviet economic theory recently. Among them were the repudiation of the dogma that economic law failed to operate under socialism and the new position that socialist economy is subject to economic laws peculiar to its type just as capitalist economy is subject to its own particular laws; and the repudiation of notions formerly held by such leading theoreticians as Professors I. Lapidus and K. Ostrovityanoff that the law of value did not operate in the U.S.S.R., and the new position that this law operates in a way peculiar to socialist economy.

Several significant developments were obscured in or omitted from the New York publication's abbreviated version of the document. In orthodox economic theory, several leading economists here and abroad, particularly Prof. John Maurice Clark of Columbia University, the late Fred M. Taylor and Prof. Oscar Lange of the University of Chicago, developed the idea of social accounting under capitalism and under socialism. This theory has been assimilated into Russian economics.

Cost Accounting Held Vital

"The indispensable method of planned direction of national economy under socialism is cost accounting, which is based on the conscious use of the law of value," the Russian text says.

"Socialist management is based upon the precise correlation of the expenditure of labor and material means, on the one hand, and the results of production on the other hand. Such a comparison is carried out in each Socialist enterprise.

"But the comparison of the expenses of an enterprise in the course of a given period with the whole mass of production turned out during that period presupposes the relating both of expenses and of results of production to a common denominator.

"Such a common denominator exists: it is the cost of the commodity. Cost accounting is based on the fact that the expenses and the results of production are given a cost expression, that is, are expressed in the form of definite sums of money. * * * The strict carrying out of cost accounting is a means for discovering all sorts of unbusiness-like actions, of reducing the individual expenses of production in a given enterprise to the minimum."

Pricing Basis Outlined

A significant statement is made with reference to another division of the general theory in orthodox economics of economic calculation under capitalism and under socialism, the subsidiary theory of pricing within Socialist economy. The Russian economists write:

"The social costs of production serve as the point of departure in the establishing of prices. These include the entire sum of costs of production of the commodity, that is, the whole value of commodities produced in Socialist enterprises."

They also say, in repudiating a treatment by Engels of the primitive Communist order, that the fundamental law of historical materialism, operating in all stages of social development, is that "people's relations of production are determined by the character of the forces of production which people have at their disposal at a given state of development of society."

From the text, certain observations as to the character and purpose of the statement can be made. It is an elaboration and discussion of "a number of most important formulations of policy, and guidance regarding the most basic problems of political economy" given "scientific workers, including economists" by "the Central Committee of the (All-Union Communist) Party." This committee, by a resolution in 1935, condemned Russian economic theory, declaring it had degenerated "into a collection of unscientific abstractions and lifeless schemata."

Paper for Home Consumption

After the condemnation, according to the statement, "the teaching of political economy in our higher schools" was interrupted for several years. By a directive of the Central Committee, "a great work has been carried out" by economists toward "the recasting of their whole work," Professor Leontieff and his associates declare.

"During the past school year," they say, apparently referring to 1942-43, "by the decision of the All-Union Committee for higher schools, the teaching of political economy in the higher educational institutions of our country was resumed."

The document was for home consumption, which may explain why several libraries here failed to receive the copy of the Russian economic journal for which they had subscribed. The theoretical revision that it reports represents, not a break with the former development of economic theory in Soviet Russia, but a consistent continuation of that development, rapidly speeded by the economic and social changes that occurred under the impact of war. Besides giving guidance and formulations to economists and directions to professors and popularizers of economics, however, it has other aims.

A Reply to Fascists

It is intended also as a reply to "bourgeois economist wreckers, restorers of capitalism from the camp of the Trotsky-Bukharin agents of Fascism" who have concocted "vile theories of the so-called 'state capitalist' character of our socialist enterprises, trade, money, banks, etc."

Also, in declaring that "the law of value will be overcome only in the higher phase, communism," and in emphasizing that this law must operate throughout the socialist phase, it is counseling patience to those members of the Russian intelligentsia who have been impatient for the blessings of communism and its distribution of goods according to the individual worker's needs.

Moreover, in emphasizing the social role of production costs and in declaring that Marxist thought consists in the fact that under the socialist system "surplus labor is just as indispensable for society as necessary labor" for "the formation of the social reserve fund and the fund of accumulation" and other needs of society as a whole, the significance of which "not only will not diminish but will increase," the economists emphasize that the building of socialism is a technological, not a distributive problem

New Stage of Development Seen

This conclusion is based on the belief: "Under the domination of private property in the means of production, the operation of the law of value inevitably leads to the arising and development of capitalist exploitation. In socialist society the dominance of social property in the means of production hinders the rise of exploitation."

Finally, in the development of the basic theory of prices, cost, accounting and management under Soviet socialism, some of the important fundamentals of the political economy of socialism created by Comrade Stalin," the revision of Russian economic theory marks "a new stage in the development of the Marxist-Leninist economic science," a turn to scientific realism.

In defining the concrete, practical ways of using the law of value in the interests of socialism, Stalin "gave a very much newer conception, which could not have been foreseen by Marx, or even by Lenin." Elaborated "in the very rich practice of social construction in the U. S. S. R., they have been generalized by the genius of Comrade Stalin."

On the Anniversary of Marshal Stalin's Premiership

by JOSEPH E. DAVIES

Former Ambassador to the USSR

MARSHAL JOSEPH STALIN became Premier of the Soviet Union on May 6, 1941. Within six weeks thereafter, Germany invaded his homeland.

It was under the inspired leadership and strategic genius of Marshal Stalin that the Red Army saved Moscow and the Baku oil fields, broke the back of the German Wehrmacht at Stalingrad, crushed the German and satellite enemy on the Dnieper, and relentlessly drove the invader into Poland and Rumania.

To his countrymen, Marshal Stalin has become the symbol of liberation. To the Allies of the Soviet Union, he is synonymous with the genuine desire of the Soviet Union for international co-operation, which culminated in the Moscow and Teheran Conferences.

I congratulate not only Marshal Stalin and the Soviet Union, but the peoples of the free earth, that three years ago Marshal Stalin acceded to the premiership of the Soviet Union.

History will write his name high on the roll of military leaders. Time will record him as a statesman, who foresaw the aggressor's menace; and as the greatest builder in Russian history, who created a mighty Soviet industry and a Red Army which, when the world was in jeopardy, held the ramparts of our civilization against the greatest armed forces ever assembled.

But even greater than these, it is my belief that history will record him a place still higher, because of service to mankind in contributions to the common effort of restoring and maintaining a secure and decent peace for a better world.

May 6, 1944

YOUR QUESTIONS ANSWERED

By THEODORE BAYER

Question: The *New York Times* stated editorially, allegedly on the basis of information contained in an article in a Soviet publication, that the USSR is going capitalistic and that its system is state capitalism. What truth is there in these statements? R. S., Bklyn, N. Y.

Answer: The *New York Times* comes upon its discovery rather belatedly. Its comments are based on excerpts published in the April issue of the American magazine *Science and Society*, from an article that appeared in the August 1943 issue of the Soviet Journal *Pod Znamenem Marxisma*. (Under the Banner of Marxism.)

The *Times* not only devoted an article to the subject but elaborated its position in two editorials. In them we find the *Times* chastising the Soviets for abandoning Socialism for which it manifests a sudden touching devotion.

American correspondents in the Soviet Union including the *Times'* own correspondent, Ralph Parker, reported that the *Times* attack met with the scornful comment that, having failed to annihilate the Red Armies with those weapons, reactionary American journalists were turning their loaded pens upon Soviet socialism.

Upon careful study of the article in the original, we find no suggestions for the alteration of the Socialist economic system. On the contrary, it is a review of the tasks undertaken by the Soviet Government in converting the privately owned and capitalistically run economy of Russia into a socially owned and socially operated industry, and cooperatively owned and operated agriculture. The article points out that on the basis of this socialization and the planned production it made possible, the Soviet Union was able, in a brief period, to accomplish miracles of industrialization and modernization of its agriculture and to procure a progressively more abundant life for its people. Above all, the article stressed the fact that to the Socialist organization of its economy belongs the credit of educating as well as arming the people to withstand the greatest assault in history and turn the tide of war toward Allied victory.

Where the article found fault was in the fact that these great successes in its economy were not clearly reflected in the teachings in the Soviet schools; that the laws that operate in the economy of the initial stages of Socialism were not correctly assessed.

Its most withering criticism was directed at the enemies of Socialism, at the Trotskyite and Bukharinite agents of Fascism, who had attempted to corrupt the teachings of economics of the Socialist period in the USSR and deny the Socialist relationships that have been established. For this purpose they had characterized the economic enterprises of the Soviet Union as state capitalist enterprises, and in the sphere of economic theory had insisted that the laws of capitalist economy still governed the economy of the Soviet Union. Through such teachings they had sought to spread disbelief in the success of Socialism in the USSR and general pessimism and confusion in order to undermine the morale of the Soviet Union.

Another dangerous tendency noted was the contention of others that with the passing of the capitalist economy and its relationships in the USSR *all* of the economic laws that operated in the capitalist economy had disappeared, and furthermore, that the Socialist system is completely free of any objective laws inherent in its economy.

The article points out that any and all systems are subject to the action of laws, or else there could be no system, nor would it be possible to study scientifically its characteristics. Planning of increased production in the USSR had to take cognizance of the laws based on the objective necessities of the Soviet system. And as a Socialist society it is able to plan the development and use of its resources, plants, fields and labor; i.e. it is able to produce all the goods for the satisfaction of the needs of society and the individual.

Values that are so created and distributed must have a measure, and the measure is the labor of the individual. Here is where the planned Socialist society applies, in a modified form, the law of value which existed under capitalism to the needs of Socialist society.

The *Times* seems to object to two opposite things at the same time. It claims that because of the concentration of economic power in the State the individual is regimented and, at the same time, it objects to the fact that the individuals are not sufficiently regimented because the labor of people is differentiated and paid on the basis of values created, rather than uniformly.

Another grievance of the *Times* is that the individual does not get the *full* product of his labor; that the use values he gets back in satisfaction of his needs are less than the value created. The *Times* suddenly discovers that the "surplus labor" is retained by society for the purpose of accumulation of social capital, that is, for expanding production. Part of this surplus labor goes to the continued satisfaction of the rising needs of the growing population of the USSR, in the shape of wages; part is allotted to the social services and social security that the Soviet people enjoy; and last but not least, part is allotted to defense. Thus a lot of "surplus labor" has been consumed in the defeat of Hitler.

It would be impossible to unravel all the confusions that the *Times* managed to pack into its comments and all the gratuitous slanders which it took this occasion to make. However, the *Times* was quite willing to separate the [illegible] viet practice as well as doctrine and even welcome its state capitalism if it will "remove the old dogmatic obstacles to cooperation between 'Socialist' Russia and 'Capitalist' America and Great Britain." This is the old anti-Soviet trick of calling for American-Soviet cooperation while undermining the basis for such cooperation, by deliberate misinformation and slander.

It is time that the *New York Times* accepted the fact that it is the sincere desire of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics to cooperate with America and Great Britain, whatever the social and economic formation of these countries may be, and without interference in their affairs. Fortunately for the peace of the world the governments and peoples of the United States and Great Britain have adopted the same view.

It is regrettable that *News Week* in its issue of April 17th, in an article by Ralph Robey, used the same material for similar purposes. Curiously enough the writer believes that there are no significant changes in the economic thinking or practices of the Soviet Union and that it is definitely not shifting to a capitalistic basis.' It even taunts the *Times* for wishful thinking.

The significance of this article is the implication that because the Soviet Union remains Socialist, there remain ideological obstacles to collaboration between the Soviet Socialist economy and the capitalist economy of the United States and the British Commonwealth. This would imply that the price the Soviet Union must pay for our collaboration must be the surrender of its Socialist economy. This is obviously a throwback to the dark period of non-collaboration with the Soviet Union, which was responsible for so many ills of the present world and completely out of keeping with the need for the successful prosecution of the war and the building of the peace envisaged in Teheran.

STALIN LAUDS U. S. FOR AID TO SOVIET

Cites 'Remarkable' Production Job in Long Interview With Johnston and Harriman

By W. H. LAWRENCE

By Wireless to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

MOSCOW, June 27—Premier Joseph Stalin gave high praise to the job done by American business, labor and agriculutre and by the United States Government in aiding the Soviet Union's victorious war effort when he conferred for two and a half hours last night with Eric Johnston, president of the United States Chamber of Commerce.

To British and American correspondents at a press conference after his talk with Marshal Stalin, Mr. Johnston gave this statement by the Soviet leader:

"American business and American labor have done a remarkable job of production for the war. American agriculture also has performed unusually well. American machines of war and American food have contributed to the success of the Red Army in its victories.

"The United States Government has played a major role in the development and coordination of this production and also in the fostering of cooperation between our two countries."

Stalin Closely Informed

Mr. Johnston would not go beyond this formal statement in discussing Mr. Stalin's replies to his questions, but he told reporters he was highly impressed with the Soviet's quick, decisive answers and his "surprisin" knowledge of American production details. He thought Mr. Stalin was more familiar with many American production statistics "than one American business man in ten thousand."

United States Ambassador Averell W. Harriman and Edward Page of the United States Embassy accompanied Mr. Johnston. Foreign Commissar Vyacheslaff M. Molotoff was with Marshal Stalin. Vladimir Pavloff served as interpreter.

Mr. Johnston said Marshal Stalin was in uniform and was very jovial and pleasant. While they were meeting in Marshal Stalin's Kremlin office, Moscow's victory guns barked twice in major salutes at Marshal Stalin's direction for the liberation of Vitebsk and Zhlobin.

Mr. Johnston and Mr. Harriman both congratulated Marshal Stalin, who seemed pleased with the rapid progress the Red Army is achieving in its summer offensive. They did not go to the window to watch the salute. Marshal Stalin sat under pictures of the early Russian heroes, Suvorov, Kutuzov and Nevsky. Farther down the wall of his office were pictures of Marx and Engels.

Harriman Is Pleased

Though Mr. Johnston would not tell reporters Marshal Stalin's replies to questions about post-war trade and other problems, the Chamber President repeated some of the queries he had put to the Soviet leader.

Asked if he regarded his talk with Marshal Stalin as satisfactory, Mr. Johnston said he did.

Mr. Harriman told the reporters he also was highly pleased with the results of the interview and said he thought the meeting had afforded "a useful exchange of information that will be very valuable to Mr. Johnston when he returns to the United States."

Mr. Harriman said the meeting had been very friendly and that the two hen had spoken very frankly about mutual problems of trade and commerce between the two countries.

Mr. Johnston is to leave Moscow tomorrow to visit the industrial regions of the Soviet Union before returning to the United States.

This is a clipping from page 8 of the New York Times for June 28, 1944
Clipped at the Seat of Government.

Recovery in Russia

BY FRITZ STERNBERG

RECONSTRUCTION is the first item on Russia's agenda [redacted] war, and there is reason to believe that we shall see an industrial miracle comparable to the military miracle we have already witnessed in that country.

Russia's victories have not been cheaply bought. No other country has suffered such terrible wounds. In addition to its military losses, which have been the largest in the war thus far, it has lost millions of civilians to the barbarism of the German occupation authorities; and the destruction of its industries and agriculture has been greater than that in any other country the Nazis have visited.

Modern war is industrial war. The Russians have understood this from the beginning. Ever since June 22, 1941, the day the Nazi armies marched into Russia without a declaration of war, the Soviet authorities have acted in the knowledge that every factory, every machine, that fell into the enemy's hands would increase his military strength. Their scorched-earth policy consisted of two kinds of measures: (1) the evacuation of industries and all qualified workers from the regions immediately threatened by the Nazis, and (2) where evacuation was impossible for technical reasons, as in the case of the dam at Dniepropetrovsk and of coal mines everywhere, the destruction of everything that could help the enemy either directly or indirectly. The Germans restored some of these industries, but when they withdrew they tried to leave nothing behind them. They destroyed not only factories and machinery but houses and buildings of all kinds. In some cases their retreat was so rapid that they had no time for complete destruction, but according to the Moscow correspondent of the New York *Times*, "not a single enterprise in South Russia's iron and steel industry has escaped damage. . . . To cripple the area where before the war two-thirds of Russia's iron and steel industry was situated, the Germans created a special demolition school in a Donbas city. . . . Winding machinery and cranes at the mines were cut so thoroughly with oxygen torches that their rebuilding is judged impossible."

In some Russian provinces which changed hands several times in the course of the fighting the decline in production is estimated at 75 per cent; in many others it exceeds 50 per cent. Of course this does not mean that the total Russian production has declined by 50 per cent. The Russians evacuated a considerable portion of their industries, and they have vastly expanded their production in the eastern regions and in Soviet Asia. Taking all these factors into consideration, it may be estimated that even in the most difficult months of the war Russian production did not fall below 50 per cent of the prewar total. Today it has risen probably to two-thirds of that figure, if not higher.

The work of reconstruction is already under way in the midst of war. In order to take the offensive, for example, the Russians were forced to repair their transportation equipment. Naturally only the most urgent repairs could be made, but the rapid advance of the Soviet armies in recent months shows that by and large they succeeded in putting the Russian rail network back into working order. A large proportion of the arms factories in the newly retaken territory are already producing again. But these feats could be accomplished only because Russian civilians made the severest personal sacrifices. Living standards continue to be extraordinarily low.

One gets a certain insight into the present low level of Russian consumption, and its probable level throughout 1944, from the budget report of M. Zverev, Commissar of Finance, to the most recent joint session of the two chambers of the Supreme Soviet. This report is the first official statement on war finances which has been published in Russia since the beginning of the war. One of the most important sources of revenue is the turnover tax, applied at the point of production on all manufactured articles. In 1941 this tax brought into the public coffers 124,500,000,000 rubles; in 1944 it will bring in only 80,200,000,000, despite the fact that the rate has been doubled since 1941. The London *Economist* comments thus on the budget:

> If the revenue from the turnover tax is taken as a rough index of consumption in Russia—and it is a pretty accurate index for consumption in the towns—then the conclusion seems to be that in 1943 about two-thirds of Russia's normal population consumed only one-third of the total quantity of goods consumed in Russia immediately before the war. Consumption during the war appears to have been halved—and the comparison is with 1940, a year of relative underconsumption.

Russian agriculture has suffered especially heavy losses. The Nazis looted most of the collective farms, slaughtered much of the livestock, carried off tractors and other machinery, and burned provisions which they could not

take along when they retreated. It is true that the Russians had evacuated much of their cattle and farm machinery and are now bringing them back; but Russian resources, already overtaxed for war purposes, simply cannot fill all needs at once. The meager extent to which the returned animals will meet the needs of the liberated areas can be judged by the following table, which shows the present animal population of certain provinces as a percentage of the pre-war figure. It was compiled by the London *Economist* on the basis of official Russian statements:

Province	*Horned Cattle*	*Sheep and Goats*	*Horses*
Kalinin	3.5	2.5	2.0
Smolensk	6.0	3.0	2.0
Kursk	0.3	0.9	0.3
Orel	2.5	5.0	2.0
Rostov	5.0	10.0	8.5
Stalingrad	1.5	3.0	1.0

The figures we have today are not and need not be final; but even if they should double they would still show with cruel clarity the terrible decline in Soviet agricultural production and indicate the difficulty of reconstruction.

While the war is on, the Russians are rebuilding only what is absolutely necessary, but plans are already in the making for the complete reconstruction of Soviet industry and agriculture. The outlook in this respect is much better than it was at the end of World War I. At that time the civil war and the general disorganization of the country made it impossible to start the actual work of rebuilding until 1921, but now the Russians are beginning the work before the end of the war. Moreover, today they have millions of skilled workers; their technical advance from 1921 to 1941 was unmatched by any other country in the world. And there is one other factor: after the last war they financed the rebuilding chiefly with their own funds; this time there will be considerable assistance from other countries.

After the war it is probable that the United States and Britain will occupy the western half of Germany and Russia the eastern half. Thus far the eastern half has been bombed least of all, its production is far above peace-time levels, and even after the war there will probably be a great deal of industrial activity there. Thus it is not too optimistic to assume that the Russians will be able to use at least part of the industry of eastern Germany to repair some of the havoc wrought by the German armies. And there are indications that the United States will help substantially with supplies.

What Russia needs primarily is capital goods to set its industrial system in motion again—locomotives, railroad cars, machines, machine tools, electrical apparatus, motors, tractors. It is in this field that American productive capacity, which, as we know, has grown more rapidly during this war than at any other period in the country's history, shows the most striking increase. Production today is 50 per cent greater than it was in 1940, the best year before the war. If after the war American production declines to the level of 1940 there will be unprecedented unemployment. The Department of Commerce study, "Markets After the War," analyzes the situation as follows:

> It seems almost certain that post-war output must exceed the best pre-war year. If it should be no more than in 1940 there would be the nine million who were unemployed in 1940, plus the two and a half million added to the civilian labor force between 1940 and 1946, plus eight million who would be replaced by improvements in efficiency over the six years, a total of over nineteen million unemployed. Even with an average work week five hours shorter than in 1940 there would be more unemployed than the thirteen million in 1932.

If large-scale unemployment is to be prevented after the war, expansion of foreign trade is essential. In this connection a statement by W. Averell Harriman, American ambassador to Russia, is noteworthy. The New York *Times* quotes Harriman to the effect that "he and other members of the American embassy staff planned to give the greatest possible consideration immediately to the assistance the United States can give the Soviet Union in the rehabilitation of devastated areas and the repairing of other war-caused dislocations." Certainly the Soviet Union will offer a big market for American manufactured products. Harry Hopkins has estimated that American exports to Russia will amount to some $750,000,000 annually.

Taking all factors into consideration—Russia's technical progress, its millions of skilled workers, the contribution German industry may have to make, and the probable assistance of the United States—one can conclude that after this war Russia's reconstruction will be much more rapid than it was after World War I.

RUSSIA CRITICIZES CIVIL AVIATION PLAN

Free and Unregulated Flights Are Held Source of Danger

By Cable to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

MOSCOW, June 19—An influential Soviet journal today criticized post-war proposals for freedom of the air. In an article in War and the Working Class Prof. A. Voskresensky said that such a principle had "real possibilities of harming the security of separate countries" and could not be compared with the age-old freedom of the seas because it was broader.

"Free and unregulated flights over foreign countries are the opening for big possibilities of misuse and aggression against the national interests of separate States—possibilities of reconnaissance and spying, of violating customs and other frontier rules," Professor Voskresensky said.

The article was published at the time the Soviet post-war delegation is in Washington discussing proposals for an international organization on civil aviation. The article said that no plan for international post-war civil aviation can succeed unless there is a "correct understanding of and consideration of the interests and role of the Soviet Union.

This is a clipping from page 5 of the New York Times for June 20, 1944
Clipped at the Seat of Government.

SOVIET IS PICTURED AS BIG U. S. MARKET

Eric Johnston Told by Trade Official U.S.S.R. Wants to Buy 'Billions' in Goods

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

MOSCOW, June 19—Eric Johnston, President of the United States Chamber of Commerce, announced to a press conference today that Anastas Mikoyan, Foreign Trade Commissar, had told him that the Soviet Union wished to purchase "many billions of dollars" worth of goods fromm the United States.

In his talk with Anglo-American correspondents, Mr. Johnston expressed high satisfaction over the results of the first half of his visit to the Soviet.

He seemed particularly pleased with Mr. Mikoyan's approach to post-war trade problems.

"Mr. Mikoyan said I could quote him that the Soviet Union wished to purchase from the United States enormous qantities of goods in the post-war period, on terms of purchase which would be ultimately advantageous to the two countries involved," Mr. Johnston said.

Soviet Payment Assured

"Although he said it was difficult to express an amount in specific terms, he thought that in dollars and cents the amount to be purchased in the post-war period would run into many billions of dollars.

"Mr. Mikoyan made it quite clear that the Soviet Union would pay for anything purchased from the United States strictly in accord with the terms and conditions in the original agreement at the time of purchase.

"He said there would be no question that the Soviet Union would not pay its obligations in full."

Mr. Johnston told reporters that he understood the Soviet Union would desire long-term credits, perhaps from ten to twenty-five years, to finance its large-scale purchases from the United States.

Suggest Some U. S. Imports

The Chamber of Commerce president would not estimate the value of the probable total volume of goods that the United States would wish to purchase from the Soviet Union after the war, but he indicated that purchases would run into considerable amounts.

Among the things we would need from the Soviet Union, he said, were furs, bristles, flax, tungsten, manganese, wood pulp and increasing quantities of novelties. He made it clear that this was not an exclusive list, but merely comprised the most common things he thought of.

One reporter told Mr. Johnston that a suggestion had been made in Great Britain's House of Commons by Hugh Dalton, president of the Board of Trade, that the United States and Britain should get together in post-kar trade dealings with Russia inasmuch as both are interested in the Soviet market.

Mr. Johnston answered that he was not interested in international cartel arrangements, and believed that most Americans shared his view. It would be better, he said, if American and British businesses separately settled their own dealings with the Soviet Union.

During the ten days that he has been in Russia Mr. Johnston has toured several factories in the Moscow district, where he said he had been particularly impressed by the large percentage of American machines. This was owing in part, he indicated, to the fact that the original Russian machines had been evacuated to the east when, in 1941, the German threat to this district developed.

Mr. Johnston expects to confer with Premier Stalin soon. Next week he will go to the Urals to inspect industrial establishments.

This is a clipping from page 7 of the New York Times for June 20, 1944
Clipped at the Seat of Government.

RUSSIAN PAPER TAKES SHARP BLOW AT JAPAN

Says She Hoped to Capture Territory of U. S. S. R.

By Wireless to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

MOSCOW, June 19 — A sharply worded article in War and the Working Class declared today that Japanese imperialists had "deliriously" cast an acquisitive eye on Russia's Far Eastern territory when they thought that their alliance with Germany would lead to victory instead of the defeat that is now inevitable.

It was one of the most outspoken articles that has yet appeared in a Russian publication concerning Japan, with which Russia is not at war and with which she has a neutrality pact signed a few weeks before the German invasion of Russia. The article, by K. Popoff, is entitled "Japan and the Occupied Countries of Eastern Asia."

It recalls the time when the Germans were plunging ahead in Russia and declares that "at that time some Japanese were stating that it was necessary to include in the Japanese 'sphere' the Soviet Far East and Siberia, and even Middle Asia. These delirious plans of the Japanese imperialists found their inglorious end together with the defeat of the Hitlerite army near Stalingrad."

The article also attacked, by implication, Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek's policy of non-cooperation with the Chinese Communist Army. It quoted a Chungking dispatch to The London News Chronicle that said that, if General Chiang's army of 3,000,000 were united by a community of aims and general strategic plans with the Communist armies in northern China, "the situation of the Japanese soldiers in China would be very complicated."

This is a clipping from page 10 of the New York Times for June 20, 1944
Clipped at the Seat of Government.

ORGANIZATION OF CIVIL ADMINISTRATION IN LIBERATED TERRITORIES

By N. Ruzin

The following article appeared in WAR AND THE WORKING CLASS, *No. 11:*

The moment is approaching when, in accordance with the decisions adopted in Teheran, simultaneous crushing blows will be launched by the Anglo-Soviet-American coalition against Hitlerite Germany from the East, West and South. The Red Army and the Armies of our Allies will enter the territories of the European countries enslaved by the Hitlerites and the territory of Germany herself.

One of the important problems that will have to be dealt with in the course of this great liberation campaign is that of the organization of civil administration in the territories freed from Hitlerite tyranny.

It is obvious that the approach to this problem cannot be the same in all liberated territories. On the one hand, there are the territories of the Hitler-enslaved democratic countries such as Czechoslovakia, Norway, Belgium, the Low Countries, etc. Recently the Governments of these countries, who are taking an active part in the struggle against the Germans, concluded agreements with the Governments of those great powers whose troops will enter their territories in the course of military operations. These agreements stipulate that as soon as the military situation permits it, the Governments of the respective countries will assume full responsibility for their civil administration in accordance with their constitutions. Only for the period of hostilities is the highest authority in the direction of civil administration to reside with the Allied Commander-in-Chief.

On the other hand, there are the territories of Germany's satellites, Rumania, Hungary, Finland and Bulgaria. The administration established on their territories will largely depend on the circumstances in which the respective states get out of the war, on whether the government or the people of one or the other of these countries discontinues the ruinous collaboration with Germany in good time and takes the road indicated in the declaration of the Governments of the Soviet Union, Great Britain and the United States addressed to the satellites of Hitlerite Germany, or whether they continue to help Germany until Hitler's entire robber bloc is smashed in battle.

Lastly, there is the territory of Germany herself.

It would, therefore, be premature to anticipate what system of civil administration will be established in any of these countries after the German-fascist bands and their servitors are expelled from them by the forces of the anti-Hitler coalition. It is, however, quite timely to try to sum up some of the results of the experiences already available in this sphere. The experience of the organization of the Anglo-American Civil Administration in the liberated sections of Italy (formerly called AMGOT and now known as AMG) is undoubtedly of great interest in this respect. The study of this experiment will show what has proved useful in it and what its defects are as revealed in practice.

How was this Administration set up? The general scheme and instructions concerning all the main branches of the Administration had been elaborated upon before the landing of Allied troops in Sicily. The especially selected personnel had been trained and many of them had gone through a special course set up in a school for this purpose.

Men of wide political and administrative experience were appointed to responsible posts. We need but mention General MacFarlane, the present head of the Allied Civil Government machinery in Italy, who in 1941 headed the British Military Mission in the USSR and later held the post of Governor of Gibraltar; Lord Stansgate, the present director of the Administrative Department of the Central Civil Government machinery in Italy, for many years Laborite member of Parliament; and Colonel Poletti, in charge of the Regional Government in Naples and the Province of Naples, a noted American lawyer and at one time Governor *pro tem* of the State of New York.

The medium and lower personnel is made up of men of a variety of professions: physicians, engineers, lawyers, transport experts, economists, students of antiquity, art scholars, geologists, owners and managers of various industrial enterprises, etc. Many of them have had many years experience in administrative work in colonies. Just before landing, all these men received their appointments and were attached to troop formations.

The structure of AMG has been different in areas where hostilities were in progress and behind the lines. The former AMG workers have been attached to headquarters of the troop commanders and are subordinate to these commanders. Behind the lines, AMG is an independent organization based on the territorial principle, in the main corresponding to adminstrative divisions of the country, and is subordinate to the Chief Officer for Civil Affairs or the head of AMG. The latter is subordinate direct

to General Alexander, who exercises the highest military and civil authority in Italy—he is Commander of the Allied Forces operating in Italy, and at the same time is the Military Governor of occupied territory.

The main purpose of AMG has been to relieve the Command and Armed Forces of the Allies in general from all duties of an administrative nature, and as speedily as possible to create conditions insuring that the needs of the Army are taken proper care of—to maintain order behind the lines, make local resources (housing, food supplies, etc.) available for the Army, organize transportation and work in the vital industries, etc.

The AMG officers landed as soon as the vanguard troops gained a foothold on the shore, followed their troops, established contact with the local Italian administration and enlisted the latter's services for the accomplishment of the above-named tasks. The principle was to make the utmost possible use of available local forces. While AMG officers dissolved the fascist organizations (the fascist party and fascist youth organizations), they often sought to use all levers of the Italian administrative machine, including the police (the so-called Carabinieri), for the purpose of carrying out the tasks before them.

It should be admitted that those first and most urgent tasks were in the main carried out by the AMG. It managed to prevent serious disturbances and relatively quickly to restore structures needed for the Army and partly for the population, such as port installations, strategic roads, waterworks and power plants, and made the machinery of the Italian government which it found on the spot work along these lines.

But the AMG encountered serious difficulties when it tackled larger problems. When the Allied troops pushed ahead, it became necessary to restore normal life behind their lines. The local AMG organs were set up with departments corresponding to the main branches of administration: the Departments of Justice, Public Security, Health, Public Education, Industries and Supplies, etc.

All those departments performed their functions mainly through the corresponding organs of the Italian administrative machine. Some of the most odious figures were removed from that machine, but the vast majority of its personnel remained intact. Not even all the prefects who had held their posts under fascism were dismissed.

The AMG made no serious attempt to enlist the support of public opinion of the democratic masses of the Italian people. Officially, AMG was apolitical. The attitude its workers assumed with regard to the various political trends in Italy was ostensibly one of neutrality. That attitude was formally proclaimed on repeated occasions by persons of authority.

With this line as its starting point, the AMG began by banning all political activity on the part of the population. Only in January, 1944, under pressure of the Advisory Council on Italy did the Commander-in-Chief issue instructions permitting legal activity of political parties, except the fascist, though with certain restrictions and granting, within definite limits, freedom of speech, press and assembly. It is true that in some places, in Naples for example, digressions from the strict ban on political activity had been permitted prior to the issuance of these instructions, too; nevertheless, there was not sufficient scope for wide activity by the masses. That is why the AMG organs failed when they tackled tasks which could not be carried out without the active and organized cooperation of the masses. Thus, for example, AMG could not make landowners and rich peasants part with their hoarded supplies of grain, despite the number of rather drastic measures (searches, road patrols, criminal prosecution, etc.).

The AMG did not succeed in organizing the restoration of industry on a large scale with the exception of certain war plants and essential municipal services, or the repair of demolished dwellings, etc. Most AMG workers complained of the apathy and passivity of the Italian population, but they did not realize that they could not expect any activity from the masses unless political liberties were established and the principles of democracy enforced.

Another Allied organization—the Allied Control Commission—acted in Italy alongside the AMG. In four provinces of Apulia (Bari, Brindisi, Taranto and Lecce) no Allied civil administration was set up. These four provinces had been under the administration of the Badoglio government all the time, and the Allied Control Commission was set up to supervise the carrying out of armistice terms by that government. Unlike the AMG, it is not an administrative but a supervising body.

When attempts to restore more or less normal conditions of life behind the lines met with difficulties which could not be surmounted with the aid of the AMG, the Allied Command decided in January, 1944 to place all the rear areas of liberated Italy under the jurisdiction of the Italian government. In the course of the first half of February the Italian government took over all liberated territory with the exception of the front zone and adjoining provinces of Naples, Avellino, Benevento and Foggia.

This meant that in all this territory AMG activity was to discontinue. The local organs of the Italian administration which had functioned there all the time were henceforward to receive instructions not from the AMG but from the Italian government. The AMG bodies were preserved only in the front

one and in the four above-mentioned provinces.

On the other hand it meant that the Allied Control Commission, which played an important part in the Allied machinery of civil administration in Italy, assumed still greater importance.

This shifting of the center of gravity from the AMG to the Allied Control Commission was fully in line with the desire to transfer the responsibility for civil administration from the Allied organs to the Italian government. It was not in line, however, either with the view that had taken root in Allied circles, according to which AMG was the main organ of the Allied apparatus in Italy, or with the actual distribution of forces which were concentrated in the AMG.

The Allied Command devised an original means of resolving this contradiction. It merged the central machinery of the AMG and the Allied Control Commission in one organ representing a sort of two-faced Janus. General MacFarlane became the head both of the AMG bodies which still continued to exist after the transfer of territory in southern Italy to the jurisdiction of the Italian government, and the actual director of the Allied Control Commission. All departments of his machine, each in its particular field, performed functions of administration in regard to organs of the AMG and functions of control in regard to the respective Italian ministries. Thus the Allied Control Commission (this name has been retained) acquired two faces: the face of an administrator turned northward toward the territory governed by AMG, and the face of a controller turned southward toward the territory under the jurisdiction of the Italian government.

Actually it means that each worker in this central apparatus must constantly shift from one role to another. For instance, the chief of any department of the Allied Control Commission goes through the mail and finds a paper which arrived from Naples. He handles this paper in his capacity of administrator. Below lies a telegram from Palermo. This he approaches from the standpoint of controller, etc.

We leave it to the psychologists to judge to what extent this is psychologically possible. But it is beyond any doubt that such duality is bound to cause very serious complications both from the political and practical point of view. A struggle between the two "natures" of the Allied Control Commission is inevitable, with the result that one is bound to swallow up the other. There is every reason to suppose that the more active and vigorous "administrative nature" will gain the upper hand and begin to manifest itself not only toward the north but toward the south as well, with the only difference that here the administration will be called control.

As long as the Italian government was made up of officials who enjoyed no prestige among the large masses of the Italian population this position evoked no protests from that government. But as we know, the Italian government has been reorganized. Today this government consists of representatives of all anti-fascist trends and parties, beginning with the circles represented by Marshal Badoglio and ending with the Communists. With this government, which is much more active and enjoys greater prestige than the previous government, the Allied Control Commission will obviously have to establish other relations than those that existed between the "two-faced" Control Commission and the former Badoglio government. There are serious grounds for apprehension that the intertwining administrative and control functions in the Allied Control Commission, as a result of its fusion with the central apparatus of the AMG, may cause considerable difficulties in the establishment of such relations.

The British press lately carried a number of reports to the effect that in connection with the forthcoming invasion of Western Europe by Anglo-American troops, preparations are on foot at the headquarters of General Eisenhower to have the machinery of civil administration ready. Thus, for instance, the British Ministry of Foreign Information recently reported that a special department known as the "G-5" department had been set up in General Eisenhower's headquarters, and that its job will be to organize civil administration in territories liberated from the German invaders. This department is headed by Lieutenant General Grassett who participated in the war of 1914-18 and later served in the East, among other places in China.

According to a report from the Ministry of Information, officials of the department will be made up of big industrialists, college presidents, professors, governors, mayors, journalists, doctors, lawyers, etc. The personnel of this department has undergone special training.

The Ministry of Information emphasized that the activity of this apparatus will be essentially different from the activity of the AMG in Italy. Military control will be maintained only during the period it is required by military operations. As soon as the military situation permits, the administration will be transferred to local authorities.

As for German territory, "G-5" service will exercise full rule and control there and its methods will be those of command rather than those of consultation and agreement.

This report of the Ministry of Information seems to indicate that the Allied Command has taken into consideration the principal conclusion that is to be drawn from the experience of organization of civil administration in Italy. This conclusion consists of the following: The administration with the help of

officials of the foreign army on territory with a friendly population may cope successfully with the immediate tasks which have to be faced directly before the entry of foreign troops into a given territory—tasks of meeting the requirements of the advancing troops and taking care of the most urgent needs of the local population. As regards the wider and larger tasks of restoring more or less normal conditions of life in the liberated territory, they cannot be accomplished without the active participation of the local population. But such participation cannot be organized any other way than by setting up democratic organs of government and by enjoying the confidence and support of the population.

Some British newspapers, however, express doubts as to whether this main conclusion has really and properly been considered by the Allied Command.

The magazine *The Economist* in one of its May issues compares the communique on the agreement between Britain and the United States on the one hand, and Belgium, The Netherlands and Norway on the other, with the text of the Soviet-Czechoslovak agreement concerning the organization of civil administration on Czechoslovak territory after the Red Army enters that territory. The author of the article in *The Economist* points out that the agreement between the USSR and Czechoslovak Governments does not mention any technical or political activity which the Red Army is to engage in on Czech territory. Even in the zone of hostilities the Czech authorities are apparently to take over all functions of civil administration though under the jurisdiction of the Soviet High Command.

In Western Europe it may be anticipated that a certain period of time will elapse between the landing of Allied troops and the creation of an effective local administration. During this period Allied officers will have to supervise the activity of the civil government bodies. General Eisenhower's Headquarters has a department for civil administration with its own personnel ("G-5" service).

The article goes on to say that the wave of enthusiasm which the appearance of the Allied troops will arouse among the populations of countries liberated by them will be stupendous, but that this wave may easily recede if there arises any fear that the British and Americans come to rule and intend to keep the people from administering their own affairs.

It stands to reason that after four to five years of intolerable oppression under the Nazi yoke the democratic nations of Europe will want to straighten their backs. All these peoples will crave real thoroughgoing democracy. At the same time there is no doubt that all elements in the German-enslaved countries who in the period of sway of the Hitlerites tended in one way or another, directly or indirectly, covertly or overtly, toward collaboration with them, will do everything they can to prevent the establishment of a genuinely democratic system in those countries. The future of Europe will to a large degree depend on what part the great powers, whose troops will liberate the enslaved countries of Europe from the German-fascist yoke, will take in the struggle between democratic and reactionary elements.

Moscow Hails Lend-Lease As Aid to Soviet Victory

By United Press

MOSCOW, June 12.—The U. S. A. has sent Russia 8,500,000 tons of war material and food valued at $5,357,000,000 in two-and-a-half years under the lend-lease program, the Commissariat of Foreign Trade disclosed, as the official press joined in a salute to the U. S. A. on the second anniversary of the Soviet-American agreement stressing allied cooperation now and after the war.

Detailed figures of the staggering total of supplies shipped by the U. S. A., Britain, and Canada to Russia dominated the front pages of the newspapers, while editorials printed alongside emphasized that the flood of goods has greatly facilitated the Red Army's victories. Summarizing the Russian appreciation of the Soviet-American pact signed June 11, 1942, was *Pravda's* phrase "the 11th is a great day."

The government disclosed that it had received 12,256 planes, 9,214 tanks, 237,634 trucks and other vehicles, 116 naval craft, 25,390 guns, 1,011,880,000 shells, and 2,545,200 tons of food, along with stupendous amounts of clothing, gasoline, radio sets, ship engines, machine tools, aluminum, copper, and steel.

Pravda observed that "experiences have shown there is no problem, no matter how complicated, which cannot be solved to the mutual benefit and mutual satisfaction, when there is goodwill, mutual understanding, and a correct appreciation of the national interests of each of the interested countries."

The newspaper *Red Star*, army organ, asserted that the agreement, together with the Anglo-Soviet alliance, constituted a "solid foundation for the great coalition of great democratic powers" to defeat the enemy and prevent new aggression along with the establishment of a stable peace.

The newspaper *Izvestia* acknowledged that there still are "many difficulties" to be solved in the post-war structure, although it added, "the conviction is growing more and more that the key to the solution of the most difficult problems is precisely the collaboration principles established at the Tehran conference."

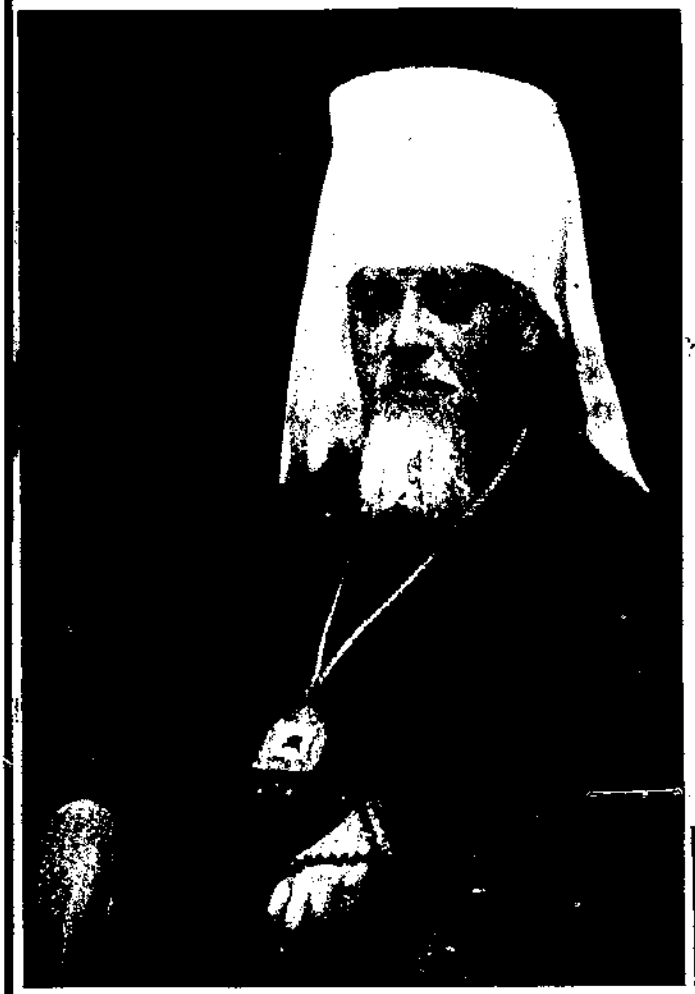
PM
June 12, 1943
P. 4

Letter of Patriarchal Incumbent Alexei to Marshal Stalin

The Incumbent Patriarch, Metropolitan Alexei, recently sent the following letter to Marshal J. V. Stalin, Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars:

Dear Joseph Vissarionovich:

Our Orthodox Church has been subjected to a sudden and severe trial: Patriarch Sergius, who headed the Russian Church for 18 years, has expired.



Alexei, Metropolitan of Leningrad and Novgorod, and Incumbent Patriarch

You well know how sagaciously he fulfilled his difficult duties. You know, too, of his love for his country, and the patriotism that inspired him in the present epoch of ordeals of war. We, his closest associates, know also of the sincere love he cherished for you, and his loyalty to you as the wise God-willed leader (a constant expression of his) of the peoples of our great Union.

This sentiment he cherished particularly strongly after his personal acquaintance with you during the meeting on September 4 of last year, a meeting so unforgettable for us. On more than one occasion I heard him recall that meeting with the warmest sentiments, and speak of the great historical importance he attached to the attention—so valuable to us—displayed by you with regard to the needs of the Church.

His death is a bereavement to our Church. Under the will of the deceased Patriarch, God has ordained that I assume the duties of Incumbent Patriarch.

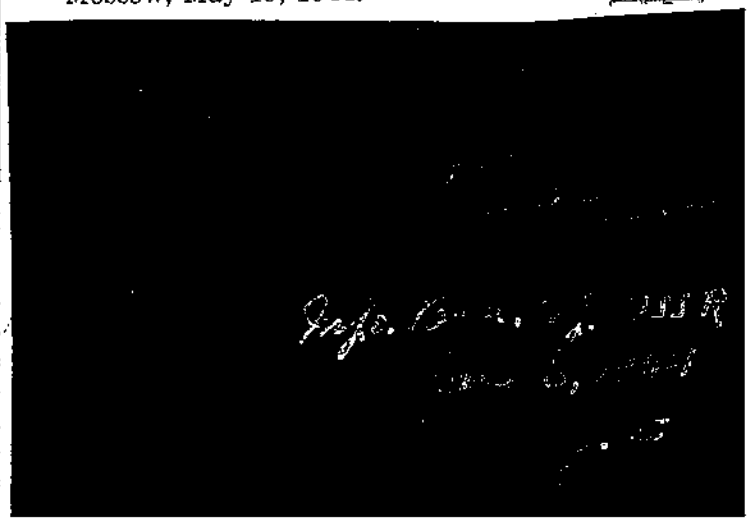
At this most important moment of my life and service to the Church, I feel the need to express to you, dear Joseph Vissarionovich, my own personal sentiments.

In my future activity I will be constantly and unswervingly guided by the principles which underlay the church activity of the late Patriarch: adherence to the canons and rules of the church on the one hand, and deep loyalty to country and to our Government, headed by you, on the other. Acting in full concord with the Council on Affairs of the Russian Orthodox Church, I, together with the Holy Synod founded by the late Patriarch, will be insured against mistakes and incorrect steps.

I beg you, deeply esteemed and dear Joseph Vissarionovich, to accept these, my assurances, with the same good will as they emanate from me, and to trust in the feelings of deep love for you and in the gratitude that inspires all those associated with the Church I will henceforth head.

(*Signed*) ALEXEI, Metropolitan of Leningrad and Novgorod, and Incumbent Patriarch

Moscow, May 19, 1944.



ALEXANDER WINS RUSSIAN ACCLAIM

Free Germans Warn Homeland That Defense of Germany Will Be Harder Now

By Wireless to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

MOSCOW, June 5—Gen. Sir Harold R. L. G. Alexander's victory at Rome made a profound and joyful impression here and was hailed as an event of greatest political and strategic significance.

Maj. Gen. Mikhail Galaktionoff, describing the victory as the brilliant result of a sound plan, wrote in Pravda that for the anti-Hitlerite coalition it was a symbol of a promise of new victories to be expected from swift joint action by the Allies.

The general estimated that Rome's capture would enable General Alexander to use with even greater effectiveness the maneuver tactics that enabled him to divide and destroy Rome's defenders.

[The United Press said General Galaktionoff estimated German losses in the battle for Rome at 60,000.]

Free Germans Warn Reich

The Soviet-sponsored Free Germany National Committee, broadcasting to Germany over the Moscow radio yesterday hailed the fall of Rome as an important military, political and moral victory for the Allies and warned the German people that "the war is approaching Germany's borders, and so are Allied air bases."

"When the second front starts," declared the broadcast, "defenders nowhere will find conditions as favorable as in the battle for Rome."

Smashing of the defenses erected south of the Italian capital by Field Marshal Gen. Albert Kesselring "has proved once more that there are no impregnable fortifications if the attacker disposes of superior forces," said the broadcast as it was reported by United States Government monitors.

This is a clipping from page 5 of the New York Times for June 6, 1944
Clipped at the Seat of Government.

JOHNSTON IN SOVIET SCOFFS AT U. S. REDS

Business Leader Also Praises Soviet 'Capitalism'—Calls Ideologies Bridgeable

By The United Press.

MOSCOW, June 4—With straight-from-the-shoulder frankness, Eric Johnston, president of the United States Chamber of Commerce, told 100 Soviet trade leaders yesterday that a gulf separated the economies of the United State and Russia, but that bridges of practical cooperation could be thrown across it.

Mr. Johnston advocated extensive post-war trade and visits between American business and "Soviet capitalists" as one bridge, but said that "each of our countries should be allowed to pursue its own unique economic experiment unimpeded by the other."

Bluntly, he told the Russians that Americans "were most private-minded and most individual-minded and, make no mistake, we are determined to remain so and even become more so."

Mr. Johnston, who arrived in Russia last week, was luncheon guest of A. I. Mikoyan, Soviet Foreign Trade Commissar, at Spiridonovka House. At the table sat Soviet trade experts, members of the Soviet Foreign Office, United States Ambassador W. Averell Harriman and Soviet military men.

At first the Russians appeared nonplused by Mr. Johnston's bluntness, but later they burst into gales of mirth at his sallies at American Communists and Marxians.

"I shall try to show you my admiration for your heroic deeds and

Continued on Page 7

JOHNSTON IN SOVIET SCOFFS AT U. S. REDS

Continued From Page 1

my gratitude for your hospitable invitation by talking to you from the bottom of my heart, non-politically, and even with frankness," he said.

"You cannot have solid friendship until you have solid understanding. We have a familiar American proverb which says your only true friend is the man who knows all of the worst about you and still likes you. So now I am going to tell you a direct, harsh, tough business fact.

"In economic ideology and practice, my country is different from yours. You are State-minded and collective-minded. We are most private-minded and most individual-minded and, gentlemen, make no mistake—we are determined to remain so and even become more so.

"Gentlemen," Mr. Johnston continued, "there is a point that must be totally clear between us before we can be really cooperative friends. I employ some 2,000 people. They have unions. I have contracts with those unions. I believe in the right of my employes to have unions. Some 13,000,000 Americans now belong to unions. Some 200 of these unions are large enough to be nationally known.

"Not one of them in our current national election is asking voters to favor the primary Socialist principle: 'Common ownership and operation of the means of production and distribution.'

"Gentlemen," he said, "I ask you to please realize how completely our American Communists have been wasting their time. Not long ago an American research institution addressed a question to a large number of people all over the United States. That question was—'To what social class do you think you belong?'

"Most organized wage earners who were interviewed replied that in their opinion they belong to the middle class.

"So perhaps in a way you cannot blame our American Communists for their failure. If I may put it frankly, how can they make a proletarian revolution among workers who do not even know that they are proletarians?

"Our American Communists have not caught on to this fact; they lack originality and realism. They still follow and imitate what they think is your current policy. If you take pepper, they sneeze. If you have indigestion, they belch. They annoy our trade unions more than they annoy our employers."

This is a clipping from page 1 of the New York Times for June 5, 1944
Clipped at the Seat of Government.

SOVIETS SHOW INTEREST IN BALKANS

NYT- E-4 June 4.

Russian Policy Now Seems to Be Same As That of Czars

By RAYMOND DANIELL

By Wireless to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

LONDON, June 3 — As it becomes apparent that the liberation of Southeastern Europe from Nazi oppression depends more upon Russian than upon Anglo-American arms, the question naturally arises of the Soviets' future intentions in that region. When the Red Army entered Rumania Foreign Commissar Vyacheslaff Molotoff sought to allay fears of possible communization of the Balkan basin by assurances that Russia had no territorial aspirations there and no intention of disrupting the existing social structure.

Because this declaration came at a time when the Soviets and their Western Allies were nursing hopes of weaning the Reich's satellites away from her it may have been viewed more in the light of immediate expediency than in the historic perspective it deserved.

Yet long before Hitler's Wehrmacht swarmed into the Balkan Peninsula by one means or another, Russia in her recurrent wars with the old Ottoman Empire had played an important part in the liberation of southeastern Europe, without ever claiming her pound of flesh, except in 1812, when she laid hands upon Bessarabia in order to gain control of the mouths of the Danube.

Rivalries That Remain

This is the area that has come to be known as the "cockpit of Europe," where the antagonism of Slav and Teuton have plunged the whole region into perennial wars. History shows that this rivalry has been less disastrous along the frontiers where the groups touch each other than along lines of expansion.

For more than 100 years the policy of Russia toward the Balkans has been dominated by two considerations, one negative and one positive, and there seems no reason to doubt that, here as elsewhere, Premier Stalin is following the old trail blazed by the Czars.

Those ancient policies of Russia —complementary rather than alternative—were to gain an outlet to the ice-free seas in the south and to prevent any unfriendly or strong power from establishing itself across the southeastern gateway of Europe.

There is little reason to believe that the Soviets are less interested than imperial Russia was in warm-water ports or that they are less eager to control the Straits. Nor is there much reason to suspect that Russia is any more predatory in her designs upon the Balkan States than she was before the dynamism of Marx and Stalin supplanted the dynastic ambitions of the Romanoffs.

There, as in Poland and the Baltic States, the Russian policy of the future will be guided by the policies of the West. Security in the Balkans for Russia is chiefly a matter of having friendly neighbors who are free enough to refuse to become tools of outside interests. The economic nature of those regimes will depend greatly upon the social evolution of the region. The Balkans must look to the West for economic help, but eastward for military security.

Spheres of Influence

That is where spheres of influence enter the picture. At the tip of the Balkans lies Greece, as strategically important at the eastern end of the Mediterranean as Spain is at the western entrance. There, already, Britain is making an obvious effort to maintain the status quo by bolstering up the tottering monarchy. But everywhere else in the Balkans — save possibly in Yugoslavia—the Soviets are likely to emerge from this war just about where they were when Germany began the last one.

In the years between the first World War and the second, an ideological factor has entered, for the first time, into Russia's historic diplomatic relations with the world, but it has not changed them very much. That factor has, however, complicated matters considerably. For Russia, like France before her, proclaimed the intention of carrying her revolution beyond her own borders to the rest of the world, and the rest of the world naturally reacted just about as expected.

The effects are still active and evident in the mutual suspicion that exists on both sides of the grand alliance after two and three years of partnership in war. That attitude of suspicion on both sides is more responsible than anything else for the failure of the British Government to establish a Czecho-slovak-Polish confederation in 1940 and for the Russo-Polish frontier dispute of 1944.

In the years between the wars, the Versailles policy of erecting buffer states between Communist Russia and capitalist Europe inevitably fostered direction of the meager national resources of the little Balkan countries into military rather than social channels and helped maintain autocratic and dictatorial regimes.

That fact helps to explain the deep rift that divides the resistance movements in such countries as Greece and Yugoslavia, and gives a clue to which way the masses of people in the Balkans will look when they are freed from the domination of the Germans.

This is a clipping from page E-4 of the New York Times for June 4, 1944
Clipped at the Seat of Government.

CHINA TAKES PLACE IN SECURITY TALKS; SOVIET PHASE ENDS

Hull and Cadogan Hail Courage of Far East Ally and Predict Dawning of New Day

KOO VOICES FORCE NEED

Official Statement on Results in First Six Weeks Stresses Large Area of Agreement

The Hull, Cadogan and Koo speeches will be found on Page 5

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

WASHINGTON, Sept. 29 — The Russian phase of the Dumbarton Oaks Security Conference ended today with an official announcement that "a large measure of agreement" had been reached, and China entered the discussions with the warning that peace in the future depends on the "certainty, definiteness and promptness" with which force is used to prevent and repel aggression.

No attempt was made to conceal the fact that in their six weeks of discussions, the American, British and Russian delegations had not been able to reach full agreement on all points under discussion; in fact, the chairman of the British delegation, Sir Alexander Cadogan, freely admitted that "sometimes we found ourselves in disagreement."

The official communiqué and the Russian Ambassador, Andrei A. Gromyko, declared that the conversations had been "useful," and Edward R. Stettinius Jr., Under-Secretary of State, said:

"The peace-loving peoples of the world will be heartened and encouraged by what we have accomplished at Dumbarton Oaks."

Text of Official Statement

The communiqué, approved by the chairmen of the three delegations taking part in the first phase of the conversations, read as follows:

"Conversations between the United States, United Kingdom and Soviet Union delegations in Washington regarding the establishment of a World Security Organization have now been completed. These conversations have been useful and have led to a large measure of agreement on recommendations for the general framework of the organization and in particular for the machinery required to maintain peace and security. The three delegations are making reports to their respective Governments, who will consider these reports and will in due course issue a simultaneous statement on the subject."

Out of deference to the chairman of the Chinese delegation, Dr. V. K. Wellington Kooo, who brought his colleagues into the Renaissance Music Room of the Dumbarton Oaks mansion for the second half of the discussions today, nothing was said about the area of agreement that was reached in the Russion phase of the discussions, nor was anything said about the failure to agree on the regulations to govern any aggression by the major powers in the future.

Officials of all four Governments have made clear, however, that they wish to see the results of the conversations published, perhaps within two or three weeks. After that time will be given for the peoples of the United Nations to study and discuss them before a full-dress United Nations conference is called this fall to draft te final security charter.

This is a clipping from page 1 of the New York Times for Sept. 30, 1944
Clipped at the Seat of Government.

MOSCOW'S FEARS ARE NOT RESOLVED BY 3-POWER PARLEY

Lingering Distrust of U. S. and Other Western Powers Is Said to Prompt Boundary Views

OLD LEAGUE IS RECALLED

Russia, While Seeking World Cooperation Now as Then, Is Mindful of Her Old Exclusion

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

WASHINGTON, Sept. 28—Some of the delegates at the Dumbarton Oaks conference and Administration leaders in the State Department and on Capitol Hill are reaching tentative conclusions about the security problems and its relation to Soviet Russia. These may be summarized as follows:

Soviet Russia is eager to cooperate with the United Nations in a system of collective security, but she has not yet got over her fear that the other great powers may try to turn a proposed league of nations into a sort of capitalist alliance against her.

The Soviet Union is not harboring any great expansionist dreams and is not plotting to communize Europe, but when their representatives sit in these conferences they represent not the Russia of the pre-1939 boundaries but that territory which includes part of the Karelian Isthmus, Baltic States, all land east of the Curzon Line in Poland and Bessarabia. In the Soviet mind these boundaries are essential to the security of the state; Marshal Stalin will not submit them to international mediation or arbitration, and whether we like this or not it is a fundamental of Soviet policy.

Difficulty With Middle Powers

The real difficulty in the international field will not be with the so-called small powers but with "the middle powers" such as Canada, Brazil and the Netherlands. These countries are not arguing for equal authority with the Big Four; they are not seeking "the unanimity rule" under which any one of about sixty members could veto action by the new league; they had that at Geneva and while it may have flattered their sense of sovereignty, it gave them no security.

But they are far from enthusiastic about the Soviet Government's insistence that "the permanent members" of the council, the United States, Britain, Russia and China, should each have the right to veto action by the league even if one of "the big four" is a party to the aggression under discussion.

On the first two points, the argument being made on behalf of the Soviet position is as follows: Soviet Russia still remembers that the League of Nations, dominated by Britain and France, kept Soviet Russia out of its councils for years, and while the League never seemed to be able to get the necessary "unanimity" to take action against Germany or Japan, it was able to get the necessary support to ease Soviet Russia out of the League at the time of the first Finnish war.

Furthermore, the Soviet officials cannot forget that, even as recently as late 1939 and early 1940, the British and French had prepared an expeditionary force to send to the aid of Finland against her. And "the capitalist bogey" in Russia is still as strong as "the Communist bogey" in the West.

Position of Soviet Union

The Soviet Union, moreover, is said to feel that she cannot cooperate with "unfriendly" governments in the States near her frontiers any more than the United States is prepared to cooperate with the unfriendly government of Argentina. And the German attack on her in this war through Poland, Finland, the Baltic States and Rumania has merely confirmed her desire to get those "secure boundaries" which she feels were taken from her unfairly after the last war.

Unless the Soviet Union has those "safe boundaries," part of which she has now attained and the rest of which she is in process of capturing, and until she is convinced that "the West," including the United States, is prepared to take effectual collective action to prevent and repel aggression, she is going to have certain reservations about relying too much on the proposed league.

These considerations are said to be responsible for the Soviet Government's insistence on the right to veto any proposed action by the new league. The main reaction of

Continued on Page 11, Column 7

This is a clipping from page 1 of the New York Times for Sept. 29, 1944
Clipped at the Seat of Government.

SOVIET FEARS BLOCK SECURITY ACCORD

Continued From Page 1

our own and the British delegations at the Dumbarton Oaks conference to this Soviet position is not that the Russians are taking it with any view to protect future aggression, but that they are seeking the veto power in protection of what they consider their vital interests.

Territory Question an Issue

Specifically, the Russians do not, at the outset, wish to get themselves into a position where the Baltic States or Poland might appeal to the new league for territory which the Soviet Union considers is, by right and history, part of her territory. Her attitude is that we should not ask her to give up the Baltic States any more than she should ask us to give Texas land back to Mexico.

Opinion on all these points here is divided and opposition to the above arguments was said to have expressed at Dumbarton Oaks. But nobody doubts that these considerations are in the Soviet Government's mind and that they contributed greatly to the fact that the Russian phase of the conference, which will end tomorrow, took six weeks of discussion instead of the expected two or three and that the discussions ended with the Russians still insisting on the right to veto any proposed action even in disputes concerning themselves.

The Chinese phase of the Dumbarton Oaks talks will start tomorrow afternoon when Secretary Hull welcomes Ambassador Wellington Koo, chairman of the Chinese delegation, and his staff.

After that meeting, Sir Alexander Cadogan, who has been chairman of the British delegation, will leave for London, where he has been called by Prime Minister Churchill because of the press of work at the Foreign Office. The Earl of Halifax, British Ambassador in Washington, will probably head the British delegation in the Chinese phase of the talks, which are expected to last about a week.

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

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Clipped at the Seat of Government.

Red Army Warned to Shun 'Glitter' In Its Travels in Capitalist World

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

MOSCOW, Sept. 26—The impact of western capitalist civilization—Rumanian style—upon the Red Army, instead of the anticipated vice versa, is the subject of considerable comment here and among Red Army men as additional thousands of men and women soldiers daily move through Rumania, Poland and Bulgaria in pursuit of the fleeing Nazi.

Young men and women who have never been abroad before are seeing new sights, hearing new sounds and going through strange experiences as the course of battle takes them into the neighboring capitalist countries.

Their reaction to all this is being studied closely here and it has been the subject of two three-column newspaper dispatches in Pravda, organ of the Communist party, and Red Fleet, the Navy newspaper, by Leonard Soboleff, one of the Soviet Union's best-known war correspondents, who is with the troops in Bucharest.

Mr. Soboleff's observations and conclusions make up some of the most interesting reading that has appeared in the Soviet press. Here is his basic conclusion, which is also in the form of a sort of appeal to the Red Army forces serving outside the fatherland:

"We will have to pass through many foreign countries. A lot of

Continued on Page 8, Column 4

Rumania

This is a clipping from page 1 of the New York Times for Sept. 27, 1944
Clipped at the Seat of Government.

Continued From Page 1

tawdry brilliance will blind your eyes, Red Army men. Don't believe these deceitful phantoms of pseudo civilization. Look into the heart of the country, look into the soul of the people. This won't deceive you, this will prove the real culture of the country.

"At the end of the war you will return to your fatherland from the foreign countries where you have engaged in battles. Again the foreign peoples will live their own life. But in every spot where you have been a trace will always remain in the hearts of these people because you carried with you a high culture, the great soul of the Soviet people, who shed their blood for the freedom and happiness of millions of people."

The reaction of Mr. Soboleff and the Red Army men to the new things they have seen in Rumania, which is hardly a good representative of capitalist civilization, is, to say the least, interesting—and it is often amusing.

Women's "Bluff" Deprecated

In every army fighting across the world today one topic of conversation is women, and this is what Mr. Soboleff and some anonymous Red Army men thought about Rumanian womanhood:

"You see pretty, standard-looking women with faces carefully done, pale, despite the burning sunshine, with their make-up in the most complicated way and with dark red lips—the fashion seems to prescribe a 'sinful mouth.' Two Red Army men sitting at a table drinking coffee are exchanging opinions. The first said, 'They look swell.' His companion retorted: 'Put them under a stream of water and only then should you judge. No, my lad, our Ryazan girls are better. There is no bluff there.'"

Mr. Soboleff describes short dresses that show the knee and open-heeled shoes as "another achievement" of European civilization and reports this reaction of the two Red Army men:

"One soldier thought open-heeled shoes, which resemble nothing made in Russia, came into fashion because there was a shortage of leather to finish the shoe, but his partner had another reason. He said it was not a shortage of material, but simply the upgrowth of tradition, explaining that Rumanian soldiers in combat 'show their heels at the front and the same fashion now has been transferred to the capital.'"

Mr. Soboleff cautions Red Army men not to be impressed with the cleanliness of the Rumanian capital. He notes the old saying that the culture of a nation is measured by the soap it consumes and reminds his soldier reading audience that world statistics prove that Germany consumed more soap than any other country and remarks, "But this war has proved what these clean 'cultured' hands can do."

The Glitter of Bourgeoisie

The Soviet writer also has a low opinion of the morals, culture and outlook of a majority of Bucharest residents, who, he said, live in the city amid speculation and business deals and care for only one thing: "How to sell for the most advantageous price their goods, their wives and their honor—and how to buy at a cheaper price a house, a job, etc., and how to have smart clothes and with their help fool others into thinking you are rich."

Bucharest capitalists, he said, look as if they had emerged from old posters depicting the bourgeoisie. He described the heavy gold watch chains across their fat paunches and he described the homes of the wealthy, which he said are "protected by mysterious shutters, behind which are hidden a reticent life hostile to us and full of insipid luxury."

He recounted the surprise of Red Army men at the two classes of street cars, one for "clean ones" and the other for "the common people." He made fun of the fancy, pompous uniforms worn by Bucharest policemen and of the funny high cushions in the taxicabs.

Some Things Too Familiar

He commented sharply that Bucharest residents had found life more natural, if not more profitable than usual during the war because the country had plundered Russia. He said he saw wonderful Russian furs in Rumanian store windows and that one Red Army unit had found a stock of canned goods from Odessa. In Constanta, he said, you can ride on an Odessa street car and other places are full of Russian trucks and light cars.

"If you recall that the Rumanians took everything they could from Odessa, Kiev and other Soviet cities, you will easily understand why Bucharest doesn't feel the privations of war," Mr. Soboleff concluded.

"When people died of starvation in Leningrad, the inhabitants of Bucharest were eating our flour, our fruit, our cattle, etc., * * * and the butler of the Lido Restaurant reddened when he noticed that he gave us a bottle of Crimean wine."

Mr. Soboleff said any other people except the Russians would have avenged these outrages with brutality and caused great suffering when they finally occupied the enemy capital. But the Red Army men, he said, came into Bucharest as veritable images of gallantry, courage and honor, "firmly marching across a strange capital and curiously looking at palaces and private residences, at policemen and commercial enterprises."

FILE

Soviet Mission in Teheran

TEHERAN, Sept. 24 (UP). — A Soviet misison headed by Assistant Commissar of Foreign Affairs Kavtardzem arrived here today for discussions of Russo-Iranian economic relations, which, it is reported, may also touch on oil concessions in North Iran.

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Date 9-25-44

Clipped at the Seat of Government.

Russia and Her Neighbors

On September 6, the day after Russia's declaration of war against Bulgaria, the Moscow radio urged the Bulgarian people to rise against their country's "ruling clique" and to "take fate into their own hands." No such appeal has been addressed to the people of Finland in recent months. On the contrary, writing in the May issue of the authoritative Soviet journal, War and the Working Class, Professor B. Stein defended the Soviet Union's policy of not asking unconditional surrender in the Finnish negotiations. Similarly, when Soviet troops first invaded Rumanian territory last spring, Foreign Commissar Molotov promised that Russia would not interfere in any way with the political, economic and social life of Rumania.

In the Polish question the Soviet government is pursuing an altogether different policy. Here the Russians seem intent on forcing a political decision regarding Poland's future internal structure without much heeding the claims of the Polish Government-in-Exile or consulting the Polish people. With the Czecho-Slovakian Government-in-Exile, on the other hand, satisfactory arrangements for its return to the homeland have been made long in advance. In the once troublesome Yugoslav and Greek situations, again, the Soviet Union took the lead among the great Allied powers in supporting the popular liberation movements of these countries and bringing about basic changes in the composition and policies of their exiled governments which can only be considered salutary. What is the Soviet Union's motive for these, on the surface, so widely varying attitudes toward its neighbors?

The final aim of Russia's foreign—or better, security—policy is, as it has always been, the preservation of peace for the purpose of guaranteeing the continuance of Soviet socialist construction in a capitalist world. While Russia has often changed the means, the end has always been the same. Today Russia's security policy moves in three mutually complementary, concentric circles. The inner circle consists of a well armed, well prepared Soviet army, ready at any moment to repulse a potential invader. This military circle is to be reinforced by a territorial circle of friendly neighbor states. The whole is to be held together by a giant diplomatic circle, founded on agreement with the great powers and a world safety organization that will include all nations.

No conflict is felt by the Soviet government to exist among these military, territorial and diplomatic levels on which Russian security policy is conducted. But professional Soviet-baiters and monopolists of anti-Soviet sentiment, unable at present to attack Russia as a military power or as a diplomatic partner in the struggle

for peace, are increasingly seizing upon her alleged unilateral actions with regard to her neighbors, to muddy the waters of mutual understanding. What are the facts?

It is not true that the Soviet Union is dealing with its neighbors without informing and consulting the United States and Great Britain. Last spring, when Rumania sent Prince Barbu Stirbey to Cairo to win favorable British and American armistice terms and diplomatic support against Russia, his mission failed because of Soviet-Anglo-American consultation. Rumania was forced, in July, to dispatch Constantin Visoianu, a left-wing democrat and ex-secretary to former Foreign Minister Nicolas Titulescu. Visoianu was empowered to open discussions with the Soviet Union as Rumania's principal enemy.

Similar efforts of the short-lived Bulgarian governments under Premiers Ivan Bagrianoff and Konstantin Muravieff, both anxious to jump off the sinking Axis ship, also failed. For the Anglo-American powers deferred to the Soviet government, which was exerting pressure, first diplomatic and then military, to assure in Bulgaria the establishment of a pro-Allied regime that could be trusted.

Mr. Hull, speaking for the American government, has repeatedly praised the Soviet Union's moderate policy with regard to Finland. It is quite likely that Soviet moderation in this respect was a concession to American public opinion. Even in the Anglo-Polish controversy, which could easily become a major point of friction between Russia and the Western powers, some agreement seems to exist. Speaking in the House of Commons on February 22, 1944, Mr. Churchill declared that he sympathized with the Russian position and that he did not feel "that the Russian demand for reassurances about her western frontiers goes beyond the limits of what is reasonable and just."

If there is any justifiable criticism of Soviet policy toward the neighboring countries where she considers her interests as paramount, it should certainly be directed not against the Soviet Union alone, but against the kind of "sphere-of-influence security system" which is now apparently being built by all the great powers, including Britain and the United States. However, even critics of this nuclear system will admit that in the absence of an effective world organization it is the only alternative for maintaining peace in the next few years. Moreover, there is a possibility that it may grow into a more comprehensive international organization. The Dumbarton Oaks conference points in that direction.

The realism that has characterized Russia's foreign policy since the Moscow conference of almost a year ago continues in her dealings with the surrounding states. Soviet policy in these countries is based on keen insight into the possibilities which their internal political conditions permit. The only question always asked

by Russia's foreign-policy makers is: what political forces in these countries will guarantee friendly relations with Russia in the postwar world? This pragmatic test explains the great differences in her attitude toward Finland, Poland, Rumania and Bulgaria.

In Rumania, for instance, the Soviet government was ready to deal, after the ouster of the fascist regime of Ion Antonescu, with a national coalition government which is a strange melange of feudal reactionaries, conservatives of the old ruling class and softened revolutionaries. Headed by a conservative army general, Constantin Sanatescu, the new Rumanian government includes Peasant Party leader Juliu Maniu, the liberal Dinu Bratianu, the Socialist Constantin Petrescu and the Communist Lucretiu Patrascanu. Why this weird alliance, headed by a Rumanian Badoglio?

Although no other Balkan country is riper for social revolution than Rumania, the organized Left is surprisingly weak. An exclusively leftist regime would not assure that internal stability, prerequisite for friendly relations, in which the Soviet Union is primarily interested. The non-fascist reactionaries and conservatives, on the other hand, hope to ensure their survival and make themselves acceptable to the USSR by subscribing to the platform of the previously underground National Democratic Bloc, which has now become the official program of the Sanatescu government.

While the coup against Antonescu and the creation of the coalition regime in Rumania was the job of a small clique, with no popular participation, the overwhelming majority of Bulgarians have long opposed the pro-Axis policy of their fascist taskmasters and have sought to put an end to fascism in their country. A powerful left-wing Fatherland Front, composed of the strong left wing of the Agrarian Party, the Communist Workers' Party, the Republican Officers' League (Zveno) and other progressive groups, has been very active in the past year, organizing anti-fascist demonstrations in all major cities, sending out partisan guerrillas against the Germans and formulating a democratic future for Bulgaria.

Fathered by Soviet diplomatic and military pressure when Bulgaria's ruling circles attempted to save their skins by declaring a specious "neutrality," the new Bulgarian government is genuinely leftist and popular. Premier Kimon Georgieff and War Minister D. Velcheff are members of the Zveno, the pro-Soviet officers' organization. Nicola Petkoff, Minister without Portfolio, is a left-wing Agrarian leader. Other ministers, like Petko Stoyanoff and Petko Stainoff, are well known liberals. Of the new regents, Todor Pavloff is an old Communist, and Venelin Ganeff, a professor of constitutional law, is a convinced republican. This government was fostered by the Soviet Union not because it is leftist, but because it has the support of the traditionally pro-Russian Bulgarian people. Hence it promises to be able to stabilize the country's internal

political situation and thus lead the way to firm postwar friendship with the Soviet Union.

A solution similar to those reached in Rumania or Bulgaria seems impossible in Poland. The exiled Polish government of Premier Stanislaw Mikolajczyk, with British blessing, recently made some concrete and quite reasonable proposals for the reconstitution of the cabinet, providing equal representation for the Peasant, Social Democrat, National Democrat, Christian Labor and Polish Workers' (Communist) Parties. But it is unlikely that this suggestion will satisfy Moscow. With only one-fifth of the cabinet posts held by the Communists, its composition would not guarantee, from the Russian point of view, a consistent pro-Soviet policy.

It is more likely that Moscow will continue to support the Polish Committee of National Liberation, even if it has only small popular backing at the present time. It may well be that the Committee will win out in the popularity contest with the exiled government. It has already begun breaking up the large estates to provide peasants and agricultural workers with farms of about twelve and a half acres each. Frankly a puppet government, it could count on Soviet intervention in case of internal unrest.

Sponsorship of a puppet government in Poland is an alternative from which Moscow, unembarrassed by democratic scruples, will not shrink. This was amply demonstrated by its refusal to come to the aid of the Polish underground uprising in Warsaw. The Soviet offensive may have been stalled before Warsaw, but aid by air might have been possible. Regardless of whether the Soviet refusal to support the underground is morally right or wrong, it emphasizes Russia's determination to have her own way in Poland.

In contrast to Poland, where the leftist movement is deeply split into pro and anti-Soviet factions, Russia was willing to support the leftist liberation movements of Yugoslavia and Greece because they are almost entirely united and pro-Soviet. Her action, subsequently followed by the Western powers, has contributed immeasurably to avoiding protracted civil war in these countries. With the reorganization of the Yugoslav cabinet under Ivan Subasich, and with the entry of representatives of Greece's National Liberation Front (EAM) into the government of Premier George Papandreou, complete harmony has been established between the resistance forces at home and the exiled governments. Moreover, the danger that these countries might become pawns in the game of power politics has been greatly reduced.

Russia's policy toward her neighbors, on the surface so confusing, is fundamentally consistent. The guiding axiom of that policy is to bring into power a friendly government, regardless of whether it is a "Badoglio" regime as in Rumania, a leftist cabinet as in Bulgaria, a puppet government as in Poland, a popular coalition of radical and democratic forces as in Yugoslavia and Greece, or a parliamentary democracy as in Finland. The second axiom is to back up these friendly governments to the hilt and with the single-mindedness of purpose that has always distinguished Soviet foreign policy.

HEINZ H. F. EULAU

The Ottawa Journal

September 21, 1944

Soviet Union to Remain True To Communism at Home

Chicago Daily News Service.

MOSCOW, Sept. 21. — Whatever concessions to the old order the Soviet Union may make in the future, outside its own frontiers, it will remain true to its Communist traditions at home. The new accent on Russian patriotism will not supplant the theories of Marxism but rather will be welded to them.

Youth of other countries may be educated as their authorities see fit; but Soviet youth will continue to be educated according to Communist principles and will not be allowed to drift back into acceptance of religion and other pre-revolutionary ideas.

This, at least, is the line suggested by an article on education appearing in the Komsomolskaya Pravda, organ of the central committee of the All-Union Young Communist League.

Concerned About Religious Tolerance.

The article approves the new desire to emphasize Russian patriotism but warns against overlooking the need for inculcating Soviet youth with the principles of Marxism. The article is especially concerned with the recent tendency to show excessive tolerance toward religion and warns that "our party's attitude toward religion is well known and has not changed".

The article, entitled "More Attention to School and the National Teacher", is signed by M. Suslov, secretary of the Party Committee of Caucasian Province of Stavropol. Despite the relative obscurity of the author, the prominence given his article by the Komsomolskaya Pravda suggests that it is a pretty fair indication of what the orientation of Soviet education is likely to be.

"Every teacher must show still greater determination", writes Suslov, "in mastering the science of sciences—the Marxist-Leninist revolutionary theory. The policy and practical activity of the Bolshevik party and the Soviet Government are based on the laws of the development of human society which have been, and are continuing to be, revealed . . . by dialectical and historical materialism.

"By mastering Marxism-Leninism we become even stronger—this is the characteristic of the science which makes people fearless, bold and unconquerable. Those who overlook the lifegiving source of this greatest of the sciences . . . become weak-willed, unsure and vacillating, and lose their perspective."

Soviet teaching, Suslov continues, must therefore be "inspired by the great ideas of Communism". He agrees, however, that the Soviet school "must also give children a feeling of Soviet patriotism and boundless devotion to their country and people, and develop in them a feeling of national pride".

Respect for Nationalities.

But Suslov emphasizes that "our patriotism is fundamentally opposed to the hatred of humanity which permeates Fascism. It presupposes respect for other nationalities . . ."

"The teaching of the history of the U.S.S.R.", Suslov continues, "must inculcate in school children a love for the historic past of our people, which throughout its entire history has displayed unexampled bravery, courage, firmness and unity in defending the honor, freedom and independence of the Fatherland. The Russians saved Europe by stopping the Mongols. They saved Europe from being enslaved by Napoleon. They have saved the whole world from the most terrible bondage which has ever threatened anyone—the bondage of Hitlerite Germany."

Having thus expressed his agreement with the new trend toward patriotic education, Suslov returns to his theme.

He warns that the Soviet school "must also inculcate a prudent and careful attitude toward Socialist property, its preservation and its multiplication". And it must also "bring up children in the spirit of a Communist and intelligent attitude toward work, and to develop a love for work of every kind, particularly physical labor . . . It must bring up children to become future Stakhanovites who love work and regard it as a vital need for a healthy organism".

Attitude to Religion Same.

Turning to the subject of religion, Suslov warns that the Soviet school must "dispel prejudices and superstitions of children who are still under its influence".

"It is no use concealing the fact", he writes, "that among these are people—a small number, it is true—who have recently begun to show a great tolerance toward religion. Cases of the observance of religious ceremonies have somewhat increased."

Here Suslov remarks that the party's attitude toward religion is the same as always. He explains:

"Our party fights against religious prejudices because it stands for science, while religious prejudices go against science, since all religion is contrary to science."

Suslov recalls that in 1943, in an address to front line agitators, Soviet President Mikhalli Kalinin explained the party's attitude toward religion as follows:

"In accordance with the needs of our party, care must be taken to avoid giving offence to the feelings of believers, which only strengthens their religious fanaticism. It is regrettable that some of our educators have shown themselves to be victims of religious errors. This is a natural and direct consequence of carelessness in the political education of our teachers."

Suslov suggests that religious superstition can best be combated "by developing in our young people Communist morals and norms of conduct . . . such as friend-

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ship, integrity and caring for one's mother, respect for one's elders, etc."

But this does not mean that Soviet schools should return to bourgeois traditions, he says. "By means of the rod and intimidation the bourgeois school brought up automatons, crushing and trampling the will power and intelligence of school children and turning them into submissive servants for capitalists and landowners.

"In contrast to this system and as a reaction against it, the anarchical petit bourgeois teachers invented 'the theory of progressive education' which at one time was introduced into Soviet schools only to be done away with by our party."

Suslov concludes that in the Soviet schools "education must be conducted on the basis of a correct balance between persuasion and the need for complete fulfillment by school children of an established rule of conduct both in and outside school".

WAR CRIMINAL WARNING

Red Army Paper Recalls What Happened in 1919-21

By Wireless to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

MOSCOW, Sept. 19—On the same day when the Russian press gave the news of Premier Ion Antonescu's arrest by the Red Army, the Red Star published a lengthy analysis of the post-Versailles experience, when the principal German war criminals were not tried for their offenses and lesser persons escaped with light sentences.

The point of the story was that this mistake must not be repeated by the Allies after this war. It declared that the growing position and influence of Russia as a result of her war role was the best pledge that "the story of 1919-21 on the question of the responsibility of war criminals will not be repeated. Hitler and his clique, as well as all the culprits responsible for the monstrous atrocities and crimes, will get the full punishment that they merit," the article said.

The Russian position, like that of the Americans and the British, is that war criminals must be brought back to the scenes of their crimes and tried under the local laws. This suggests that Marshal Antonescu may be tried in Odessa, where he set up the headquarters of his "dream empire." Odessa was the capital of a new province called Transdniestria that included Russian ~~territory~~ between the Dniester and the southern Bug Rivers.

Russia - Lt Lee - C

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87 OCT 11 1944

This is a clipping from page 12 of the New York Times for Sept. 20, 1944
Clipped at the Seat of Government.

54 OCT 16 1944

HUNGARY SET-UP PLANNED

Russia to Share in Rule There, as Well as in Austria

By Wireless to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

ROME, Sept. 19—When Vienna and Budapest are occupied, they will have to be administered civilly by a combined organization of British, American and Russians and not by a British-American set-up as in Italy and North Africa, it was learned today. This will occur even if it should prove to be the Fifth and Eighth Armies that take Vienna.

It is being done at the request of the Russians, who feel they have as much right to handle the situation in south and central Europe as the Allies and therefore they demanded a set-up similar to that planned for Berlin.

There appears to be no question of refusing the Russian request, but what has aroused comment here is that Premier Joseph Stalin should be showing so much interest in countries as far away as Austria.

Rumania

This is a clipping from page 6 of the New York Times for Sept. 20, 1944
Clipped at the Seat of Government.

Soviet Gives Warning

Says Fascism Must Go and Denies the Old Bogey

By Richard A. Yaffe

A military victory over Hitle isn't enough, said a Russian politi cal commentator over the Moscov radio. The commentator, name Oleshchuk, said fascist ideolog exists not only in Germany but i Spain, Portugal, Argentina, Bolivi and other countries, and that must be stamped out.

Oleshchuk doesn't entirely ex empt the U. S. A. and Britain. H said: "Considerable fascist an pro-fascist groups exist in demo cratic states. . . . They attempt t put spokes in the wheel of the fina defeat of Hitler." He called for a "ideological rout" of these ele ments.

* * *

CBS picked up another broadcas from Moscow. "The Soviet Union, it said "will not introduce its orde into other states and it does no change the existing order in them All the acts of foreign policy pur sued by the USSR have completely exposed the fascist slander of th Bolshevist bogey. . . . Europe i the pursuit of liberation becam democratic Europe. Today the anti Hitler coalition is as strong a never before (and) undoubtedly will be maintained and strength ened after the war."

PM
Sept. 20, 1944
P. 7

Soviet Magazine Attacks Isolationist Republicans

By Wireless to THE NEW YORK TIMES. 5

MOSCOW, Sept. 18—The Soviet magazine War and the Working Class, discussing the United States Presidential campaign, today sharply attacked what it described as the reactionary, Old Guard Republican group.

That group, headed by former President Hoover, the magazine says, has put forward as its candidate Thomas E. Dewey.

American isolationists, the magazine says, have not disappeared since the United States became involved in the war, but have merely changed their tune. Mr. Hoover and his group, it asserts, do not want the kind of international collaboration and foreign political alliance such as the one now existing between the United States, Great Britain and the Soviet Union, but prefer "another foreign political orientation and combination of forces."

Russia

This is a clipping from page 5 of the New York Times for Sept. 19, 1944
Clipped at the Seat of Government.

The Walls of Isolation Fall From Russia

By RALPH PARKER
(Copyright, 1944, by Field Publications)
Staff Correspondent

PM Exclusive

MOSCOW, Sept. 17.—A period of intense political activity has sharply increased the awareness that Moscow has become one of the great capitals through which run the main strands that link the world's nations.

It is useful that the world, including the Russian people themselves, should by these successive steps towards total peace grow accustomed to a fact which many abroad have been reluctant to admit in the past and many Russians, because of a long period of enforced isolation, had not fully appreciated.

Post-war collaboration between the nations will be easier as the idea of Moscow as a city where the distribution of the world order is being planned is eclipsed by the other that here, within and around the Kremlin, men have come to see clearly that the Soviet Union has a positive role to play in the world and can win peace and prosperity for all by playing it with confidence. And this confidence is growing as the Russians discover that their statesmen are no less able than their generals in this politico-military phase of the war.

Diplomatic circles here, including those neutrals whose ears are perhaps most sensitive to detect a note of discord between the Allies, express thorough satisfaction with the way the great power representatives are working together in questions under discussion in Moscow.

Soviet Zone

The fact that they involve lands in the zone of Soviet security makes agreement all the more important. The United Nations could do little or nothing to oppose the Russian will in this zone. But misuse of power would gravely prejudice the Soviet reputation, while if suspicions gained ground in the Russian mind that the Allies were still seeking to hold bridgeheads in that zone for future development of anti-Soviet plans, reluctance to fall in wholeheartedly with plans for world security would grow apace.

The majestic series of victories that placed the Red Army in contact with the territories of all the Slav nations and of their non-Slav Romanian and Finnish neighbors has not caught Soviet diplomacy napping. It was not long after the Stalingrad victory, which was the turning point of the war in Russia, that visible outward signs appeared of developments occurring in the People's Commissariat of Foreign Affairs—*Narkomindel*, as it is usually abbreviated to.

The number of deputy commissars was increased and the recall of Ambassadors Ivan Maisky and Maxim Litvinov has brought to Moscow two great experts on Britain and the U. S. A., whose presence here means that there is always at hand some one to interpret in the light of long experience the moves of the Soviet Union's principal Allies.

Tasks to Perform

The provision of neat, businesslike uniforms for *Narkomindel* officials both at home and abroad at once raised the wearers' self-esteem and was a telling reminder that they too had an honorable and responsible task to perform in a war where military and political events are closely interwoven.

In Moscow the new Department for International Relations founded at the Lomonosov University is intended for the preparation of persons for foreign service in both the commercial and diplomatic field. The Institute of Adult Education launched a series of public lectures throughout the Soviet Union, where the latest developments in foreign affairs are explained with completeness and freedom. The founding of *War and the Working Class* by the Central Council of the Trade Union movement provided a forum where principles of foreign policy are discussed.

Meanwhile, the Soviet Union is establishing or resuming diplomatic relations with a large number of states. Today not less than nine ministers plenipotentiary living in Moscow's National Hotel wait to move into legations being prepared for them.

The celebration of the liberation of Brussels, held by the Belgian Ambassador the other day, provided the occasion to notice how widely the United Nations are now represented here in Moscow. Many diplomatic representatives of lesser powers present had noticed with satisfaction that the lively and influential *War and the Working Class* had that day found room for a warning that the Soviet Union would do its cause harm if it laid itself open to the charge of throwing its weight about in a bullying manner.

It was probably with the full consciousness that these words would be given a wider significance than the immediate context in the article that the editors printed the reply to a letter recommending a tough line with Switzerland and Portugal for not opening diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union.

The distinguished writer Anna Karavayeva had recommended a complete political and economic boycott by the Soviet Union of these lands. To this Pavel Pavlenko, without condoning Switzerland's and Portugal's attitude, shrewdly remarked that a boycott by the Soviet Union of Switzerland, because of the disproportion of the two powers' strength, would lay the Soviet Union open to an attack by unfriendly critics that an injustice was being done to a small, weak nation.

Soviet Position

"The position of the Soviet Union in relation to the small states is known," he wrote. "Nobody could justifiably accuse her of undervaluing their rights to an independent political existence. But at the same time we know how ready open and secret enemies of the Soviet Union are to spread slander about our attitude towards small lands, how they play up every occasion to cause apprehension among small nations of our strength and influence. Is it worth while in such circumstances to give these political adventurers fuel for their usual insinuations?"

The two lines of policy put forward in this unofficial discussion about Switzerland, one recommending the use of the big stick, the other counselling prudence in the interest of the Soviet's reputation, reflect the argument that presents itself in the minds of many Russians. The way they choose depends on the degree of their self-confidence.

With their magnificent war record, the incontrovertible fact that they have the sympathy of the broad masses of the world and the knowledge of their own great strength, they can afford to snap their fingers at the slanderers. But a nation that has once felt itself to be shunned by world forces into isolation is likely to harbor suspicion for long.

Bullitt Article

That is why an article like William Bullitt's strikes so damaging a blow at the cause of the United Nations. The charges are absurd, ill-founded and can be refuted in an instant. But it is not the inaccuracies that do the harm. It is the material it provides to those Russians who still feel that they have powerful, insidious enemies in the world beyond the frontiers of Germany.

Russia on the crest of victory, with all that it involves psychologically, cannot be expected to shape her policy in order to anticipate the slanderous charges of her enemies. The danger is that the Bullitts should shake Russia' confidence in her Allies and encourage her to pursue a unilateral policy.

The events of the past few weeks have convinced the diplomatic circles here that this ill-timed intervention from Rome has not diverted the Soviet statesmen from their policy of closest relations with the Allies in settling of political problems raised in Eastern and Southeastern Europe by the Allied victories in the field. All the same, the cumulative effect of such demonstrations of anti-Soviet prejudice is to poison the atmosphere and render more difficult the task of those Russians and others who are striving to create confidence.

SOVIET STILL BALKS PEACE AGREEMENT

It Insists No Force Be Used to Curb an Aggressor Unless All the Top Powers Agree

OUR VETO IDEA EXCEEDED

Inability of Old League to Check Its Own Aggressive Members Was Recalled at Parley

By LANSING WARREN
Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

WASHINGTON, Sept. 16—Instructions of the Soviet Government to its delegation at Dumbarton Oaks, the absence of which caused a recess in the first phase of the conversations, have failed to clear away the obstacles to an agreement among the three chief powers.

From informed quarters it was learned today that the Russian delegation has received an order to insist on a unanimity rule among the great powers upon any league decision to use force as a means of preventing aggression or to punish an aggressor state. As interpreted by the Russians, it is understood, adoption of such a rule would mean that any power in the inner council, even though it might be a party to the dispute in question, could block action by the league.

This differs in an important point from the proposed right of veto reserved to the Big Four powers, as approved by the British and United States delegations.

Many Points of Old League Kept

Talks at Dumbarton Oaks had reached early this week the point of a general agreement on the structure of a new world security organization to supplant the old League of Nations. But in many points the new body, if created, would resemble the old. What was being sought, according to all outlines of the purpose of the Dumbarton talks, was a framework which would improve on the old organization by a more workable and effective method of setting league intervention into motion.

Delegations to the preliminary conversations reached an early agreement on the suggestion, set forth by the Russian proposals themselves, that each country should be ready to contribute armed forces to execute league instructions. The exact nature of these forces and the method of putting them into action remained unsettled, as did the part to be played by the smaller countries in the punitive action of the proposed new league.

Members of the Soviet delegation, it is believed, were unable to endorse the proposed organization it is believed, were unable ed proposals to their Government for approval, and the final sittings of the discussions were postponed early this week to await the Soviet reply. This, when received here, is believed to have made agreement possible on numerous minor points, but to be categoric in insistence on the unanimity rule as applied to action by the great powers.

Chinese Views a Factor

The choice left the delegations is either to accept the Russian thesis, to introduce another formula to be submitted to Moscow, or to drop the subject in the preliminary proposals, reserving the question for settlement between the foreign offices or chief of states.

The dilemma becomes more difficult by reason of the fact that it is known the Chinese delegation, which is to replace the Russians in the second phase of the talks, is just as insistent upon its proposal that countries which are parties to a dispute before the new league shall have no voice in determining league action.

The three chief delegations have already agreed that whenever one of the permanent member States votes against using force against a potential aggressor, that action would automatically veto any proposal that the forces of that country shall be used. But the Russian formula goes even further to insure that, for instance, if Russia herself were to be the object of league pressure, her vote alone would block any armed opposition by the duly constituted military forces of the league.

Old League Troubles Cited

The unanimity ruling of the old League enabled Japan to block League sanctions and intervention in the Manchurian operation, and subsequently led to a halt in League action against Italy over Ethiopia.

The first move to extend information concerning the Dumbarton Oaks deliberations outside the three countries engaged in the talks was taken yesterday and today by Secretary Hull, who conferred with the Ambassadors and Ministers of twelve Latin-American countries.

Mr. Hull gave them information on a number of the proceedings and a review of the problems under discussion. Data concerning decisions actually taken now will be withheld pending the endorsement of the proposed agreement by all three delegations.

Until this occurs it will be necessary to postpone meetings with the Chinese delegation, which has been waiting here for ten days.

Russia

This is a clipping from page 9 of the New York Times for Sept. 17, 1944
Clipped at the Seat of Government.

RELIGIOUS CLASSES APPROVED IN RUSSIA

Church Education of Youth in Homes or Elsewhere Is Permitted, Official Says

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MOSCOW—Religious education among youth may now be carried on in the Soviet Union, it was asserted here by Georgi Grigorievich Karpoff, head of the Societ Council on Greek Orthodox Church Affairs. The only rule the Soviet Government insists upon, Mr. Karpoff said, is that religious instruction must not violate the basic principle of separation of church and state.

The disclosure was made in reply to a question put to Mr. Karpoff by Religious News Service, one that has been posed insistently by Protestant, Catholic and Jewish leaders throughout the world. The question was: "How soon will the Soviet authorities permit churches and priests to conduct religious education among youth, and what restrictions, if any, will govern this education?"

No Religion in Schools

"Under our laws," Mr. Karpoff replied, "each person may or may not teach his children religion. However, religion may not be taught in the schools.

"Parents may educate children themselves in the privacy of their homes or may send their children to the homes of priests for such education.

"Children of any number of parents may also gather or be gathered in groups to receive religious instruction."

The Soviet official was asked if Sunday schools could be organized or if young people's services were permitted.

He replied that the Russian Church never had Sunday schools or young people's services, and therefore the question had not arisen.

Declaring that no ban exists against printing and distribution of religious propaganda literature, Mr. Karpoff said the Orthodox Church "may print whatever it wishes."

Church Printing Facilitated

"In fact," he added, "we have given explicit permission for the Church to order any quantity of Testaments, prayer books and liturgical books and are ready to facilitate this step in every way, even to the extent of making representations to the paper rationing authorities. As to distribution of such material, there is no objection and no restrictions."

Russia

This is a clipping from page 5 of the New York Times for Sept. 15, 1944
Clipped at the Seat of Government.

Russia

RUSSIAN ENDORSES THE GOLD STANDARD

Soviet Magazine Backs U. S. Stand at Bretton Woods as Best for World Trade

9

North American Newspaper Alliance.

MOSCOW, Sept. 12—In the latest copy of the Russian periodical Bolshevist, a Soviet writer, Prof. Z. B. Atlas, advocates a world return to the gold standard.

"For the maintenance of economic and trade connections among countries," he writes, "a world currency is essential. And the valuta of any country must have a fixed basis in gold so that it may be turned into world currency and be exchanged for a determined quantity of one or another national valuta."

This, he says, is the solution to the problem of international exchange of goods. It is also the basis, he contends, for any international organ for financial settlement, or for an international bank.

The article is principally about the settlement reached at the United Nations' Monetary and Financial Conference at Bretton Woods, N. H., in July. Professor Atlas supports the principles proposed at Bretton Woods by Harry D. White, assistant to the Secretary of the Treasury, and expresses satisfaction that they have been accepted, especially by the experts who drew up the United Nations plan for the world currency fund. He criticizes the plan of Great Britain's Lord Keynes, who proposed endless credits and no gold exchange.

Gold Seen as Only Currency

"Trade cannot be conducted without money," writes Professor Atlas, "neither within a country nor on a world scale. And no other world currency except gold has yet been invented."

Discussing the international settlement organs, Professor Atlas summarizes past attempts to establish such an organization. He says that before World War I London served as a settlement center for world finance. After the war, however, the situation changed. London lost its pre-eminence as a world clearing house, and the post-war crisis undermined world financial relationships and weakened the gold standard.

Professor Atlas further reviews the efforts at Geneva and Brussels and at other monetary conferences to solve the question. He criticizes "currency dumping," as practiced by countries with a falling valuta who sold their products on a world market at low gold prices so that countries whose currencies remained stable could not stand the competition. He says this turned the currency problem from a national internal problem to a serious and sharp world problem.

Professor Atlas also maintains that stabilization funds were no

This is a clipping from page 9 of the New York Times for Sept. 13, 1944
Clipped at the Seat of Government.

good either. "They often sharpened the currency chaos," he says, adding that an international currency stabilization fund and other economic organizations cannot of themselves eliminate the basic contradictions of the capitalistic production system. But these organs, he says, can facilitate an essential process and a re-establishment of the European economy after the present war.

He makes the important observation that such organs can avert, or at least lessen, any post-war crisis in connection with the transition from a war to a peace economy.

He thinks that "no one nation must enrich herself at the expense of her allies. Money expenditures after the war must be distributed according to the principle of proportionate burdens."

Professor Atlas concludes with a plea for long-term credits for the re-establishment of the economy of the countries that have suffered from the war.

The key to the whole article is at the conclusion, where the professor discusses Soviet currency. He says that the Soviet Union currency deposited in international funds will have a fixed gold content, which is now five rubles and thirty kopeks to one American dollar. This currency, in contrast to past practice, will be accepted by other lands as payment for goods imported by the Soviet Union and also will be accepted in exchange for currencies of other countries. He states this will not affect the present currency within the Soviet Union.

This is the basis for the whole outlook. On this basis rubles will have an international value, and goods that the Soviet buys can be paid for in rubles because they will have a gold and an international backing.

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

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Clipped at the Seat of Government.

U.S. AID FOR SOVIET IN PEACE STUDIED

Lange Holds Enduring Amity Hinges on Post-War Economic Reconstruction in Russia

COMMON BOND IS CITED

Ideal of a Free Democratic Welfare Society Transcends Basic Differences, He Says

By WILL LISSNER

The "second front" in the war, in which capitalist America is cooperating with socialist Russia to overcome the Axis menace to world security, must be followed by a "second front" in Soviet economic reconstruction if enduring peace is to be achieved, Dr. Oscar Lange, Professor of Economics at the University of Chicago and editor of Econometrica, believes.

Professor Lange, who, earlier in the summer, visited Moscow as the personal guest of Marshal Joseph Stalin, has just published a paper through the Research Bureau for Post-War Economics, "The Working Principles of the Soviet Economy," in which he studies the possibilities for economic cooperation between the United States and the Soviet Union. His pamphlet is an enlargement of an address he made before the Russian Economic Institute.

A common bond, the ideal of a free democratic welfare society, unites Russians and Americans and transcends the basic differences in their countries in socio-economic organization and structure, he holds.

While a democratic welfare economy is the avowed ideal of the Soviet regime, the actual Soviet economy, he declares, is not that. It is an authoritarian economy guided by two political objectives, to raise the country to the position of one of the world's leading industrial nations, and to secure the economic basis for effective national defense in an age of industrialized warfare.

Sacrifices Were Appalling

Appalling sacrifices in standard of living and in political liberty were made by the Soviet people to achieve rapid industrialization and economic mobilization, he continues, partly because "ideological suspicions" of "bourgeois economic science" hamstrung the Soviet Government.

"Techniques of economic administration well familiar to the "bourgeois" economists of western Europe and the United States were rejected contemptuously by the Soviet administrators, frequently only to be adopted later under the pressure of circumstances."

What matters now is that these great sacrifices have been successful, they stopped Hitler's aggression and now all other freedom-loving peoples, as well as the Soviet, are the beneficiaries, Professor Lange asserts.

The realization of Russia's democratic aspirations, he argues, presupposes the disappearance of the political, moral and economic isolation that forced the Soviet Union to undertake sacrifices of a magnitude incompatible with a free society.

Post-War Reconstruction

When post-war reconstruction begins, if the Soviet people have to start from scratch again amidst a hostile world, rebuilding war-torn areas entirely on their own resources, the chances for a relaxation of the authoritarian and totalitarian regime are practically nil, he holds. Once again the regime will have to drive for rapid industrialization and economic mobilization, and the vested interests in the totalitarian methods will be entrenched.

But if the task of reconstruction is shared in a friendly way with those nations whose economic resources have been much less exhausted and who are the beneficiaries of Soviet sacrifices, he says, enduring peace is possible. The Soviet people, he argues, will be free to work for the achievement of a democratic socialist society at home, and to cooperate with the liberal capitalist and other democratic socieeties in building international security, economic opportunity and stabilization abroad.

In his study, Professor Lange takes part in the controversy, fanned by a news article in THE NEW YORK TIMES of last April 2 reporting that Russian Marxist dogmas had been basically revised by Stalin, over whether the Soviet economy is "state capitalist" in character, or remains a state socialist system peculiar to Russia in spite of the adoption of capitalist economic techniques and theories.

Full Translation Published

This controversy will be whetted by a pubication issued last week by International Publishers, Communist publishing house, "Political Economy in the Soviet Union." This forty-eight page pamphlet presents, without comment, a full translation of the article in Pod Znamenem Markszima (Under the Banner of Marxism), which was summarized in THE TIMES on April 2, July 2 and July 3. The new Communist translation is virtually identical with the one prepared for the United States Embassy in Moscow, a copy of which was obtained by this newspaper, except that it is superior in English style.

Professor Lange denies that this development is a retreat or a concession to capitalism. "Bitter experience," he says, "has taught us to be less dogmatic and more progmatic in matters of means and techniques, and it is teaching the same to the Government and people of the Soviet Union." He finds it a consistent development of Sovietp ractive, which is based entirely on trial and error, one anticipated by Marx and Kautsky.

This is a clipping from page 36 of the New York Times for Sept. 10, 1944
Clipped at the Seat of Government.

DONBAS WORKERS REVIVE INDUSTRIES

710,086, in Letter to Stalin, Boast of Huge Task and Pledge Greater Effort

By W. H. LAWRENCE

By Wireless to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

MOSCOW—The dramatic story of the rehabilitation of the Donbas, the Soviet Union's former prime industrial area, in one year after its liberation from German rule was told today in a letter to Premier Stalin from 710,086 workers in the area.

Donbas was the Soviet Union's "Pittsburgh," an iron and steel center that has been outstripped by the Urals-Kuznetz combination linking the Urals' ore and Siberian coal. But the Donbas remains an important center both for war and peace production in a country that occupies one-sixth of the world's surface and has just begun industrial development.

Record of Reconstruction

Here in one year, despite grave shortages of material and manpower and hampered by the fact that the Germans devastated what had been left, men and women by the tens of thousands have accomplished this much in economic reconstruction:

Factories have produced 200,000 tons of pig iron, 430,000 tons of steel, 220,00 tons of rolled steel and more than 700,000 tons of coke.

Seven blast furnaces, twenty-five open hearth furnaces, seventeen rolling mills and forty-two coking batteries have been re-established.

Eight hundred and forty-eight industrial enterprises, including fifty-one large mines, have been reopened and 6,000,000 tons of coal, including 2,000,000 tons of coking coal, have been mined although most of the mines were flooded and there were not sufficint motors for capacity opration.

Eight power plants and forty-nine substations have been rehabilitated and 900 miles of high voltage transmission lines have been reconstructed.

About 2,240 miles of main railway lines have been re-established, 320 station buildings have been repaired and there are fourteen engin and thirty-six freight car repair shops.

Sowing Quota Is Exceeded

On the aggricultural front 1,100 collective farms and 152 state farms have been re-established along with fifty-four machine and tractor repair stations. The State sowing plan was exceeded by 7.8 per cent. Some collective farms harvested more than a ton of grain per acre.

In addition 520,000 workers have individual Victory Gardens and it is indicated they will gather 350 pounds of vegetables per person.

After having made such an impressive industrial rehabilitation record this year the Donbas workers were not satisfied. In their letterto Premier Stalin, which was prominently displayed in all Moscow newspapers today, they pledged that during the rest of 1944 they would open another ten mines, increase coal production by 2,500,000 tons over the first half of the year, re-establish seven more blast furnaces and fifteen open hearth furnaces and reopen five industrial power plants to supply rehabilitated industries.

As a war correspondent here for eleven months I have had some opportunity to see the devastation of this land after the Germans had been driven from it and I know the industrial rehabilitation story told in the letter to Premier Stalin today is an impressive testimonial to the efforts of the men and women in the Ukraine.

The job is by no means done and will require much machinery and material from Soviet factories in the Urals and from the United States, but what has been done already is undoubtedly a record reconstruction job.

The letter from the Donbas workers emphasized that the whole country had made contributions to the task, that even Leningrad, while still under fire from German and Finnish guns, had sent motors to the liberated Donbas area.

The workers of the Donbas told Premier Stalin they had donated 130,000,000 rubles and had lent another 470,000,000 rubles from their personal accounts to build more airplanes and tanks to insure Germany's total defeat.

This is a clipping from page 7 of the New York Times for Sept. 9, 1944
Clipped at the Seat of Government.

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Fight Russia Next?

Reading yesterday morning's papers, we came across a news story telling how a Mr. K. Demidoff, writing in Pravda, official organ of the Communist Party in Moscow, had cut loose with a slashing attack on William C. Bullitt, Ambassador to Russia 1933-36 and to France 1936-41.

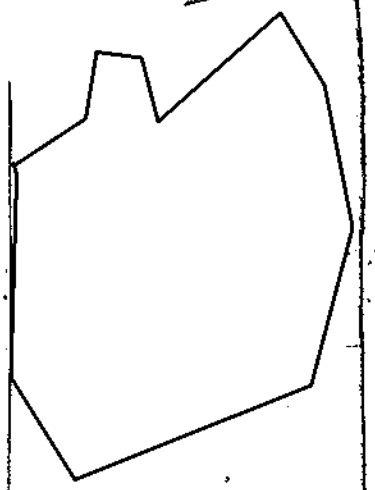
Wm. C. Bullitt

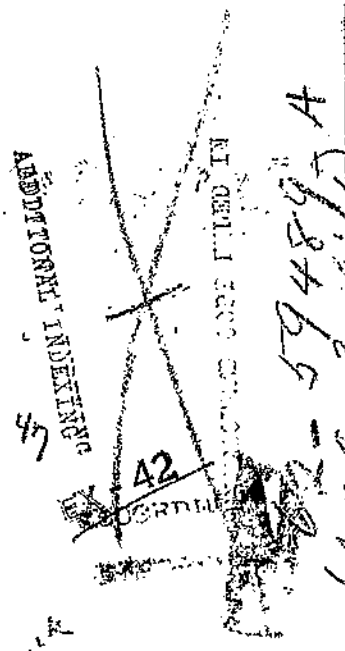
Mr. Bullitt, it appeared, has written for the current (September 4) Life Magazine an article on how intelligent Italians view Russia's plans to dominate most of Europe after this war and gradually communize it.

Mr. Demidoff wrote in Pravda that Mr. Bullitt was, among other things, a bankrupted spy, a liar and a long-time sympathizer with Hitler Germany. That is orthodox Communist tactics, in Russia and elsewhere—to practice character assassination and call it argument.

We look at Life's pictures every week, but don't always read all its articles, having a great deal of reading to do. We hadn't read the Bullitt article, and probably wouldn't have read it if Mr. Demidoff hadn't given it such a buildup in Pravda. We've read it now, though; and quite a piece it is.

Bullitt reports that leading Italians, expect Russia to extend communism westward in Europe after this war by building up Communist parties inside the framework of the "friendly Democratic governments" which Stalin says he wants as his postwar European neighbors. These Communist parties, when strong enough, would win regular elections, and proceed to bring the blessings of communism to each nation thus conquered from within.





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Clipped from page 14 of the Washington Times Herald Sept. 6, 1944

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These Italian thinkers' main consolation is to be found in a joke which Bullitt reports going around Rome:

> "What is an optimist? A man who believes that the Third World War will begin in about 15 years between the Soviet Union and Western Europe, backed by Great Britain and the United States. What is a pessimist? A man who believes that Western Europe, Great Britain and the United States will not dare to fight."

We hope Mr. Bullitt is not bankrupt, as Mr. Demidoff alleges, and we know he was not a spy when he served as our first Ambassador to Soviet Russia. An Ambassador merely reports back to his government what he can find out in the country to which he is designated. Nor was Bullitt ever a Hitler sympathizer. He was one of the loudest-mouthed of all the prewar callers for drastic French, Polish, British, etc., action to put down Hitler.

The reason why the Russian government hates and vilifies Bullitt is that he first went to Moscow as ambassador in a mood of sympathy for communism, then soured on communism after contemplating the liquidations of the old Bolsheviks and the deaths by starvation of about 4,000,000 peasants in the Kremlin's war against the more successful farmers.

* * *

How about that predicted U. S.-British war against Russia 15 years hence? Like World War I and II, this World War III would be an effort on our part to make the Europeans stop being European—to make them quit playing power politics, grabbing one another's territories, and eternally redrawing the map of Europe.

President Franklin D. Roosevelt has always posed as a friend of the common man. In the last two and one-half years, Mr. Roosevelt has taken about 10,000,000 common men and 1,000,000 who aren't common—into our armed services and sent some 6,000,000 of them out of the country to shoot and be shot at by foreign common men. Maybe it was fate and couldn't have been avoided, but it didn't seem to us that Mr. Roosevelt tried very hard to avoid it.

One phase of this war constitutes an attempt, as in World War I, to make the Europeans stop being like us. We're on the verge of victory in that war—though we're nowhere near the verge of changing European human nature. The war with Japan (which attacked us to begin with) is going as well as could be expected with the limited resources the Commander in Chief has vouchsafed to it.

Make Europe Non-European?

We've got to see both wars through; can't quit cold and call home our remaining common and uncommon men.

But let us hope—let us pray, indeed—that when Russian expansion brings on a crisis in Europe 15 or 25 years hence, we shall not have in the White House a Great Brain who considers it the United States' divine mission to save Europe from itself. Let's hope that in that great day our President will be content to let this country sit it out behind a defense setup strong enough to keep it from spilling into this country.

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BULLITT DENOUNCED AS 'LIAR' BY PRAVDA

Soviet Paper Terms Ex-Envoy 'Bankrupt Spy' in Attack on Magazine Article

By Wireless to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

MOSCOW, Sept. 4—Pravda, official organ of the Communist party, today sharply attacked William C. Bullitt, former United States Ambassador to the Soviet Union and France, as "a bankrupt spy" who sympathized with Adolf Hitler, staked his career on a German victory over Russia and continues to carry on "dirty anti-Soviet work" in the columns of Life magazine.

A lengthy article by K. Demidoff appears in Pravda's columns today under the title "A Bankrupted Spy." It accuses Mr. Bullitt, who now holds a commission in the French Army, of attempting to promote a "crusade" against the Soviet Union.

Pravda said Mr. Bullitt had held important political posts but that his career had been suddenly and strangely broken off, and that "his homeland turned away from him during the war."

"The reasons for the bankruptcy of Bullitt are that he always was only a spy and never a serious political leader," Mr. Demidoff said. "He attempted to make his career on dirty anti-Soviet work. His entire political capital was staked on Hitler. A former Ambassador of the United States to Germany, William E. Dodd, wrote about Mr. Bullitt in his published diary, saying that Bullitt was for 'unlimited aggression against the Soviet Union from the east and the west' and that while occupying the post of a prominent diplomat, he disrupted negotiations between the French and the Soviet Union in Berlin's favor."

Accused of Hitler Bias

"Bullitt openly advertised his sympathies toward Hitler, striving for an alliance between France and Hitlerite Germany."

Mr. Demidoff's attack on Mr. Bullitt was based largely on the former envoy's article, "The World From Rome," published in the Sept. 4 issue of Life. Pravda's correspondent said he had counted thirty lies in the comparatively short article, which amounted to "one lie in every five lines," which was a world's record and made Goebbels' organization look upon Mr. Bullitt with envy, Pravda said.

Demidoff Lists "Lies"

Mr. Demidoff said the first lie in Mr. Bullitt's article was his assertion that nine of the fifteen members of the Polish National Committee of Liberation were Communists, including Edward B. Osubka-Morawski, chairman, whereas it is known that only three are Communists.

"Bullitt writes that Marshal Tito's army employs arms received from America to 'kill Serbian peasants who are anti-Communistic,'" Mr. Demidoff continued. "That is a low-down lie and Bullitt exposes himself as a spy who has assimilated the instructions of German Fascist propaganda."

Mr. Demidoff also takes issue with Mr. Bullitt's statement that in Rome he met "optimists" who believed that "in fifteen years a world war will begin between the Soviet Union and western Europe, assisted by Great Britain and the United States."

"Maybe Bullitt met some such bandits in Rome," Mr. Demidoff continued. "Of course, these aren't 'optimists.' These are low-down Fascist persons who are hiding from the Italian police but are available to Bullitt. It would probably be more correct, however, to say that Bullitt didn't meet with such Italians but in his eagerness he lied about all of this."

Life magazine is criticized for printing the article, and Mr. Demidoff asks whether the "magazine has really become so poor that it had to print the miserable lying of Bullitt."

The Pravda writer also said that he could not congratulate the French Army for such an "ornament" as Major Bullitt, who might be fit in a kitchen but should not be trusted with "spying."

Mr. Bullitt's Main Points

Mr. Bullitt's article assailed by Pravda was written after a visit to Rome and purported to give a summary of Roman opinion on the future of Europe, with special reference to Moscow's war aims and post-war diplomacy. The dominant question in the minds of the Romans, Mr. Bullitt reports, was "Will the result of this war be the subjugation of Europe by Moscow instead of by Berlin?"

According to Mr. Bullitt, Italians place their hope of averting such an eventuality upon Great Britain, but they do not believe Great Britain could do this without the aid of the United States.

Italians hope that the vital interests of the United States "will compel our support of Great Britain and the other democratic states of Western Europe" against "Soviet imperialism," but "they are by no means sure that "we recognize our own interests or what should be done to implement them."

In this connection, Mr. Bullitt reports that Italians are puzzled by President Roosevelt's failure to exact a promise of good conduct with respect to other nations from Russia in return for our lend-lease.

According to Mr. Bullitt, the Italians expect Germany to collapse by the end of October, but they fear that the withdrawal of American and British forces from Europe "will leave them at the mercy of the Soviet Union. And they judge the quality of that mercy by the Russians' treatment of the Poles."

"Sad Joke" Reported

"The Romans," according to Mr. Bullitt, "expect the Soviet Union to dominate Finland, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Rumania, Bulgaria, Hungary and Czechoslovakia," to establish a puppet government in Poland and eventually to dominate Germany, too, through political machinations."

This is a clipping from page 7 of the New York Times for Sept. 5, 1944

Clipped at the Seat of Government.

SOVIET GAINS SEEN IN LATIN AMERICA

Survey Finds That War Has Fostered Disunity Between U. S. and Other Lands

The war has fostered disunity between the Latin American nations and this country as well as a decline of interest in Pan Americainsm, according to the third annual survey of inter-American affairs made public yesterday by the Columbia University Press, which asserted that Russia loomed as an effective newcomer on the Latin-American scene. The "political eclipse" of Vice President Henry Wallace, the report indicated, helped to create this disparity.

Vice President Wallace, it was pointed out, was regarded by Latin Americans as "one of their most powerful friends in Washington." The resignation of Under-Secretary Sumner Welles, it was said, also caused dismay among the Latin Americans who had come to feel that Welles "was the keeper of the President's conscience as far as Latin America was concerned."

The survey, edited by Prof. Arthur P. Whitaker of the University of Pennsylvania, i stitled "Inter-American Affairs, 1943," and was prepared by government officials and university professors.

Lack of effective inter-American leadership was an increasing source of uneasiness in Latin America last year, the publication contends, creating "a kind of political vacuum," with the Soviet Union "seeming disposed to help fill it."

Working swiftly, the Soviet Union in 1943 established two large embassy staffs in Latin America, one in Cuba and another in Mexico, which serve as training schools for the diplomatic missions soon to be established by the Soviet Union in other Latin-American countries, the survey observed.

"The Soviet Union's overtures to Latin America met with a response that in some of the countries was very friendly," the report continued. "Their receptivity to the new connection points to the fact which helps explain the apparent recession of interest in Pan-Americanism, namely, the fact that American nations on both sides of the Rio Grande were increasingly disposed to cultivate closer relations with countries outside the Western Hemisphere.

"The tide was running strongly toward international cooperation on a global, not a regional scale; and this fact alone might have been enough to account for whatever decline of interest in Pan-Americanism occured at this time. There seemed to be a growing tendency to consider Pan-Americanism as an integral part of world cooperation. Possibly this was a healthy development; possibly all cohesion would be lost in the move for world integration."

The survey warned of a possible wave of nationalism in Latin America after the war that would impair the foundation of the inter-American system. Enthusiasm for this system, it continued, had been considerably dampened by developments in this country that gave rise to doubts as to its future attitude toward Latin America. The report further indicated that Latin-American regionalism, stressing cooperation among the Latin-American States as a protection for their mutual interest, was gaining some advocates.

Contributors include Professor John P. Humphrey of McGill University, Montreal; Otis E. Mulliken and Sarah E. Roberts of the Department of State; George Wythe and Charles F. Carson of the Department of Commerce; R. W. James, Canadian Wartime Prices and Trade Board, Washington division; Maj. Gen. Julian L. Schley, director transportation division, Office of the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs; Don Francisco, assistant coordinator in the Office of the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs; Madaline W. Nichols of Goucher College, and Clement G. Motten of the University of Pennsylvania.

N Y Times
Sept 3-1944
page 20.

Two Soviet Labor Heads

They Lead World's Largest Unions In Peace and War

The Soviet labor movement changed presidents last April. For many years it had been led by Nikolai Shvernik, under the title of chairman of the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions—a post equivalent to that held by Green or Murray in the United States.

The Soviet workers didn't exactly lose Shvernik, he was elected president (chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet) of the Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic, the largest of the 16 states that make up the Soviet Union, having about 100,000,000 inhabitants.

Shvernik is a milling machine operator by trade, born in 1888 the son of poor parents, his father a watchman. By 1905 he was already a leader of the trade union movement. Immediately after the Bolshevik revolution of 1917 Shvernik was elected president of the Artillery Workers Union. In 1929 he was chosen chairman of the central committee of the Metal Workers. In 1930 he was elected secretary of the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions, and later its chairman.

All his life Shvernik has been an advocate of international trade union unity. In 1936 he headed the Soviet delegation to the International Labor Office. In 1941 he signed the Anglo-Soviet trade union agreement and in 1942 and 1943 he headed a delegation to England to study and advise on labor conditions, and speaking at the 1943 British Trades Union Congress as a fraternal delegate, he proposed a world congress to form a new international of labor.

Vasili Kuznetzov, elected to replace Shvernik, is much younger. He was born in 1901 of a peasant family in Gorky region, north of Moscow. He had the usual Soviet education and first left the village of his father to attend technical school, then to study in Leningrad Polytechnical Institute. He worked first at the bench, then as a foreman, then on graduation from the Leningrad school was qualified as a metallurgical engineer.

Kuznetzov is said to consider his study trip to the United States in 1931 as a high spot in his education. He studied the iron and steel mills of the Ohio Valley, took a term at the Carnegie Institute in Pittsburgh and won a master's degree.

All through his professional career Kuznetzov was an active unionist. In 1943 he was elected chairman (president) of the steel workers. The next year he was elected in its 12th convention to the highest job the Soviet union movement has at its disposal, replacing Shvernik.

People's World
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Carleton Beals began reporting Latin American events twenty-five years ago. He is an outstanding authority on Latin American affairs.

THE SOVIET WOOING OF LATIN AMERICA

CARLETON BEALS

NOVEMBER 7th and 8th last year were busy days for Constantin A. Oumansky, the energetic Soviet ambassador to Mexico. He was the speaker of honor at the unprecedented joint session of the Mexican senate and chamber to celebrate the 1917 Bolshevik Revolution. At the Palace of Fine Arts he addressed a proletarian mass meeting, along with Lombardo Toledano, head of the Latin American Confederation of Labor, and Jorge Mancísador, head of the Mexican Friends of the U.S.S.R. And, of course, Oumansky presided over the Embassy reception. No Communist comrades, except a painter, were invited, but two bullfighters were present.

The Embassy is now housed in the Tacubaya Condesa Palace, with its huge sprawling wings, impressive gardens, and lofty colonial rooms; and more than one guest, as he entered the great salon and read the Stalin quotation in letters of gold over the main staircase, was reminded of the splendor of old-time Czarist entertainment. Actually, decorating had been done on a modest budget by Clarita Porcet, an exiled Cuban Communist; but wines, champagnes, and food were lavish: "thirty-five pesos per head, enough to feed thirty thousand."

But Oumansky—the ex-railroad worker, now aristocratic, meticulous in attire, strict in his observance of social categories—is busy not merely on Red anniversaries. He has had to make up for much lost time, for it was fourteen years ago, in 1930, that Mexico rudely ejected Soviet Minister Alexander Makar from the country; and except for secret agents and a trade mission two years ago, no Soviet representative had since trod Mexican soil. From the day he first arrived in the ancient "City of Palaces"—June 17, 1943—Oumansky has let no grass grow under his feet. Today he is the most popular diplomat in Mexico. Embassy cocktails are jammed by the élite (except ardent Catholics), by writers, poets, economists, generals, and politicians. Those with no love for Communist doctrines attend because of the success of the Soviet armies, because of the influence the Soviet Union will exercise in world affairs, because Oumansky himself is colorful and dynamic, lavish in entertainment, because—well—because Soviet gatherings are *à la mode*. An additional attraction is the new movie theater, in the made-over jai-alai court, elegantly upholstered in dark blue, and with modernistic lighting and frescoes depicting Russian folk art. Here guests are treated to previews of Soviet films.

Petroleos Mexicanos, the government petroleum company which manages the

Mexican oil industry, maintains a nightly news program over a national network, headed by stations XEFO and XEUS. The news is provided free by Oumansky; the cost of its transmission from Russia is paid by the Embassy and runs to a little over a hundred thousand dollars a year. Moscow transmits radio programs to South America three hours daily. One fifteen-minute period of this time is in German, one in Portuguese, and one in Italian. The remaining two and a quarter hours are in Spanish. The programs are mostly talks and news comment. Beginning in February, 1944, a new Soviet information bulletin, printed in Spanish, is being sent out to a big mailing list in Mexico and South America.

The Tass news bureau, in addition to a staff of three Russians, includes a Mexican Communist, Rodolfo Dorantes. It is now rumored that Alfonso Reyes, one of Mexico's outstanding intellectuals and writers, is about to go on the staff. The bureau is fronted by Yuri Dashkevitch, who has been charged with being a journalistic screen for the Russian secret police. During his fifteen years of journalistic work, he is known to have been in close touch with the OGPU agents in various countries.

Tass is supposed only to report news for the Soviet Union, but hands out some material locally. The ostensibly independent ANTA news agency distributes Tass releases. Among others it services *La Voz de México* and *España Popular*. (Tass stuff, rewritten in its Mexican bureau, hits the United States hard for preventing Mexico from attaining her proper economic development.)

The Soviet Embassy has been fighting to obtain a private wire direct from Moscow to Mexico. At present, except for messages by diplomatic pouch, which are slow, and in Embassy code, all are censored both ways by both the United States and England. Since before the invasion, even Soviet codes to Mexico have been held up. So far, both England and the U. S. State Department refuse to permit uncensored wire and cable connections.

WHEN Oumansky presented his credentials to President Avila Camácho, he expressed regret at his inability to speak Spanish but promised to do so within six months. Half a year later, he duly presented himself to the Chief Executive and carried on the interview in Castilian. Knowledge of the language is an indispensable tool with which to ingratiate oneself with Latin Americans, and Oumansky has worked indefatigably to win favor, to expand Soviet prestige, and to let Mexicans know constantly about Soviet culture and achievements. Love bullfighting, and you are a "regular guy" with a large class of Mexicans. Oumansky knows the fine points, rarely misses a good *corrida*, and shouts at the matador with the rest of the crowd. An American diplomat would get into trouble with the S.P.C.A. back home. The Soviet Ambassador is also seen frequently watching the races at Mexico's new two-million-dollar Hipodromo.

Oumansky has given an unusual number of banquets to high Mexican officials, and the toasts on both sides have been high-ticking with good-fellowship rather than formality. He attends every possible Mexican cultural and scientific gathering with the enthusiasm of a typical American joiner, and speaks on every appropriate occasion, at the Rotary Club, the National University, and so on. On Arbor Day he plants a tree. He visits airfields, military establishments, schools, jails and prisons, industrial plants, irrigation works, communal farms. He himself has driven and demonstrated a Soviet tractor.

A permanent Soviet museum displays war materials, to emphasize Russia's military might. The British have now countered with a similar exhibit. Resident Americans mostly gripe that neither mentions Lend-Lease. In addition the Russians have a ten-year lease on the magnificent Iris Theater in order to present movies, dances, shows, and hold mass celebrations. *Three years' rent was paid in advance!*

The Soviets used what we now call "good-will techniques" long ago. For more than two decades promising Mexican proletarian leaders have been taken regularly to Moscow to be trained in propaganda and underground work. During the previous five-year recognition period,

Soviet writers, artists, and scientists visited Mexico. Oumansky again brings in many such. They are the occasion for news headlines, social contacts, banquets. Two visitors have been the poet Lieutenant Colonel Isac Fefer, and Solomon Michoels, founder of the Moscow Jewish Art Theater, who were tendered a mass *homenaje* in the Iris Theater, addressed by ex-President Cárdenas and labor leader Lombardo Toledano.

Typical of Oumansky's gestures was the pompous Embassy ceremony to present a Shostakovitch musical score dedicated to Carlos Chávez, Mexico's leading composer, who has often conducted the New York Symphony. "One more example of the affinity of our ideals and the solidarity of our peoples," said Oumansky.

The pro-clerical "Atisbe" column of *El Universal* (leading daily) commented sourly about the similarity of Russian and Mexican democratic ideals, charging that they both are "opportunistic, advanced Marxian, and directed," and adding that while in Mexico and Russia "only members of the totalitarian party have voice and vote," in England and the United States "all citizens have the same rights." Oumansky, the column went on to say, must be thinking in terms of such domestic resemblances rather than of foreign affairs, in which Mexico's "satisfactory identification with the Soviets is less than with a truly democratic regime," the United States, for Mexico's international idea "consists of a United Nations victory over the whole Axis"; that of Russia "consists of a victory over two-thirds of the Axis."

In his address in Spanish to the joint congressional session, Oumansky cleverly related how Mexican and Soviet diplomacy had often coincided—a cagey reference to Mexico's support of Republican Spain. Copiously he eulogized Emiliano Zapata, most radical of Mexico's earlier agrarian leaders; and he declared that "any foreign government capable of imposing on the Mexican people a different form of government, of economics and social organization, lacks the proper respect for the sovereignty, independence, and maturity of the talented Mexican people." His hearers did not know whether he was referring to the new Soviet hands-off policy, to the United States, or to Nazi Germany.

Later, he did speak of Stalin's program. In war and peace, he said, Stalin had put foremost "the abolition of racial discrimination" (*exclusivismo*) and so, when at the Moscow conference of "the three-power coalition" he "obliged" his allies to make this the first plank of their joint program, "he merely projected into our foreign policy a principle already established in our constitution . . . not a promise but a reality." Oumansky had faith that the abolition of such discrimination, along with the other Moscow postulates, would be "transformed into realities in much less time than now seems possible."

This hope played upon deep Mexican resentments against the United States. Only four days before, these same Mexican senators who were now listening to Oumansky had orated bitterly against the persecution of Mexicans in Texas; our race riots and the Los Angeles police attacks on zoot-suiters were still vivid in their minds; and the Mexican government was reported withholding the further supply of war labor to our country pending better guarantees. In addition Jim Crow incidents had cropped up shortly before between native citizens and American forces quartered in a dozen Latin American countries, and in connection with our innumerable good-will projects, particularly in Brazil, Cuba, and Panama and on the Costa Rica highway project. And presently Lombardo Toledano's international labor conference in Montevideo condemned discrimination against Latin Americans in Panama and in our South as "very virulent to the point of excess of primitive barbarism."

It was at this time that a high Mexican foreign affairs official told me sadly—for he is one of our fervent admirers—that because of such racial discrimination, so greatly feared in Latin America, and because of our support of dictatorships, we were on the way to losing our moral and political leadership in the countries to the south of us; that the people and governments would turn more and more to the Soviet Union. Certainly Oumansky put his finger upon the most inflamed difficulty

we face in Latin America, and he exploited it for the glory and benefit of his own fatherland.

That was but part of his effort to cut a swath in Mexico. According to reliable informants, he has "unlimited funds," "a colossal budget." The accredited Embassy staff numbers thirty-five; rumors put the total personnel at from two to eight hundred. For Oumansky's interest is not confined to Mexico. He outranks the Soviet ambassador in Washington; the latter must get clearance on all important matters from Oumansky. He makes friends with the revolutionary émigrés of a continent and a half. Soviet training classes in English, Spanish, and other subjects have been set up, and part of the large force is apparently to be distributed to other Latin American posts. Indeed Oumansky's Embassy is the clearinghouse for all points south. The new Soviet envoy to Colombia first detoured to Mexico to get personal instructions from Oumansky; and Oumansky himself now has taken on an additional job, that of minister to Costa Rica.

II

OUMANSKY'S great success and popularity are in startling contrast with the careers of earlier Soviet representatives in Mexico. After the Bolshevik Revolution the Russians were confident that world revolution was at hand; the duty of their foreign agents, therefore, was to help on the good work. As early as 1919 the famous Borodin, later embroiled in Chinese affairs, secretly visited Mexico; he conspired energetically for a number of purposes, but with slight success. Then Foreign Commissar Chicherin announced that Mexico would be used as a base for Soviet operations in all Latin America. Calles, then president, said that he would put a quietus on that.

Next arrived in Mexico, as the first Soviet minister, Pestovsky, a personal friend of Lenin. He was the bearded revolutionist of fable, with tobacco-stained teeth and a highly contentious disposition. He meddled with internal affairs and soon made himself as popular in official quarters as a tack in a tire. After him came Mme Alexandra Kollontai, later Soviet ambassador to Sweden. She was tactful where Pestovsky had been a clumsy bull, but relations continued uneasy. Makar, the third Soviet representative, was a very cautious man with a purring voice, who sought desperately to placate respectable and professional groups. Then President Portes Gil broke up the short-lived Communist Unitarian Labor Confederation and the National Peasants' League. Leaders were killed, sent to prison, or exiled. Communists all over the world stoned Mexican legations, and in the United States—this was in 1930—they dogged the heels of President-elect Ortiz Rubio with banners and shouts of vituperation. That settled it. Minister Makar was ordered out of the country by the first boat, and thirteen years went by before another Soviet ambassador—Oumansky—arrived in Mexico.

Soviet relations with other Latin American states were not much more successful. A trading corporation set up in Argentina in 1926 was run out in 1931 by Dictator Uriburú. In 1935 the Soviet Legation in Montevideo was ousted by Gabriel Terra, then boss of the country.

This curdled state of affairs began to change when Russia joined the United Nations, abolished the Comintern, and began to win her prodigious victories. Then direct official relations between Latin America and the Soviets revived. Cuba was the first to resume relations; then came Colombia, Uruguay, Mexico, and Costa Rica. Even the Vargas regime in Brazil, which has persecuted Communists unmercifully and still has many in jail, has announced that it is on the verge of tendering recognition. All in all, Russia is booming along in Latin America and things look rosy.

THESE episodes show the evolution in Russian diplomacy during the past few decades. From spreading dogmatic propaganda the Soviet foreign policy changed to promoting collective security, then to concluding a pact with the Nazis while western Europe was being overrun, then to playing its present part—not as a revolutionary pariah, but as a great military power with the mightiest land army

in the world, a nation determined to protect its interests and take a hand in every theater of the globe—Latin America included.

Nowadays Soviet diplomacy has little to do directly with the small belligerent Communist parties to the south, all so tarred with previous subservience and inconsistencies, except to pitch them overboard, give them democratic-sounding names, and oblige them to eat their past principles and words. Mostly the Communist Party has been suppressed by the southern dictators. In Mexico the party enjoyed its greatest expansion in the late twenties during the Soviet recognition period, but has less strength today than the auxiliary group, the Friends of the U.S.S.R. In Cuba the Communist poet, Juan Marinello, was given a cabinet post by President Fulgencio Batista, but the new President-elect Grau San Martín, head of the opposition Auténtico Party and a great patriot, does not cotton to Communists. There is a lone Communist in the Uruguayan congress. In Chile the party formed part of the United Front government, along with local Nazis, and members still sit in Congress and hold government posts. In Peru its leaders were long since bought off by government jobs. (One of Moscow's earlier secret agents, sent to Mexico, now edits a Peruvian magazine that fulsomely eulogizes President Manuel Prado on every other page. Whether this is true conversion, or merely Moscow's present line, no one can tell.) In Costa Rica the party was recently revamped as the Vanguardia Popular, the head of which, Manuel Mora, is close to President Teodoro Picado, whose first executive act was to recognize the Soviet Union.

This general decay of local Communist parties in Latin America has made Soviet influence more effective, less dependent upon petty minority factions which used to bicker constantly with sliver groups that deviated from the creed. Today groups in all social categories eagerly argue in Russia's favor. Wealthy citizens who yesterday wept for Finland and opened their purses on her behalf now dip deep for Soviet Relief. But if the Soviet Union has become a nationalist state, interested not so much in spreading communist dogmas as in self-preservation and in the degree of imperialism it believes to be required to fend off future enemies, the Marxist-Leninist revolution is a ghost not easily laid. Actually there are now two Russias: the present Stalinist war government, intent on victory; and the legendary revolutionary Russia, still thought of as the land of proletarian utopia.

It is this legendary Russia which lifts the hearts of Communists—and of many liberals and intellectuals—the world over. But it is wartime Russia that influences governments and power politics, and that —because of its new industrial potency— excites the interest of traders and trade bureaus. Soviet intervention in world affairs remains a double-headed engine, a Janus-faced enigma. Officially the Soviets play *Realpolitik* with cold intensity, scorn no alliance, however reactionary, that promotes victory or improves their position *vis-à-vis* England and the United States. At the same time the Russian regime holds in its hands, willy-nilly, the dynamite of social revolution everywhere on earth. For thirty years after the French Revolution of 1792 had been swallowed up by the counter-revolution, South Americans engaged in bloody wars and civil conflicts over liberty, equality, and fraternity. Something similar may again occur.

III

It isn't Russian victories alone that are responsible for increasing Soviet prestige in Latin America. The conditions under which most people live in the southern republics are so squalid and poverty-stricken that, to the discontented, the Russians seem to have the secret of deliverance and freedom for the proletariat.

The feudal character of society in these countries is an old story—on top are the privileged landowners, the military groups, and the ecclesiastics; underneath are the mass of illiterate near-serfs and ill-paid workers. The wealth produced consists mostly of raw materials needed elsewhere; the standard of living for the masses is lower than anywhere outside the Orient. The war has aggravated class divisions,

and the fantastic inflation has all but broken the backs of the people.

The acute suffering has been reflected in political upheavals recently in Bolivia, Ecuador, Paraguay, Salvador, and Argentina. The election of Grau San Martín in Cuba is tantamount to a popular revolt. The news of bloody repressions by various dictators—including refinements of torture that the Nazis could not surpass—has been suppressed in the United States, but they have occurred and are occurring right now. At the moment rumblings come from Honduras, Guatemala, Brazil, Chile, Panama, and Colombia.

The Latin American discontented are not slow to point out that since our policy is to prefer the status quo and base our attitude toward the republics on whether they are for or agin' us—we support near-socialist Mexico and bloody Paraguay with equal good will—the result has been that our Good Neighbor efforts, our subsidies and outright gifts, tend to shore up the big and little tyrants. "The errors of democratic politics in Europe are being repeated in America," said Vicente Saenz, head of the strong Democratic Central American Union movement last February. "The continued support of Franco, instrument of the Nazis, shows no comprehension of the damage done in our midst by Falangist propaganda." And, speaking of Bolivia, "However totalitarian the present Bolivian rulers . . . they are nothing compared to . . . some other intercontinental despots . . . whose effigies constantly appear with fulsome eulogies in the columns of the North American propaganda magazine *En Guardia*, glossy print organ of the very erudite Coordinator and oil magnate, Nelson Rockefeller."

Thus our policy has resulted in a maze of contradictions. Disillusion with the capitalist powers and with penetration by foreign capital is deeply rooted in Latin America. The days of dollar diplomacy are not forgotten. Furthermore, the prolonged prewar depression, which brought revolution or attempted revolution in all but one of the twenty republics, shook the confidence of all classes to the south in the stability and continued progress of the "American system." The Good Neighbor Policy strove to counteract this sentiment. During wartime we have carried on a bigger public works policy in Latin America than we did in the United States during the depression. We have subsidized crop curtailments. We have bought up not only strategic materials but whole exportable surpluses of unneeded commodities—sugar, tobacco, cacao, coffee, cotton, gold, silver, and other metals, vegetable oils, and fibers. We have kept industries going and thus have helped to hold down unemployment in Latin America. But rising prices and the dizzy plunge in real wages are shaking the foundations.

The Latin American upper classes know that without a continuation of such handouts they will be in a pickle after the war. Will the American taxpayer be willing to see his money invested in Brazilian and Peruvian cotton? And what will be done with the accumulated stocks of unused, unneeded materials bought by the United States during the war? Won't they wet-blanket future production and paralyze many Latin American industries? So the Soviet Union looms as an alternative. Russia promises to be the only considerable market outside the Anglo-American sphere.

This state of affairs, oddly enough, fits a traditional pattern for Latin American bosses. They may hate Communism, but governments in the past have always sought for counterpoises to the United States, the northern colossus. Great Britain, Germany, and Japan have, at one time or another, served many of the republics in this counterbalance role. As it now stands, there is a real possibility that our policy will be cracked or bypassed by republics gravitating toward fascist Argentina (which is supported by Franco's Spain and by Great Britain) or by republics leaning toward Russia as a power or toward communism as a political doctrine.

The long series of Latin American fears and hates toward the United States pushes various southern groups—often from contradictory motives—toward Russia. If, for example, the Soviet Union, now that Rome has been captured, makes the long-sought-for rapprochement with the Vatican, the effect may be startling. A Cath-

olic writer in the Jesuit weekly *America* admits that the Church has much to learn from Soviet methods in Latin America.

IV

The role of the Soviets in Latin America is also affected by the rivalries growing out of conflicting political and economic systems. We have spoken of the republics which now gravitate toward Argentina and fascism. Mexico represents a gravitation in the opposite direction.

Many Mexicans have a deadly dread of a spread of continental fascism. Inside Mexico itself are such powerful fascist movements as the proclerical Sinarquistas. Fear of such movements causes Mexico to maintain close relations with the Chilean United Front. Mexicans have organized agricultural and educational missions to Bolivia. An extremely influential organization in the whole continent is the Latin American Confederation of Labor organized from Mexico by Lombardo Toledano. Toledano, an able organizer and burning like another Savonarola, has been in labor politics in Mexico for twenty years. Although he has had sharp tiffs with Mexican Communists, he generally follows the party line. (He opposed the war during the Soviet appeasement of Germany, switching immediately after Russia and Germany went to war.) During the past few years, having organized the most powerful labor organization in Mexican history, he has been busy promoting his new Confederation in the countries south of Mexico. It has been because of his efforts that the Bolivian, Peruvian, and Ecuadorian labor movements were unified and brought into line. He was the moving force in a series of notable Confederation labor congresses in Mexico City, Santiago de Chile, Havana, and Montevideo. Toledano completely dominated the International Labor Office conference held a few weeks ago in Philadelphia. Today he is one of the most influential people in the New World. And he is a close friend of Soviet Ambassador Oumansky—but not of United States Ambassador Messersmith.

An example of the hand of Toledano may be seen in the successful Velasco Ibarra revolution which occurred in Ecuador just a few weeks ago. Its most militant support came from Communists and from Toledano labor elements.

The main concern of Mexico is Central America. The republics there—with the exception of Costa Rica—are bossed by malodorous and bloodthirsty little tyrants. Mexico has the closest ties with Costa Rica, and the Guatemalan press speaks of this connection as "a Mexican-Soviet squeeze play." It is of some significance that Oumansky not only is ambassador to Mexico but is the Soviet envoy to Costa Rica also. For a long time Mexico has been either wooing or jostling the other little Central American despotisms into closer relations with gifts of anti-rabies laboratories, airplanes, radio stations, selected seed corn, school books, scholarships, and athletic equipment. The wooing of Costa Rica was simple. With the dictator-bossed countries it was harder, and Mexicans were interested onlookers in the general strike that led to the overthrow, a short while back, of the bloodthirsty Martinez who had so long terrorized Salvador. The list of the enemies of General Ubico, long the boss of Guatemala, was very long and many of them roosted just over the border on Mexican soil. The Mexican government's attitude toward them seemed to be quite paternal.

Now, given the active influence of Toledano, the preoccupation of Mexico with Central and South America, and the Mexican fear of fascist advances, it is not surprising that the lay of the land is much in Mr. Oumansky's favor.

V

The Soviet efforts in Mexico, even now in wartime, are vigorous and original. Good-will efforts are the privilege and obligation of a great and friendly ally. The propaganda about the material and military progress of the Soviet Union—tractors, great factories, and mighty fields of wheat—is not so different from our own eagle-screaming; what is different is that the Russians speak with pride of collective farms which—except in efficiency—greatly

resemble Mexican village communities with their *ejidos* or communal lands. The Russian factories which they display in their films are all government-owned. So the impact of Soviet Russia on Latin America is that of a different system from our own, and one that in many ways more nearly squares with Latin American ideas than does ours, the "American system."

Most informed persons will tell you that Soviet interest in Latin America is motivated wholly by "the desire for prestige." Hence its immediate goal is to secure recognition from all the countries and prepare the properly trained personnel. But prestige doesn't really explain it any more than prestige explains the long insistence of the United States upon a unilateral Monroe Doctrine.

With a great industrial establishment which in less than a decade may surpass our own, the Soviets are bound to have interests in every part of the globe and to look out for them, whatever the world structure after the war. The logic of their position is strong: if we insist on having a say concerning Poland and Turkey and Greece, why shouldn't the Soviets have a say about Mexico and Cuba and Chile? Every time we have made a move in Polish or Balkan questions, the Soviets have taken a stand in some Anglo-American sphere, as when they abruptly recognized Badoglio as a co-belligerent. Soviet abandonment of revolutionary isolationism has meant that Russia would play a role in every corner of the world. American abandonment of isolationism meant the same. Intervene in Europe and you grant at least the moral right to others to intervene in the Western Hemisphere. Neither the United States nor Russia can have its cake and eat it too — not for long. Certainly the Soviet Union is clearly preparing for any eventuality; and in the years to come Latin America will progressively carry more weight in international affairs.

With the end of hostilities the Soviet Union and the United States will embark on rapid factory conversion, the transformation of munitions plants into factories for civilian goods. Then will come the development of startling new trade relations.

Already for her war effort the Soviet Union, mostly via Lend-Lease, has drawn heavily on Latin America for strategic materials: metals, drugs, and the products of tropical agriculture. The Soviets will continue to want these and other products in large quantities. It is scarcely likely that Russia will be content for long to let the United States serve as middleman. Of course the Soviet Union could get most of these products from the British Empire, but there is some evidence that she is taking the slogan of "Smash the cartels" seriously and that she does not want to be beholden to empire monopolies. Many American and British cartels extend into Latin America, but by and large Latin America is the only colonial trading area left in the world that is halfway free to outsiders. It may prove somewhat ironic to observe the Soviet Union in the postwar era attempting to promote international competition. The Soviet Union may even be obliged to set up counter-industries in Latin America or to egg on the various southern governments to expropriate tin mines and so on.

Quite apart from such possibilities, the Soviet Union may well prove Latin America's immediate salvation. Our own great war purchases to the south will probably be curtailed; Russia's probably will not be. In addition we will have to dispose of many accumulated and unnecessary stocks of Latin American goods purchased out of good-neighborliness. Hence, unless Latin America can quickly find overseas markets, economic collapse may soon follow as our economic aid southward dwindles off simultaneously with declining American purchases and the rise of competition with the British Empire.

Latin America has built up enough war credits with us to get a big volume of goods for some years. Although supplying these goods will merely be paying off part of our war debt, it will help keep our factories in production. But Latin America's problem will be not how to get goods, but how to keep her raw-product industries going and prevent disastrous unemployment.

With what would the U.S.S.R. pay for Latin American goods? Probably at first mostly with armaments and gold. The Soviet war museum in Mexico is a gesture

not merely of good will but of preliminary salesmanship. After every war, Latin America has been a dumping ground for munitions while factories tooled up for new tasks. The U.S.S.R. will have enormous supplies of armaments, many of little use even if her army is kept at peak efficiency. Practically all surviving Lend-Lease materials will have to be junked or sold abroad. The Soviets would scarcely wish to be permanently dependent upon the United States for shells, torpedoes, airplanes, and replacements. For the converse reason, such materials would have demand in Latin America.

The Soviet export commissar might find it difficult to get Latin America to take Soviet war materials. The risk of being cut off from ammunition and replacements would be too great. But given the corrupt nature of so much of Latin American politics at the present juncture, the right bureaucrat might not scorn the making of a little "commission."

Russia can also pay in gold. If only a small part of her demobilized army or her war prisoners should be put to work on her rich gold deposits, soon she would have enough to buy whatever she needs abroad; and if we should buy the gold and bury it in Fort Knox, this would mean that we would continue to finance Soviet purchases in Latin America by taking gold in return for our manufactured goods shipped south. This would be a further drain on our national wealth and might eventually be ruinous, but it would help stave off immediate postwar unemployment and economic crisis as gold-buying did during our long depression.

The rub may come when the Soviet Union, with a centralized government trade monopoly, enters the foreign field with manufactured products, not merely folk art. No private American company could hope to compete in the same lines. Bilateral agreements and barter would be imperative under the Soviet trade system. General Electric could not be expected to take its payment in coffee, cotton, or peanuts. But the Soviet government is already trading in every line. Nor could General Electric, in an effort to compete, continue very long to sell below cost. A single American company could not charge up loss to the overall production of the whole United States. But the Soviet selling agency could utterly disregard costs for any given country or any given product, and the burden would be borne by a producing empire, a closed trade area, and a centralized system covering one-sixth of the world's land surface.

At present the greater part of the world's productive and commercial life is controlled by American Lend-Lease. This has created or limited prosperity in every corner of the globe. One might even say that it has broken more private enterprise around the world than have nearly three decades of Communist propaganda.

But Lend-Lease is not a system of production or trade. It is merely a wasteful and costly necessity of the war process. Its present powerful control over men and nations conceals the fact that it cannot possibly endure. What will take its place? A free international trading system? No country on earth is geared for it. The Soviet Union would have to shake down its whole social system. In the face of state-owned trade such as that of the Soviets, if we tried to operate under a free international monetary system and to unclog the trade routes, without proper international agreements, we would merely hand all our competitors marked cards. Paradoxically the United States, playing the game in such a free international system, would be at a greater disadvantage than any other country.

There is much talk of postwar co-operation which will bridge the gap between the American and Russian systems. But only prompt and far-reaching international political and economic agreements can create these bridges—agreements to offset Soviet nationalized trade practices, to safeguard labor and consumers everywhere.

The British are not leaving the matter entirely to chance. In Spain and Argentina they had adopted before the war a cumbersome equivalent of the Askimark system, and they still work with blocked sterling and have firm trade arrangements. They have a plan. And so, very clearly, has Russia. In Mexico, Costa Rica, and the lands to the south, Oumansky is letting no grass grow under his feet.

FRONTIER POLICIES OF RUSSIA EMERGE

June, 1941, Borders, With Strong Neighbors as Friends, Seen as Cardinal Objective

By C. L. SULZBERGER

By Wireless to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

CAIRO, Egypt, Aug. 27—The outlines of the Soviet Union's post-war policy in Eastern Europe, which has been a source of much speculation in the Western world, is becoming increasingly clear as the rapidly shifting Balkan picture develops strategically.

In brief, it has become evident that Moscow's basic desire, after establishing Russia's borders in the west approximating those existing in June, 1941, is to establish a series of east European States of considerable size and strength on her frontier, compensating those countries in the west for any territorial "cessions" on the east.

Moscow's policy has definitely prevailed over the original reluctance on some of these matters expressed by Great Britain and the United States, especially the latter.

The Baltic States question—which Moscow never regarded as a question—has been settled and agreed to by London and Washington, although this agreement has not yet been specifically announced.

Furthermore, both London and Washington have approved the Soviet peace terms offered to Finland, although Helsinki is still demuring because of the size of the indemnity demanded by the Russians—$600,000,000—and, because of German pressure.

Polish Line Seen Settled

Although Poland still remains a theoretically difficult problem, diplomatic sources indicate that the basic Soviet solution—an eastern Polish frontier approximating the Curzon Line and compensation for the Poles in East Prussia and Silesia—has been accepted by Prime Minister Churchill and President Roosevelt.

As a matter of fact, a solution more or less along these basic lines was suggested by the British to then Premier Wladislaw Sikorski in February, 1943. A detailed plan outlining these approximate frontiers was drawn up by Col. Victor Gazalet, a Member of Parliament assigned as special British liaison officer to General Sikorski.

In Rumania, somewhat similar tendencies are now taking place. Moscow has indicated its complete approval of the Rumanian scheme to reoccupy northern Transylvania, taken by the Hungarians after the Vienna award dictated by Reichsfuehrer Hitler. Britain has formally endorsed this, although in very diplomatic language, and the United States has also signified it will not oppose such an alteration, although Washington basically would still prefer to see the frontier question settled after the war by plebiscites.

Soviet policy is certainly realistic. Having decided that in the interests of Soviet security after the re-establishment of the 1941 western frontiers, friendly states must be established on Russian borders, it has acknowledged the need to compensate for territorial losses.

Russia Sides Against Hungary

Just as the Germans sought to obtain Rumania's friendship by compensating the Antonescu Government in the east—at Soviet expense—for its losses in Transylvania and Dobruja, Moscow has now determined to achieve stability in Rumania by permitting her to reobtain coveted northern Transylvania.

By so doing, not only does Moscow improve its chances of establishing a more satisfied and more amicably inclined nation there but also wins the support of the great Transylvanian Peasant party leader, Juliu Maniu, who back in 1940 gained additional prestige by refusing to recognize the Vienna award and by desiring to oppose it by force.

What happens to Hungary is not so important from Moscow's viewpoint on matters of Soviet security as what happens to strategically located Rumania. It is evident that Hungary will be pushed back to the frontiers set in the 1919 Treaty of Trianon. And that not only will Transylvania be returned to Rumania but Vojvodin is most likely to go back to Yugoslavia.

The fact that the Allies, including the Soviet Union, have already pledged the restoration of an independent Austria leads some observers to think that maybe Russia would like to see the re-establishment of Austria-Hungary as a combined State. Indeed, some even fell that Moscow would not oppose the return of the Hapsburg dynasty to such a state. Certainly Moscow does not appear to have any basic dislike for kings—as many thought it would—judging from the support of King Michael in Rumania and continued recognition of King Peter of Yugoslavia and King George of Greece.

It is unlikely, however, that the Hapsburgs' chances of returning are really great, for Eduard Benes—who has played in the closest of any east European statesmen with the Russians—unqualifiedly opposes this on the grounds that it would tend to revve old Hapsburg revisionist tendencies. Mr. Benes has already got—he obtained it three years ago—a Soviet guarantee that Czechoslovakia's pre-Munich frontiers will be re-established.

This is a clipping from page 7 of the New York Times for Aug. 28. 1944

Clipped at the Seat of Government.

SOVIET MOSLEMS PICK SHEIK FOR FIRST TIME

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MOSCOW, Aug. 21—For the first time in their history the Moslems of Russia have elected a Sheik to be supreme spiritual leader of the faithful throughout the Soviet Union. He is Ahund Aga Alizade of Baku, of whom it is said in the Caucasus that few men have more right to the title of Sheik ul Islam.

The Sheik lives in Baku in an old three-storied house. The second floor has been given over to the Moslem Board, while the Sheik's numerous family lives in the upper story in an apartment furnished in ancient style.

His eldest son, Aga Methi, is one of Azerbaid Zhan's leading physicians, specializing in ear diseases. He is now employed in a military hospital and recently received the Distinguished Service Medal.

The Sheik speaks Azerbaidzhani, Persian, Arabic and Turkish. His father, Ahund Jawad, was well known as a mullah, and from 1872 to 1904 was Gazi of Baku and at the same time deputy to the Hite Majlis (Assembly).

"I am the first Sheik in the history of the Moslems in Russia to be elected," Ahund Aga said.

The election was conducted at a recent Council of Moslem leaders in Baku, which set up the Moslem Central Board of the Transcaucasus, of which the Sheik was named president.

Ahund Aga believes that one of the greatest recent accomplishments among Moslems in Russia has been the elimination of bitter strife between the Shiites and Sunnites, the two great sects of Mohammedans.

Russia

This is a clipping from page 10 of the New York Times for Aug. 22, 1944

Clipped at the Seat of Government.

Church

Religion

CHURCH IN RUSSIA GETS A FREE HAND

Orthodox Priests Permitted to Propagandize at Services or Outside, Officials Say

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MOSCOW, Aug. 17—Orthodox priests in Russia are now free to carry on proselytizing work both in churches and outside, according to Georgi Grigorievich Karpoff, head of the Soviet Council on Greek Orthodox Church Affairs.

The disclosure was made in an interview during which the Soviet official stressed that the Orthodox Church enjoys the same legal status as any other "private society" and that priests may carry on their work everywhere.

The statement implying that religious propaganda is now being permitted to orthodox priests is believed to mark a significant departure from Soviet policies in the past. Under the Soviet Constitution, freedom to propagandize is not a right possessed by the church, and heretofore the State has not tolerated propaganda except by anti-religious groups, to whom this right is expressly granted in Article 124 of the Constitution.

Religious Service Unrestricted

"Priests may go to their parishioners and may engage in proselytizing work either in church or outside," Mr. Karpoff said, "without any restriction except those placed upon any orderly citizen of the U.S.S.R. They may go about church business wherever they wish, in line with general applicable restrictions relating to war zones, etc. They may officiate in private homes if they so desire, may perform baptismal, marriage and funeral services in or outside churches."

"The Orthodox Church," the Soviet leader added, "being a private, nonprofit society, has all the rights possessed by every private society in the Soviet Union. In reality, it has more, since our council was established to make sure that church rights would be respected everywhere.

"The church may appeal to the law for the protection of its interests, may ask for whatever aid the State may be able to give and may demand equal treatment with all other organizations in localities throughout the republics."

Mr. Karpoff also declared, in reply to a question whether American church delegations would be allowed to visit the Soviet Union to study church conditions there, that this was a matter for officials of the Orthodox Church to decide.

Post-War Role Studied

"There cannot be any objection on our part," he said, "as shown by the visit of the Archbishop of York. Conditions for visits to the Soviet Union are, of course, decided by our Commissariat for Foreign Affairs, but no special conditions will be placed before church leaders that are not placed before others."

Another question raised dealt with the place of the church in post-war reconstruction. The Soviet executive said, however, that he would like to consult Acting Patriarch Alexei and Metropolitan Nicholai of Kiev about the matter before making a considered reply.

"At present," he commented, "we are mainly concerned with the role of the church in achieving victory. The other question seems somewhat distant."

Russia

This is a clipping from page 6 of the New York Times for Aug. 18, 1944
Clipped at the Seat of Government

Great Powers Must Rule, Is Russian View

Will Oppose Equal Voice for Small Nations In World Setup

8/16

By R. H. Shackford
United Press Correspondent

WASHINGTON, Aug. 16.—The Soviet Union is expected to oppose vigorously at next week's talks on a world security organization the principle of full equality and responsibility of all nations and to contend instead that all powers—great and small—are equal only in the right to justice.

The Russian argument will be similar to this:

The small and the great nations must not have the same influence or the same right to a voice in the determination of international policy. The big powers admittedly must carry the responsibility for keeping the peace and suppressing aggression and they must therefore be granted formal authority corresponding to their actual responsibility.

That point of view will find wide support among the postwar planners of other nations who long have recognized that the rule of the old League of Nations requiring a unanimous vote on resolutions was one of its major defects.

Official Basis

A comprehensive idea of the plan the Russians are thinking about became available here this week with arrival of the full text of a recent article appearing in the Leningrad *Zvezda*. Many competent sources believe it comes close to the official Russian plan already transmitted to the U. S. and British Governments.

Some of the best Russian sources also believe that the author of the article, signed as N. Malinin, was really none other than Maxim Litvinov, Vice Commissar of Foreign Affairs and Russia's leading exponent of collective security and expert on the League of Nations.

The care of this Russian plan is a "union of great powers", bound together by special treaties as well as an international security organization. The special treaties among the "big-four"—amounting to a military alliance—would define "as precisely as possible the role of each power in extinguishing this or that center of aggression."

Steps for Action

The article outlines not only how actual acts of aggression would be stopped, but the preliminary steps which the planners hope in the future would make unnecessary the use of force.

"In some cases for sobering of an aggressor state," it said, "it will be sufficient to break off diplomatic or commercial and financial relations, and also to cut off railway, telegraphic and aerial communications.

"In other more serious cases recourse will be required to blockade, and in third cases even to naval and aerial demonstration."

To facilitate demonstration of force, the article, although opposing an international army, advocates an international military air force for "admonitory and punitive purposes."

Russia

PM
Aug 16, 1944
P 12

HULL SAYS RUSSIA FAVORS AIR TERMS

Preliminary Basis Is Outlined for Post-War Civil Aviation With Soviet

ACTION IS LAUDED HERE

American Interests See Important Gain—British Plan Is Ignored

WASHINGTON, Aug. 14 (AP)—Secretary of State Hull announced today that a preliminary understanding has been reached with Russia on post-war civil aviation. Both sides favor establishment of an international authority for civil aviation, with consultative and technical functions, he stated.

The agreement was reached during conferences with the Russian Air Mission during June and July.

Mr. Hull emphasized the conversations were preliminary and exploratory, and that "no commitments were made on either side."

Similar talks have been carried on with China, the Netherlands and Great Britain and are scheduled to begin with other countries with a view of holding a United Nations air conference this year.

Say Hull Won Air Victory

Air line men in New York greeted today's announcement of tentative agreement with Russia on post-war civil aviation an an important diplomatic victory for Secretary Hull. Agreement to limit the functions of an international civil aeronautics body to the "consultative and technical" puts Russia in line with the United States views as opposed to those tentatively put forward by the British.

Canada has proposed an international replica of our own Civil Aeronautics Board with power to allocate routes and set rates. This plan never gained the explicit support of either the mother country or the other members of the British Commonwealth. Nevertheless, it was known to represent the thinking of many Britons fearful of their post-war position in open competition in the air.

The proposal was generally rejected in the United States by airline men, and even steamship men contemplating air service. They have recognized, however, the wisdom of international standards of safety, international cooperation on weather reporting and, possibly, the continued interchange internationally of technical data. They interpret Secretary Hull's announcement as indicating Russia's similar thinking.

This unanimity here was opposed to a frankly divided opinion in Great Britain. One school of thought in London favored the "chosen instrument" policy in international air transport with Government subsidy as a corollary. There have been, however, numerous independent British factions, frequently representing the large steamship interests, and even some of the more important financial men in the insurance and moving-picture fields, who favored free and open competition among British venturers into international air transport.

Lord Beaverbrook, recently in Washington in conferences on post-war air policies, has been close to numbers of these of the latter British opinion.

The British and the Canadians still hold an ace in the matter of air bases to be used for commerce. The source of that commerce, however, is overwhelmingly in the United States. Officials of the Civil Aeronautics Board have stated that if some foreign country should prove blind to the advantages of receiving air commerce from the United States by way of an airport within its jurisdiction, its obduracy would be met by a simple air detour.

Several domestic airlines seeking transatlantic routes have discussed service to Russia. But so far as could be learned last night, only Northeast Airlines has included Moscow in a formal application to the CAB. Nothing is known, as usual, of current Russian plans in detail.

Russia

This is a clipping from page 10 of the New York Times for Aug. 15, 1944
Clipped at the Seat of Government.

RUSSIA PROPOSES WORLD AIR CORPS FOR PEACE

NO ARMY INCLUDED

Soviets Call 'International Police Force' Not Practical

'BIG FOUR' TO RULE

Program Will Be Discussed at Dumbarton Oaks With British

By JAMES B. RESTON

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

Soviet Russia has proposed to the United States and Great Britain the creation of a world security organization backed by an "international military air corps" which would warn and punish future aggressors, it was learned today.

Secretary of State Cordell Hull, who returned to his office today after a short rest, confirmed that the Soviet plan for the organization of world peace had been received and would be considered at the Dumbarton Oaks conference starting next week, but he did not discuss its contents or express any opinion about it.

It is understood that the Soviet plan rejects the idea of an international police force as impractical, but suggests that the major powers not only take the leadership in directing and controlling the new security league but establish an international air corps, made up of volunteers from all nations, who would be available to carry out the instructions of the Executive Council of the new world security league.

Details of the Soviet plan are not known at present, but the Soviet Union has apparently tried to devise a scheme which it believes would be effective in deterring aggression without jeopardizing the security of the sovereignty of any of the great powers.

[Secretary Hull announced that the United States and Russia had agreed on a post-war civilian operation program calling for an international authority, The Associated Press reported.]

Outline of Soviet Plan

A responsible official explained the broad outlines of the Soviet security plan as follows:

1. The executive authority in the new security league (which the Russians are calling the International Organization of Safety) would be vested in the signatories of the Moscow Declaration, the United States, Britain, Russia and China. As in the American plan, each of the four great powers would have the right to veto any proposal to declare economic or military sanctions against any potential aggressor, thus protecting all four against the possibility that the International Air Corps might be used against them and also protecting the sovereignty of the United States and the other great powers.

2. The Soviet plan, like the British and American plans, would also

Continued on Page 10

This is a clipping from page 1 of the New York Times for Aug. 15, 1944
Clipped at the Seat of Government.

RUSSIANS PROPOSE WORLD AIR CORPS

Continued From Page 1

reate an assembly of all the peace-loving powers of the world nd would allow them to contribute o the International Air Corps, but hile the small powers would be iven several seats on the executive council or "directive organ" f the new league, they would not e given the right to veto any proosed actions in the assembly.

3. An "International Military ir Corps" would be established to arry out the will of the "Directive rgan," but the four big powers hould, if necessary, be prepared , counter any aggression with heir own forces separate from the orces of the other members of the nternational organization.

4. The Soviet plan emphasizes hat the responsibility for keeping he peace should not be divided mong all the nations but vested n those nations that have the will nd power to enforce peace if necessary.

5. Finally, the plan is said to uggest that the "International Organization of Safety" avoid conerning itself with a great many ther problems, even if they are elated, but concentrate on the usiness of keeping and, if necesary, enforcin gthe peace.

An article written by N. Malinin n a Leningrad publication called The Star, recently contained special information about the Soviet plan. Indeed, the document sent by the Soviet Union to the United States and Great Britain is said to carry out the ideas expressed in this official Soviet publication.

On the question of an international police force and an international air corps Mr. Malinin wrote in The Star as follows:

"Plans for an international police force are Utopian. To counter an aggressor today, it is necessary to have hundreds of all kinds of weapons and technical equipment. It is quite clear that such an army cannot be built up in some single neutral country where the ICS (International Organ of Safety) is established. In a neutral country this army would be isolated from its supplies * * *.

"While objecting against the projects for the establishment of a large independent polic force for the future ICS, we are suggesting an international military air corps for warning and for punitive aims. Several hundreds of aircraft over an aggressive country will produce its impression. If it won't produce the impression then it is useful to bomb definite military objects of that country."

Mr. Malinin not only stressed the need for an international air corps and the creation of an international peace organization whose executive power would be controlled by the great powers but he seemed to propose that the great powers reach agreements with each other to support the decisions of the league organization.

"The responsibility for the peace," he said, "must not be divided among sixty or more governments. It must not be put upon impersonal organization. It must be put upon large governments, which possess real strength for it. Taking this into consideration, we would suggest that the great powers should sign agreements among themselves to prevent counter-aggression."

This was interpreted in some quarters here as a suggestion that the United States should join the Anglo-Soviet twenty-year mutual assistance agreement.

The international air corps idea is not, of course, new. It has been discussed by that large group of experts who have been working hard for many long months at the State Department on the post-war security organization, and James T. Shotwell has recently discussed it in a new book, but it was not included in the American plan, though there is considerable support for it in some quarters here.

Compared With American Plan

The American plan, as it now stands, calls for United States' participation in a new league council along with the Soviet Union, Britain, China and several other rotating members, including France, whose special claims to a permanent place on the council are recognized.

Like the Russian plan, the United States scheme demands a unanimous vote by all the great powers on the coucil before military sanctions can be imposed on any aggressor, but the essential difference between the two plans lies in the method of applying sanctions.

Under the Russian scheme, as soon as the council votes to take action against an aggressor, the international air force could be directed against the aggressor at once. Under the American peace organization plan, it would be necessary to seek the approval of Congress before American forces could be employed.

The general impression here is that the Americans who volunteered to join the international air force would lose their citizenship if they took part in any punitive expedition against another country before a declaration of war by Congress, but under the Russian plan, provided the United States was prepared to help finance the new league and its international air force, the first reaction of those who have seen the plan here is that the constitutional difficulties might be minimized.

Hull Receives British Delegates

The Russian delegation to the Dumbarton Oaks security conference has not yet arrived in Washington, but Secretary Hull received the British delegation today and expressed confidence in the continued collaboration of the United Nations in the post-war era.

"There is sound reason for believing," he said, "that the present effective collaboration of the United Nations, which began in the midst of a terrible war for survival, will be continued and strengthened in the future for the maintenance of peace and security."

This is a clipping from page_____ of the New York Times for

Clipped at the Seat of Government.

Russia

Religion

Russia Aims to Expand Churches, Soviet Council Chief Declares

Says Government Has Set Up Special Agency to Handle Petitions for More Parishes—Sunday Schools Still Being Debated

13

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MOSCOW, Aug. 11 — Measures to facilitate the opening of new churches in Russia have been among principal concerns of the Soviet Council on Orthodox Affairs since its formation ten months ago, it was revealed here by Georgi Grigorievitch Karpoff, head of the five-man Council, in an interview with Religious News Service.

The interview provided the first authoritative picture of the Council's scope and activities since it was established as a liaison with the Russian Orthodox Church shortly after the church's re-establishment early last fall.

The Council, according to Mr. Karpoff, has already set up in various parts of the Soviet Union an intricate organization to deal with matters involving both church and state. In addition to handling petitions for new churches, the Council has taken part in negotiations for the re-establishment of theological training centers, and in certain cases, has helped to release Orthodox priests from compulsory military service. Matters on which the Council has been consulted include church repairs and taxation of church property.

A point emphasized by Mr. Karpoff was that "we place absolutely no barriers to church expansion." When the interviewer inquired about the setting up of Sunday schools to extend religious education in Russian parishes, the official explained that this was one of the questions that, as yet, had not come before the Council. "In any case," he commented, "we do not mix in internal church affairs."

One interesting aspect of the interview was the light thrown on the background of the Soviet official chosen to fill a highly significant role in relations between the Government and the predominant Russian Church.

Born in Leningrad in 1897, Mr. Karpoff served in the Red Army during the civil war; had some years of university education, but did not graduate. Most of his life has been devoted to organizational work for the Communist party and the Soviet Government. He is married, and has three daughters, two of whom are also married.

Serving on the Orthodox-Soviet Council, in addition to Mr. Karpoff, are his assistant, Constantin Artemovitch Zaitseff, who was present at the interview; Georgi Trofimovitch Utkin; Ivan Ivanovitch Ivanoff; and an executive secretary.

"Our council was set up by the Council of People's Commissars on Oct. 8, 1943," Mr. Karpoff explained, "and since then we have gained a fair amount of experience. We have had no friction, and every complaint has been attended to. Our basic task is to maintain contact between the Government and the church. This was done first through the late Patriarch Sergius, and is now being done through Acting Patriarch Alexei and the Orthodox Synod.

"We have established our representatives in all regions, provinces, and republics of the Soviet Union. We now have more than 100 and they all devote full time to this work. They, in turn, have their representatives in the local Soviets, and these maintain contact with local church affairs.

"Our work is threefold: first, contact between church and State; second, preparation of laws and regulations regarding church problems; and third, supervision to insure that all laws relating to the church are faithfully carried out.

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Our job, in the main, is to make sure that the postulates of our Constitution in respect to the freedom of conscience are carried out."

Why was such a council required? the official was asked.

"Church and state," he replied, "are separated in Russia, but we find questions constantly arising among church leaders that require deliberation and decision and, often, sanction. One outstanding question was the problem of establishing a theological school and pastors' courses, which are now beginning their work. This question was brought to us by church leaders. We discussed it, and then submitted our decision to the Council of People's Commissars, which fully approved it. This, by the way, is the only question we have had to carry to the higher authorities."

The interviewer inquired if the new theological institute in Moscow was the only one of its kind available for students in Russia. Mr. Karpoff said that this was true, so far, but added:

"This is not because we have prevented the organization of more. On the contrary, six months ago, we assented to the opening of a theological college in Saratov, but the Synod has not yet seen fit to open it. If the question were raised of opening more schools, we would see no reason to oppose it."

Questioned as to the procedure in opening new churches, Mr. Karpoff explained:

"If a group of believers—it does not matter how many—want a church, they sign a petition and refer it to the local church or Government leaders. The local Soviet takes it up with our representative, who examines the case and refers it, in turn, to us. Any number of people can sign a petition, but a minimum of twenty is needed to establish the legality of a congregation under the law.

"Only occasionally do we turn down petitions for new churches. This is in cases where there is no church building available, and no immediate prospects of constructing one. Sometimes, too, the people in a small hamlet where there are already two or three churches want another. We feel that they cannot possibly get enough money to operate, and for that reason their application is rejected."

The Council, Mr. Karpoff said, in answer to another question, does not deal with matters of church repair, unless for some important reason. When parishioners find it difficult to get supplies for repairs, the Council issues appropriate orders to help them buy materials at low State-fixed prices.

There are more churches, and also more priests, in Russia than before the war, Religious News Service was told. Many priests who had long ago turned to bookkeeping, teaching, or some other occupation, are now returning to church duties. In addition to the courses planned at the new theological institute, some dioceses are preparing to replenish the lower ranks of the clergy by setting up local pastors' courses.

Asked about taxes from church property, the Council leader pointed out that all churches are nationalized, and are given to believers free of charge and for as long as the congregation exists. The only payments demanded are land rent and taxes, which are obligatory on all citizens. Some complaints have been received from priests whose income was incorrectly classified, but these have been amicably adjusted, Mr. Karpoff said.

"One other problem exists," he added. "Like all Soviet citizens, priests are subject to mobilization. But whenever a case was brought to us where mobilization deprived believers of religious leadership we have succeeded in getting the priest released from service, and we intend to act so in the future."

This is a clipping from page 13 of the New York Times for Aug. 12, 1944

Clipped at the Seat of Government.

Soviet Call for Time Extension Delays World Peace Plan Parley

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

WASHINGTON, Aug. 7—As a result of a request by the Soviet Union for more time to prepare talks, the International Conference aclled by the United States to discuss a world peace organization has been postponed until Aug. 31, Acting Secretary of State Edward R. Stettinius announced today.

The delay caused some disappointment to delegates from other nations, but Mr. Stettinius said the postponement probably would save time after the conference started. This is the second delay as originally it was intended to convene the meeting in July. This plan was shelved, however, due to failure to agree over the method of procedure

The United tSates hoped to hold discussions with Britain, Russia and China. The tSate Department officials had sought to expedite the procedure by having each nation write and exchange, before the conference, ideas on organizing world peace.

The Soviet Union, however, preferred not to sit in the conference with China, stating that the Soviet Union was not engaged in the Far Eastern war. The Soviet officials also declared they would rather not put their world security ideas into writing before the conference started.

As a result of this policy it was decided to hold two conferences, one with Russia, the United States and Britain, and the other with China, the United States and

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Britain. In deference to Moscow's wishes, the governments concerned agreed that no official plans would be exchanged precluding the conference.

Moscow has not yet advised the United States who will be sent to head the Soviet delegation. Andrei Gromyko, the Russian Ambassador, who has been in Russia for weeks, will return to take part in the discussions and there has been intimations that either Maxim Litvinoff, who is heading a small post-war planning committee in the Soviet Foreign Commissariat, or Andrei Y. Vishinsky, Vice Commissar for Foreign Affairs, coming with him.

The British delegation, headed by Sir Alexander Cadogan, Permanent Under-Secretary at the Foreign Office, will arrive next week-end.

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

Aug. 8, 1944

Clipped at the Seat of Government.

Soviet Writer Urges 4-Power Peace Setup

A future world organization for peace must eliminate the chief defect of the League of Nations which required unanimous decision of all members before action could be

writing in a Leningrad monthly, The Star, as quoted in yesterday's New York Times.

Under the former set-up, Malinin points out, small nations, possibly under the influence of aggressor powers, could sabotage the interests of peace. In the future, the Soviet writer agrees with other Allied world leaders, the four great powers must assume the responsibility of preventing aggression.

"Special meaning must be given to the 'Declaration on the question of All-World Safety' as worked out at the Moscow Conference," he says, "expressing the readiness of the great democratic powers to take practical actions toward the establishment of an International Organization of Safety (IOS).

DUTY OF GREAT POWERS

"The IOS must be built on the basis of firm, active leadership of the great powers. These powers must organize the directive organ of the new organization. They must take upon themselves the obligation to counter any aggression; if necessary, with their own armed forces independently from other members of the organization.

"The responsibility for the peace must not be divided among sixty or more governments. It must be put upon large governments which possess real strength for it. The great powers should also sign agreements among themselves to prevent counter-aggression." These agreements would give each member a definite responsibility, he points out.

"The very fact of the existence of this firm directive organ of the most powerful governments of the world will warn and frighten potential aggressors."

Discounting the idea of an international police force as "utopian," Malinin declares: "To counter an aggressor today it is necessary to have hundreds of all kinds of weapons and technical equipment. It is quite clear that such an army cannot be built up in some neutral country where the IOS is established. In a neutral country this army would be isolated from its source of supplies."

"There is also no point in each country's having a section of its own army for an international police force. It is no use because each country would have to have the size and supplies and command of this army defined for it," he continued.

"But in speaking about the dominating role of the great powers in overcoming aggression, we do not exclude the small nations from acting for world safety. In nearly all cases the great powers will need the help of small nations in using their sea and air bases and even in including small nations' troops in military maneuvers."

Malinin added that "While objecting against the projects of the establishment of a large independent police force for the future IOS, we suggest establishing an international military air corps for warning and for punitive aims. Several hundreds of aircraft over an aggressive country will produce its impression. If it won't produce the impression, then it is useful to bomb definite military objects of that country.

"So we see that an important role is given to small nations. As a whole, all questions will go through the general meeting of members. Only in some special cases (for example, when discussing some strictly military undertakings executed by the great powers) the directive organ will make the decision and inform the general meeting," he asserted.

"Another defect in the League of Nations was the great number of functions it had to perform which had nothing to do with the real task, that is, to guard the safety and peace. We think the future IOS must concentrate only on questions that have a real relationship to the peaceful solution of international conflicts and the portection of peace and safety," the Soviet expert concluded.

This is a clipping from page 8 of the Daily Worker for

July 7, 1944

Clipped at the Seat of Government.

Must Capitalism and Communism Clash?

No, says an economist, who sees no reasons why the systems should seriously conflict.

By GEOFFREY CROWTHER
Editor of The Economist, London

LONDON *(By Wireless)*.

CAN capitalism and communism live together in the same world? Of course they can. The world has never been a philosophic unit. It came closest to that state perhaps under the rule of the Roman Empire, but it was a wide and tolerant rule and the uniformity that was insisted upon was prudently kept to a minimum. Moreover, the Romans, though they knew no challengers, ruled only a fraction of the world.

With that single disputable exception there has never been a time when there have not been the deepest cleavages of belief between neighboring people. And for the greater part of the time there have been cleavages of belief on issues that arouse far more passion than economic theory ever will.

Take for example the religious differences that have formed the substance of history for the greater part of the last twenty centuries. What latter-day bitterness of hatred can match that of Christian for paynim, of Gentile for Jew, of Moslem for infidel, of Protestant for Catholic? Today the capitalist and the Communist may mortally fear each other. But they do not take to burning each other alive for the sake of each other's souls. The proper system of economic organization may seem to us to be an important subject; but it is nothing to compare with the vital importance, transcending life and death, that religious differences have had in the past.

It is thus no new thing for different views on abstract subjects to be held, and held with some passion, by different countries or by different groups of individuals in the same country. The mere fact that there are such differences does not by itself prove that they cannot live together. Nobody nowadays asks whether Catholicism and Protestantism can live together in the same world. Nobody has ever asked whether believers in heredity and believers in environment are predestined to fly at each other's throats and to go on fighting until one has exterminated the other.

SOME differences of opinion are therefore clearly compatible with neighborly relations: But others clearly are not. It is impossible for dictators with Hitler's views on international relations to live in the same world with democratic nations. That is an issue on which it must be "we or they"—though there are very many people in Britain and even more in America who could not see the incompatibility until it was demonstrated to them—at their own cost.

The problem, then, is to determine whether the conflict between capitalism and communism is the sort on which reasonable people can agree to differ or whether it is the sort that must inevitably lead to a fight so long as both are still alive.

The answer, it seems to me, depends upon whether the one belief or the other by its nature is inevitably aggressive. If one or the other of them must expand and attack to live then there cannot be peace. The reason why Hitler and the democracies cannot live in the same world is that the Nazi philosophy has no content at all save that of aggression at home and abroad. Either it attacks or it is nothing. Aggression is the breath by which it lives. There can be no peace in a world where Hitler lives.

Will either communism or capitalism inevitably commit aggression on each other? Let us examine each in turn. In the early enthusiasm of the Soviet State there was a great deal of talk of world revolution.

This is a clipping from page 5 of the New York Times MAGAZINE
Aug. 6, 1944
Clipped at the Seat of Government.

The Communist International breathed fire and thunder against the bourgeoisie of the world.

But even in the proselytizing days Communist aggression was quite singularly ineffective. Soviet Russia was ringed by states that to all outward seeming were rotten to the core and rife for bolshevization. But it did not happen. With one dubious exception in Hungary (very easily suppressed), and a few minor successes in the deserts that divide Siberia from China—with these negligible exceptions the Communist world revolution was everywhere a complete and ludicrous failure.

AND now even that policy has been given up and the Comintern dissolved. If we are to judge not by the wild talk of twenty years ago but by the record and by the present intentions there never was quite such an unaggressive, unexpanding political doctrine as communism.

With capitalism the story is rather different. In the past, capitalism has been just as successful in its unconscious aggressions as deliberate aggressions of communism have been failures.

From its origins in England 200 years ago industrial capitalism has now spread over a large part of the earth's surface. The expansion has not always been peaceful or to the taste of those who have been subjected to it. On the contrary, it has often been fiercely *(Continued on Page 36)*

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resisted, and the guns both of Great Britain and of the United States have been used to force it on those who did not want it.

It has no doubt brought material benefits to those under its control. But so would communism—according to the Communists. In any case, that is not for the moment the point. The point is that capitalism has in the past been the most progressive system, challenging all others.

BUT the character of capitalism is changing. The reason, no doubt, is partly to be found in the growth of new political concepts of national equality, of colonial trusteeship. It is partly to be found in the growing tendency of capitalist economy to find its expansion at home in intensively raising the standard of living of its own people rather than in spreading extensively over the face of the earth. It is perhaps partly the reflection of a slowing tempo of capitalist expansion connected with the slowing growth of the population in western countries.

But, whatever the reason, capitalism today is not nearly the aggressive force that it was. If capitalism can be induced to refrain from attacking communism I see no reason why the two systems of economic government should come into serious conflict. If neither one is deliberately seeking out the other to destroy it—if there is no attempt to foment a capitalist revolt in Russia or a Communist revolution in America or Britain—then the possibilities of conflict are limited to the area where the two systems come into contact—that is, in international trade.

And there the record is plain. There has never been any serious difficulty in trading with Soviet Russia—except such as grows out of the timidity of the capitalist countries. The Soviets have bought and sold on businesslike lines. They have been prompt and scrupulous in meeting their trading obligations. At the present time no country is more fervently attached than they to such orthodoxies as stable exchange rates and the gold standard.

I am not one of those who see the specter of colossal Russian export drives after the war in attempts to capture world markets. That does not in the least fit in with Soviet economics. They reason in terms of manpower, and to export without importing is to give away manpower that is badly needed at home. Russia after the war will export only to the extent that her necessary imports cannot be paid for in credit or in Russian-mined gold.

THE arguments over international trade are much more likely to arise within the capitalist world. There is a difference of view already between the laissez-faire capitalists and the planning capitalists—that is, those who believe that the only way to preserve private enterprise is for the state to insure the conditions in which it can operate.

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The question with which this article began was, "Can capitalism and communism live together in the same world?" As usually conceived, that means "Can capitalist countries and Communist countries live together in the same world?" My answer is "Of course they can—if the capitalists abandon their bad habits of the past."

But I should like to carry the argument a bit further. I should like to ask "Can capitalism and communism live together in peace in the same country?" And to that question I would give the answer: "I do not know whether they can, but they certainly must." At first sight this may seem to be a startling answer. But when the provocative overtones of the words are softened by full definition, I believe the task of reconciling capitalism and communism will be seen to be the major piece of unfinished business of this century.

BOTH capitalism and communism are fighting words. They are symbols, expletives, banners of conflict. Before the argument can be conducted in a reasonable tone of voice they must be explained. Capitalism is not happily named. For if a capitalist society is one that lays particular stress upon the accumulation of capital, then Soviet Russia is the most capitalist state that ever existed. The essence of Stalinist economics, as exemplified in the famous Five-Year Plans, is to compel the Russian people to limit the proportion of their output that they consume in order that enormously rapid progress can be made with the building up of the country's capital equipment. Although the U.S.S.R. is a very much poorer country than the U. S. A., the proportion of the national income that is devoted to capital building is, in peacetime at least, twice as large.

But it would clearly be a misuse of terms to define "capitalism" in such a way as to include Russia. What most people mean by capitalism is the system that grew up in America and Britain in the past century. Its distinguishing feature is not the emphasis it lays on capital, so it should not, strictly speaking, be called capitalist. Nor is its outstanding characteristic the prevalence of competition, for a country can allow growth of monopolies and still be what we call "capitalist." No, the distinguishing feature is private enterprise —the right of the individual citizen to set up in business for himself and to possess the mechanical means of production. It would save a great deal of confusion if people could be educated to say "private enterprise" when they now say "capitalism."

Similarly, communism is a bit of a misnomer. Strictly, it should be applied only to the extreme holding-in-common of the early Christian fathers. Nothing so extreme was ever tried in Russia, and many of the earlier attempts to abolish private property have long since been abandoned. What is distinctive about the Russian system is the collective ownership of the means of production. It would clear heads and reduce passions if communism were renamed collectivism.

So when I say that capitalism and communism must live together within a single country, what I mean is that the economic system of the future must have elements both of private enterprise and of collective organization.

I HAVE used the word "must." I would defend the imperative by saying that in a twentieth-century industrial democracy there are certain tasks which have got to be performed and which only collective organization can perform, and there are certain other tasks to be performed that only private enterprise can satisfactorily perform. This is a subject on which whole books could be written, but I must content myself with very briefly listing three tasks on each side.

The first task for which a twentieth-century democracy needs collective organizations is to secure the minimum of necessaries and amenities for its citizens. This can be seen most obviously in education. Nobody nowadays thinks it in the least peculiar that we should provide an educational system by Communist organization.

I hope none of my readers is roused to anger by the word; it is, of course, a literally exact description of a system run upon

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the principle of "To each according to his needs; from each according to his means." Some forms of health provision are already maintained upon this basis and there are signs—in Britain at least, and I fancy also in America—that they will be added to before long. It is not, perhaps, entirely fanciful to suggest that the distribution of food will also, before the century is out, be largely based on the collectivist principle.

The second need for collectivist organization is in the planned use of natural resources. There are interesting experiments in Great Britain—a crowded isle—in the collective planning of the use of the scarcest of all natural resources—the land. Under the pressure of public demand this sort of thing will grow.

THIRDLY, and perhaps most important, I believe that some degree of collective organization—some "purposive direction" by the state—is necessary to preserve regularity in the economic system to avoid the hideous alternation of boom and slump.

I am aware that this doctrine is not universally or even generally held in the United States. I admire the courage with which my American friends contend that unaided private enterprise can solve the problem of industrial fluctuations. I wish they were right. But I am so sure they are wrong that I list this as the third direction in which a democ-

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racy will find itself compelled to rely on collective organization.

These are the three arguments for having an admixture of collectivism or communism in the national economy. But here are three equally strong arguments for continued reliance on private enterprise:

In the first place, nothing else is likely to satisfy the ultimate consumer with the infinite variety of his needs. There have been collectivist economies that have waged war, that have built dams and roads and furnaces. I know of none that has given the consumer what he wants.

Secondly, the enterprise of the private business man is essential for the continuance of the process of exploration, of invention, of experiment—in a word, of enterprise. It is the essence of Henry Ford's achievement that he did what everybody else thought was impossible. If the other automobile manufacturers had thought it possible to build a cheap car they would have done so. In any committee set up to plan the industry Mr. Ford would inevitably have been in a minority of one.

THIRDLY, without economic freedom, without freedom for the individual citizen to seek his living where he can find it and to be obliged to no man for it—without these things it is a pure delusion to imagine that there can ever be any political freedom.

I do not believe that a modern industrial democracy can survive in this century unless it equips itself with institutions that will foster both these sets of purposes. I do not believe that we can get along without collective organization—on a larger and bolder scale than yet exists—for the purposes of securing a minimum of rights for the citizen, an orderly use of scarce natural resources and a regular flow of wealth and employment. Nor do I believe that we can get along without providing a rich and varied standard of consumption for the people, without the highest tempo of progress or without the economic background of political freedom. Therefore I say collectivism and private enterprise must lie down together.

But to say that they must work together does not prove that they can work together. Perhaps they will dissipate their energies in obstructing each other as, by and large, they have been doing both in America and in Britain these last thirty years. In that case, our society, like many before it, will die of its internal contradictions. But I am an optimist.

This, after all, is only an extension of the old problem of freedom and order which the democracies have solved in its political aspects more satisfactorily than any previous society. I believe that once we realize it is not a case of "either—" but of "how much of each?" we can achieve a fruitful synthesis in the economic sphere as in the political.

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

Clipped at the Seat of Government.

OVIETISM TO STAY, JOHNSTON ASSERTS

ead of Chamber Says Russia Has No Intention to Return to Private Enterprise

Eric Johnston, president of the nited States Chamber of Commerce, recently returned from a six eeks' trip to Russia.

By ERIC JOHNSTON

pyright, 1944, by North American Newspaper Alliance, Inc.

Is Russia, the world's most collectivized State, beginning to shop ound for a few stylish, free enrprise garments?

Anxious enthusiasts of this eory of change eagerly scan the onomic horizon for signs. Their raining eyes frequently see ecks that are magnified into incations that the Soviet Union's onomic life is becoming more ke America's.

But are there really any evinces that Russia is interested in ee enterprise numbers?

We spent six weeks in the Soviet nion as their official guests. Durg this period, we traveled from ttle-scarred Leningrad, on the est, to rough and turbulent Siria on the east, to the sun-orched borders of Afghanistan id Iran on the south. We talked ankly and freely with leading oviet officials from Marshal talin to the Governors of provces, the Mayors of cities, and to e directors and workers of facries. Nowhere was there the ightest indication that there was ther desire or intention of departg from the social, political and onomic theories of the Russian and of communism.

State to Keep Ownership

The Soviet's life is based upon e State's ownership of all the eans of production. Everything om the plow to the hydroelectric m, from the barber shop to the eel mill, from the farm land to e apartment house is owned, anaged and directed by the State.

contrast, American life is based on private ownership, manageent and direction of the means of oduction.

Here you have the fundamental fference between the two sysms, with all the implications that ow therefrom.

There is absolutely no evidence at the Soviet Union intends to andon, even in the smallest deee, this principle of the State's nership of all the means of proiction.

In fact, the people's devotion to this system has been strengthened by the successes of war. This is true not only with the members of the Communist party, who number about 2 per cent of the population, but also with those who are not members. There was a time, perhaps, before Russia was attacked by Germany, when some may have doubted this system's efficiency. If any doubts then existed, they have been buried by the avalanche of the Red Army's victories over the horrid hordes of Nazis.

As one high Government official told me at a banquet:

"We Russians are moving away from international communism to national sovietism. We can get along as a Communist state even though the rest of the world is capitalistic. If we provide full employmen in Russia, increase the standard of living of our people and develop our country, and thereby make communism work, then the rest of the world may follow us. This is world revolution by example—not by force."

Some Marxian Ideas Discarded

But why do some feel the Soviet Union's economy is veering toward ours? Here are some of the developments to which they point:

The abandonment of Karl Marx's principle, "to each according to his needs," and the substitution of the principle, "to each according to his contribution."

For instance, almost all Russian production is on a piece work-time basis. Every incentive is used to increase this production. Upon achieving the given "norm," or quota, the worker's remuneration increases more rapidly than his output. If he exceeds his "norm" by 10 per cent, he receives 15 per cent additional compensation. If he exceeds his "norm" by 20 per cent, he receives 33 per cent additional pay.

As an additional stimulation, those who exceed their quota by the largest amount, or those who introduce newer and more efficient methods, may receive medals and citations. These awards carry with them extra financial remuneration, also special privileges, such as better food cards and theatre tickets —yes, even exemption from taxation. The difference in total remuneration, therefore, among various workers within a factory is probably greater than in America.

"Is this not an abandonment of the Marx principle of share and share alike'?" we asked. "Will not the next step be more economic freedom?"

"Not at all," they replied. "That doctrine is just a goal that we might achieve in a thousand years. But we can reach that goal only by owning all means of production."

Markets Are Without Merchants

There is another often-cited trend toward capitalism. Families are allowed to use approximately one-fifth of an acre on which they may grow a portion of their own food. But the land does not belong to the family, and a percentage of the crop must be paid to the State as rental for land and tools.

This land must be tilled after regular work. As the average man or woman labors eleven hours a day, six days a week and donates every other Sunday to the Red Army, the cultivation of this small strip of land is a means of securing additional work, additional production and additional revenue for the State. It is another method of increased productive incentive for the worker.

Lastly, there has been established the so-called free market, or rynok. This is an open market place where people may sell surplus pieces of clothing or bits of food at highly inflated prices. Speculation in this rynok is strictly forbidden, however. An item may be purchased only for one's own use and not for resale. Heavy penalties are exacted against those who violate this principle. Even in this simplest of market places, therefore, there are no merchants.

When the Germans occupied a part of the Soviet Union, they reestablished private ownership of land and tools, production and distribution. Small merchants appeared in every village. Peasants were encouraged to own land. When the Russians regained these lost regions they immediately abolished all free enterprise. I was frequently told that the people themselves, in these liberated areas, voluntarily gave up any private ownership. The reversion to the Soviet system of total collectivism was swift and complete.

The older, top-ranking Communist leaders installed this system of collectivism twenty-seven years ago. They believe it saved Russia from German enslavement. These older leaders are not going to change the system. The directors of factories and farms are men in their thirties. They know no other system for comparison. Any "doubting Thomases" have disappeared or have been convinced by the successes of war.

This is a clipping from page 9 of the New York Times for Aug. 1. 1944

Clipped at the Seat of Government.

SEPARATE AIR TALKS WITH RUSSIA GO ON

Stettinius Says Soviet Policy Is Not Expected to Affect Other World Parleys

By LANSING WARREN

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

WASHINGTON, Oct. 30—Russia's absence from the international conference on civil aeronautics will be regretted, but negotiations wth Russia on this subject will be continued through bi-lateral talks, Edward R. Stettinnius Jr., Under Secretary of State, said today.

He confirmed telegraphed advices from Moscow that the Russian decision not to participate in the conference was based upon objection to i nvitations to Spain, Portugal and Switzerland.

[An Associated Press dispatch from Winnipeg yestterday said that six Russian aviation officials, including high officers of the Sovet Air Force, had been recalled to Moscow following their Government's decision not to participate in the international aviation conference at Chicago. The party left Winnipeg yesterday in a Russian plane flown by a Russian crew. It landed at Edmonton Oct. 25 and reached Winnipeg Friday.]

Answering a query, Mr. Stettinius expressed doubt today that the Russian policy in this case of declining to sit at the same conference table with representatives of some countries would raise any difficulties for the world security talks or for other international conferences. He said that he thought the present incident would have no further repercussions.

The State Department, he stated, had not been keeping the neutral nations informed of United Nations projects and the charter of the security organization had not been transmitted to Portugal by this Government. The form of his reply left it probable, however, that the Portuguese Government had been kept informed from other sources.

The civil aeronautics conference will open at Chicago Wednesday. Although the Soviet Union will not be on hand to sign any accord, it is possible that she may be willing to endorse an accord in bi-lateral agreements, since discussions with the Russian representatives have been reported to be satisfactory to date.

The Soviet Union's decision was conveyed to the State Department in the form of an aide memoire, Mr. Stettinius said, and delivered through the Soviet Embassy here. Andrei A. Gromyko, Russan Ambassador, called at the State Department on a different matter today but declined to do more than confirm the decision.

Adolf A. Berle Jr., Assistant Secretary of State, who is chairman of the United States delegation to the Chicago meeting, conferred with President Roosevelt at the White House at noon, but likewise refused to comment on the Russian absence from the conference. On leaving the President's office, he said that he could not discuss either a report in The Winnipeg Free Press to the effect that, in negotiations with Mr. Berle several months ago, the Russian Government had refused to consider allowing flights by the civilian aviation of other countries to be routed over Soviet territory.

Mr. Stettinius and W. Averill Harriman, Ambassador to Moscow, went together to the eWhite House this afternoon. Mr. Marriman has returned to report on the recent conference between Prime Minister Churchill and Marshal Stalin and it is understood that he may shortly make a public address dealing with that conference and Russian politics.

N. Y. Times
Oct. 31, 1944
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RUSSIA TO BOYCOTT CIVIL AVIATION TALK

Moscow Objects to Inclusion of 'Pro-Fascist, Anti-Soviet' Neutral Countries

By The Associated Press.

LONDON, Oct. 29—The Moscow radio announced tonight that Russia would not participate in the international conference on civil aviation in Chicago because "countries like Switzerland, Portugal and Spain, which for many years have conducted a pro-Fascist policy hostile to the Soviet Union, have also been invited."

Moscow broadcast this statement by Tass, official Russian news agency:

"Reports have appeared in the foreign press concerning participation by representatives of the Soviet Union in the international conference on civil aviation that takes place on Nov. 1 in Chicago.

"Tass is authorized to state that these reports do not coincide with the facts. In view of the fact, which has recently become known, that countries like Switzerland, Portugal and Spain have also been invited to the Chicago conference, countries that for many years have conducted a pro-Fascist policy hostile to the Soviet Union, the representatives of the Soviet Union will not take part in this conference."

Russia

N. Y. Times
Oct. 30, 1944
p. 1

COMMUNISTS SEEK A FREE ROMANIA

The Romanian Communist Party has launched a campaign fully to democratize the Romanian government and carry out the armistice terms which call for ouster and punishment of all Romanian Fascists. Recently between 50,000 and 60,000 workers met in Bucharest at a Communist rally. Speakers called for a Communist-Socialist alliance in a united workers front.

A joint trade union organizing committee had previously been established and some 20 new trade unions have been organized.

The Romanian Communist Party's immediate program appears to have strong similarities with that of the Italian Communists. Both participate in a broad government coalition; neither is raising immediate demands for the abolition of the monarchy and each regards the winning of the war as the prior question; both seek to build and strengthen working class unity as the core of the broader coalition and a guarantee that democracy will be achieved permanently.

However, reactionaries who have considered it opportune to participate in the anti-Nazi coalition at the last possible moment will not find the same powerful foreign backing in Romania as they have in Italy.

The Romanian Communist Party incidentally, has not suddenly appeared on the scene because of the Red Army's arrival.

Some 10 years ago the people of Bucharest elected a Communist mayor—who was never allowed to serve because the Fascist Iron Guard took matters into their own hands.

People's World
Oct. 27, 1944
p. 2

BALKAN 'SPHERES' DECIDED IN MOSCOW

Russia Will Have Predominant Influence in Rumania, Bulgaria and Hungary

By PERTINAX
North American Newspaper Alliance.

WASHINGTON, Oct. 26—The new set-up in the Balkans and in central Europe, as gradually built by military events and endorsed by Prime Minister Winston Churchill, Foreign Secretary Anthony Eden and Marshal Joseph Stalin during their recent Moscow conversations, can be described as follows.

Russian influence is sure to predominate in Rumania and, above all, in Bulgaria. A general of the Red Army heads the commission of armistice that for some weeks has been at work in Bucharest. Another general of the Red Army will preside over the Sofia commission of armistice in the very near future, as soon as the convention puutting an end to hostilities has been signed with represntatives of the Bulgarian Government. And all the probabilities are that, in accordance with the claim of the Soviet Union, the Hungarian commission of armistice is also to be presided over by a Russian military leader.

Russia to Occupy Three Areas

This state of affairs need not cause any surprise. It derives from hte fact that Rumania, Bulgaria and Hungary were, or are, being redeemed by Russian exertions and that Russian troops are going to remain in occupation. Had the British and American general staffs found it possible to undertake a campaign of their own in the Balkans, thhe picture might be different. But British and American military power, notwithstanding its tremendous expansion, was not able to cope with the Balkans.

North Africa, Italy, Western Europe, the Pacific, Burma, etc., did not leave any surplus that could be applied to eastern Europe.

Besides, these commissions of armistice, under their Russian presidents, will not be the only channel available to Britain and America for conducting their relations with the Governments in Sofia, Bucharest and Budapest. Contrary to the Allies' practice in Italy, independent diplomatic missions will be on the spot very quickly.

Here is the important point that Mr. Churchill is believed to have made secure while in the Russian capital. In Yugoslavia the Russian Government does not intend to get for itself any special position by the means of treaties of alliance, etc. In the judgment of Russian diplomacy, Yugoslavia does not fall in the same category as Czechoslovakia, Rumania and Bulgaria. In regard to Yugoslavia, the Governments in Moscow, London and Washington will thus be placed on a footing of equality.

But what would happen if, for insttance, Bulgaria were to enter a Yugoslav federation? That problem may well be left to the future. However, were Bulgaria and Macedonia to be included in a state of the Southern Slavs, is it so sure that Croatia and Dalmatia could be induced for any length of time to continue their membership? They might be attracted toward the new Austrian state that bids fair to emerge from the reshuffle at the termination of the war. It is well known that, in London, a revival of the Austrian state within territorial limits less restricted than those of 1919, has long been favorably considered.

There is reason to believe that in Moscow Marshal Stalin did not raise any objection to the re-establishment of a common frontier between Greece and Turkey. Thus from Anatolia to the Adriatic it is not difficult to see the areas where British and American moral influence and where British and American economic contributions will make themselves felt.

All this must not be interpreted in terms of zones of influence. Anyone who readily assumes that between Britain and Russia no true spirit of cooperation comes to play is bound to forecast an era of rivalry and opposition between great powers, to speak of antagonistic blocs and the like. But in Moscow Mr. Churchill and Mr. Eden stood by the principle from which they have never departed—that Britain and Soviet Russia are pledged to a twenty years' alliance. The essential condition of success is that the lasting enforcement of the eventual armistice with Germany should keep the victorious powers in close solidarity.

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

Oct. 27, 1944

Clipped at the Seat of Government.

Why Versailles failed

by B. STEIN

The following article under the title "Lessons of History," appeared in War and the Working Class No. 16.—Ed. L.M

AS the final defeat of Hitlerite Germany draws nearer, political thought in the countries of the anti-Hitler coalition is turning more and more to problems of post-war structure, in particular to the problem of creating a system which will prevent the repetition of German aggression. The peoples cannot but ask themselves why it was that in the space of a quarter of a century mankind has twice been plunged into the vortex of bloody and devastating war, and why it was that imperialist Germany, having been defeated in the First World War, was able twenty years later to start the fires of a second world war.

This legitimate question naturally leads to another, namely: what were the mistakes committed by the victors in the First World War which made it possible for Hitler Germany to unleash the second? The attempt even briefly to formulate the principal mistakes committed in relation to Germany during and after Versailles leads us to the following conclusions.

In October, 1918, Germany sued for peace. The Allies, as we know, met her request and the only demand apart from military surrender put by President Wilson was for a change in the German Government and the removal of Kaiser Wilhelm, with whom the Allies refused to negotiate. This demand was met when the Ebert-Scheidemann Government was formed and when Wilhelm II fled to Holland. The armistice was signed at a time when the German armies were outside the borders of Germany and when not a single foreign soldier had set foot on her territory. The German General Staff, headed by Hindenburg and Ludendorff, insistently demanded that the Government should expedite the armistice precisely in order to prevent the Allies from entering German territory. Their aim was achieved, and Germany was not occupied by the Allied troops.

This was undoubtedly the first gain for the German military set after they had been defeated in war. The German Army, beaten in the field, was able to return home and later became the nucleus around which were built armed forces designed for a new act of aggression, the preparations for which began immediately the war ended. An armistice of this character not only made it possible for Germany to preserve the backbone of her army, but also to prevent any encroachments by the Allies upon the basic branches of her national economy and specially her powerful industrial machine. This industrial machine was preserved intact and it served as the basis for preparations for a new act of aggression. At the moment the armistice was signed on November 11, 1918, the victor countries were occupied not only with the fate of vanquished Germany, but also with the problem of armed intervention in the Soviet Union. It was

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this that motivated the Allies to insert a secret clause in the armistice terms consenting to allow the German troops to remain in the territories of Russia, especially the Baltic Provinces, which they had occupied. It was these German troops who with the consent and support of the Allies carried out armed intervention in the Baltic Provinces, endeavouring at one and the same time to consolidate Germany's position in the east and to create conditions which would make it possible to secure more lenient terms in the future peace.

This secret clause in the armistice terms became the starting point for diverse plans for turning German aggression against Soviet Russia. We know that at the time of the Paris Peace Conference Germany endeavoured to take advantage of the Allies' hostile attitude towards Russia, and repeatedly offered her services in the matter of armed intervention.

The plans for armed intervention contemplated utilising not only Germany. At the Paris Conference, as we know, the Polish State was formed. Without going into the whole problem of the creation of Poland, which undoubtedly conformed with the vital interests of the Polish people, it should be remarked that the practical solution of this problem was distorted by tendencies inimical to Soviet Russia.

The creation of an independent Poland was first discussed by the Allies at Paris on November 2, 1918—that is, before the conclusion of the Armistice with Germany. Pichon, French Foreign Minister, supported by Marshal Foch, formulated the French programme for the borders of the future Poland. Pichon, in advancing the demand for German evacuation of Polish territory, said literally the following: "I want to insist that by the territories to be evacuated should be understood those territories which were comprised by the Polish Kingdom before the first partition of 1772."

This statement was immediately replied to by Balfour, British Foreign Secretary, who said (retranslated from the Russian), "I listened to this proposal with uneasiness. The Poland of 1772, you say, should be the Poland of 1918. This is not what we were out for, nor what we obligated ourselves to. We obligated ourselves to resurrect Poland inhabited by Poles. The Poland of 1772 does not conform to this aim: it did not consist exclusively of Poles. It will include non-Polish territories, and Polish territories will comprise only a part of it."

Pichon had to yield after Colonel House, President Wilson's representative, declared that he fully agreed with Balfour. However, the correct position outlined by the British delegate was not adhered to. While the Paris Conference was still in progress, the Allies agreed to send General Haller's Polish Army formed in France into Eastern Galicia. This army immediately started armed war on the Ukrainians, which continued until the middle of 1919. The Paris Peace Conference did not define Poland's eastern borders, thus laying the groundwork for her subsequent seizures of non-Polish lands.

As we know, Soviet Russia had no part in the Versailles Peace Treaty. The Allies obstinately refused to allow Soviet delegates to attend the Paris Conference. An attempt made by the British Premier, Lloyd George, in January, 1919, to have representatives of the Soviet Republic invited, encountered the stubborn opposition both of Clemenceau and of the Right members of the British Cabinet, with the result that nothing came of it. More, the Peace Treaty was concluded not only without the Soviet Republic but against it. Germany on the one hand, and Poland on the other, were regarded as instruments of armed intervention, and their territories as a springboard for attack upon the Soviet Union.

The Anglo-French antagonisms revealed at the Paris Conference led to a bitter struggle when the Versailles Treaty terms came to be formulated. They made their influence felt in a number of questions and led to a number of errors which were fraught with the most serious consequences. It is because of these antagonisms that Germany's territories were only insignificantly reduced by the Versailles Treaty and the hegemony of the aggressive German State, Prussia, was left completely uncurtailed in Germany itself. This decision had direct consequences for the future peace of the world.

Furthermore, the problem of German reparations, as settled by the Versailles Treaty was fraught with difficulties and contradictions which were astutely taken advantage of by German diplomacy. As we know, definite cash payments and deliveries in kind were imposed upon Germany, but German industry, which was the basis for fresh attempts at aggression, was left completely intact.

Although the Versailles Treaty provided a regular system of measures for the disarmament of Germany, this system proved to be thoroughly defective. By allowing the Germans to retain a professional army 100,000 strong, and to double its size the year after the Versailles Treaty was signed, the Allies permitted the creation of the nucleus of the German armed formations, the skeleton of Hitler's future army. Control of the observance of the military provisions of the Versailles Treaty was extremely lax. The absence of real and effective control enabled the Germans right from the outset to violate the disarmament clauses of the Versailles Treaty and to proceed to the secret rearmament of Germany.

Lastly, it should be noted that the provisions of the Versailles Treaty regarding the trial of war-guilty persons and of persons guilty of violations of the law and customs of warfare (brutalities and atrocities) were not carried out. The whole procedure in this cardinal matter was reduced to a farce. When, after the Peace Treaty was signed, the Allies demanded delivery of Wilhelm II by Holland, where he had taken refuge, the Dutch Government refused and the Allies did not insist, although, of course, they had sufficient means at their disposal to impose their will upon that Government. As to the trial of persons guilty of violating the rules of war, a so-called trial was held in Germany. It resulted in a few verdicts, mostly passed in the absence of the guilty persons, who had been warned in time and fled to neutral countries, only later to return to Germany with impunity.

The mistakes contained in the Versailles Treaty itself were aggravated in the period between the signature of the Treaty and the second world war. The refusal of the American Senate to ratify the Versailles Treaty, and the isolationist policy pursued by the United States in the early period of the peace, facilitated not a little the growth of German aggression. When, however, the United States reverted to an active policy in Europe, the first act in relation to Germany was the Dawes Plan, which with the help of loans and credits enabled her completely to modernise her industry and transport system and thus lay the economic foundations for subsequent aggression.

The Anglo-French antagonisms which manifested themselves at the Paris Conference continued to play a big part after Versailles. Britain's anxiety not to permit the establishment of French hegemony in Europe, and her consequent adherence to her traditional balance of power policy, in no little measure facilitated the violation of the Versailles Treaty by Germany.

On the other hand, the tendency displayed by the Allies during the

Paris Peace Conference to regard Germany not only as a vanquished enemy but also as an instrument of policy hostile to the Soviet Republic continued to exercise its effects after the Versailles Treaty and became particularly active at the time of the Locarno Treaty, the chief aim of which was to draw Germany into an anti-Soviet bloc. The same purpose was pursued by the acceptance of Germany into the League of Nations in 1926.

When Hitler came to power he was chiefly aided in his violations of the Versailles Treaty and in his open preparations for acts of piratical aggression by the so-called "policy of non-intervention." This policy enabled Hitler to annul the military provisions of the Versailles Treaty in 1935, to seize the Rhine demilitarised zone in 1936, to resort, in conjunction with Mussolini, to armed intervention in Spain in 1936 to 1938, and to annex Austria in 1938 and Czechoslovakia and Klaipeda (Memel) in 1939.

This policy of connivance and direct assistance to Hitler led to the conclusion of the Anglo-German Naval Agreement of 1935, by which Great Britain sanctioned the creation of a German Navy and the building of submarines, which had been forbidden to Germany by the Versailles Treaty.

This same policy obstinately rejected repeated proposals made by the Soviet Union for the creation of real guarantees of collective security against Germany. In 1939 this policy was responsible for the failure of the Anglo-French-Soviet negotiations for a triple agreement between the Soviet Union, Great Britain and France. The year before that the "non-intervention policy" had resulted in the Munich deal, which not only surrendered Czechoslovakia to Hitler, but was also an attempt to set up a directorate of the four Powers, Germany, Italy, Great Britain and France without the Soviet Union.

Lastly, the policy of non-intervention pursued by Great Britain and France towards Germany from the time Hitler came to power led to the political decay of the League of Nations, which had been called into being by the Versailles Treaty to ensure collective security. At the same time, this policy enabled Hitler to convert Germany into an armed camp, and in 1939 to launch into a new act of piratical aggression with the object of establishing German world hegemony.

These were the chief reasons why the Versailles Peace Treaty failed to perform the tasks laid upon it. This Treaty, which Germany, with the connivance of the victors, began to violate from the moment it was signed, terminated when Germany unleashed the second world war.

Analysis of the mistakes of the Versailles and the post-Versailles period is by no means a mere academic study. It is important first and foremost because it can and should prevent a repetition of these mistakes. German aggression has cost mankind too dear for the future Peace Treaty which will follow the defeat of Hitler Germany and her associates to repeat the fatal mistakes of the Versailles Treaty.

Russia - Int. Soc. - C
Newspaper background material
of Communist Party of Soviet
U.S.S.R. Jan. 5, 1944 to
Oct. 25, 1944.

Point to Industrial Titans Being Built Up by War

By Ralph Parker
Staff Correspondent
(Copyright, 1944, by Field Publications)

MOSCOW, Oct. 25.—A period of intensified cartelization, followed by a heightened competition between gigantic production units whose power, especially in the U. S. A., has been vastly increased during the war, is foreseen by Eugene Varga, eminent Soviet economist and editor of *World Economy and World Politics*, a monthly review published by *Pravda*.

Parker

And another Soviet economist, Hoffman, writing in *Red Star*, is concerned about the possible influence of these cartels on the maintenance of peace.

Varga, who is an exile from Hungary, reaches his conclusions in this manner:

The demands of total war obliged the governments of the capitalist lands to rationalize the distribution of raw materials to the industrial plants in a manner to encourage a maximum productivity of labor, the installation of the most modern machines and to favor the expansion of the large factories at the expense of the middle-size and small enterprises.

In prewar Germany the Nazi regime had already carried out a good deal of concentration, he writes, and this was completed during the war.

In England

In England, by the end of 1942, 2700 factories ceased production.

In the U. S. A., because of the gigantic reserves of labor, industrial equipment and resources and less severe demands for munitions in the earlier phases of the war, the concentration of industry was less drastic than in Germany and Britain. The principal means whereby it was achieved was the placing of the bulk of the government orders with the largest plants.

Quoting English sources, Varga writes that from June, 1940, through November, 1942, the U. S. Government placed one-third of its orders, totalling some 20 billion dollars, with five firms, General Motors, Curtiss Wright, Bethlehem Steel, Douglas Aircraft and United Aircraft.

One aspect of concentration, Varga stresses, is the tendency of subcontractors to fall under the control of larger firms. Their independence, he writes, is purely formal. Economically they are at the mercy of the firms for whom they are producing the spare parts.

New Titans

"After the war," he says, "it will be very difficult, and in some cases impossible, for them to emerge from their subordinate position and to reenter and hold their ground in the market as independent manufacturers."

The emergence of new titans, such as the American aircraft, motor building, shipbuilding and aluminum plants, is also a serious factor in the tendency towards industrial concentration, according to Varga.

He finds that parallel with the shift in the centers of industrial power has been a concentration of capital.

Varga sees this as partly due to the fact that profits are higher in wartime and concealed reserves are considerable.

Another factor is the use of government subsidies to finance essential war industry. Varga guesses that government investments in this form now exceed 20 billion dollars.

Private Enterprise

The fact that the government is not operating the new concerns such as synthetic rubber, high octane gas and aircraft plants directly, but according to a lease system which permits the capitalist firms to secure full control after the war, leads the Soviet economist to conclude that some, at least, of the new plants will pass into private hands and will add to the RECORDED of the giant concerns which he foresees for the post-war era.

Varga considers the sociological effects of concentration to be the creation of two main classes: on the one hand, the workers and employes and, on the other hand, the well-to-do, each a product of the growth of monopolies.

His final conclusion is that the first result after the war will be an intensification of the cartel system, but the second, when the accumulated shortages caused by the war have been made up, will be intensified competition, sharper than ever before, between the titans.

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Economic Side

Hoffman's article in *Red Star* is a reminder that in the Soviet attitude toward peacemaking, the economic side will play a highly important part.

If the Russians are less concerned than we Allies about the problem of taming the German people's "will to war" by educational and political means, it is probably because, as Marxists, the picture of the economic man is more constantly in their mind than is ours.

They believe there is an economic solution for the problem of what to do to make the German menace insubstantial. This solution has yet to be made public, but Hoffman has given a very clear idea of what it must not be.

Hoffman writes that voices audible in England and in the U. S. A. are asking for the preservation of the German monopolies and hence of the foundations of Germany's war economy.

Those who express these opinions, he says, appear to be more concerned in preventing German dumping from undercutting British traders than in destroying the means whereby Germany could emerge as a war maker. But, he urges, there is a better way than fostering German monopolies in order to make cartel arrangements with them, by which the nations can be helped to trade peacefully again. That way is the destruction of the German cartels.

"If an agreement is not reached among the Allies to liquidate the German monopolies, then after an interval Germany will again take the lead in international cartels, as she did before the war," Hoffman declares, pointing out how this has in the past enabled Germany to control arms and strategically important production in most European lands.

He strongly condemns the various English apologias for cartelization, including Lord McGowan's of the ICI (Imperial Chemical Industries) and the advocates of a world trade alliance. These new plans of the international monopolists are aimed primarily at preserving the German war economy's foundation, he writes.

They Can't Hide

"Those armament kings, chemical magnates and the others who created Hitler's war machine think they can hide behind the international cartels to which they belong. With bated breath they are listening to the discussions going on in England and the U. S. A. about the fate of German monopolies and their links with the international cartels. They are seeking to influence certain elements in the Anglo-Saxon world and through them to frighten public opinion with prospects of a third World War, if the peace is hard for Germany, Hoffman writes.

The *Red Star* writer calls attention to the attempts of the German monopolies to anticipate United Nations' measures against them by establishing themselves in neutral countries.

"Recently the Spanish Foreign Minister declared that there is nothing in common between National Socialism and Francoism. But he did not say that *I. G. Farbenindustrie* and *Sociedad Iberica del Nitrate* in Madrid and the *Union Espanola de Explosiva* in Albasete had nothing in common," he writes.

"The United Nations' victory won't be complete if the military defeat of the Nazi Germans is not followed by economic disarmament and effective measures being taken against the German monopolies and cartels. The peace to be must be a guarantee of the impossibility of a revival of the war economy of German imperialism."

A former high official of the Soviet Government exposes startling facts about

The New Communist Conspiracy

By Alexander Barmine

RECENTLY the American press has talked less and less about the Communist danger. Yet that danger has never been greater than it is today. As one who worked 20 years under the Communist dictatorship in close association with the Soviet leaders, I feel it is my duty to warn the American people against this insidiously growing menace to their free institutions.

The present situation is a curious paradox. The United States is waging a deadly struggle against Nazi totalitarianism. All its energies, labor, wealth, thousands of its lives, are being sacrificed to destroy this enemy of democracy. Yet, at the same time, in the press, on the radio, in the Government and among liberal circles supposed to represent the vigilant conscience of the nation, there is in process a moral and psychological disarmament before another totalitarian conspiracy — that of the Communists — which threatens our democracy even more seriously.

It is dismaying to see how our Left intelligentsia, swayed by subtle Communist propaganda, have transformed the triumph of superhuman fighting will of the Russian people into a triumph of the totalitarian Communist regime. The Russians had no choice but to fight under whatever regime they had, and they rightly decided that foreign tyranny would be worse than native. But what shall we say of American "democrats" who, instead of praising the Russian people and hoping they may reap the reward of freedom, praise the regime that oppresses them and compare it favorably with our democratic way of life?

The unspeakable tragedy of the Russian people is that they are compelled to fight the foreign aggressor without any rights or liberties of their own. Every second family of these Russian fighting men has lost someone in a purge, or to one of the concentration camps in which at least ten million victims of the dictatorship are still enduring a living death.*

Happy Accident

UNDER cover of this undiscriminating praise of "Russia," the totalitarian Communist habit of thought is penetrating insidiously into the body of American democracy. The credit which was passed from the Russian people to the totalitarian regime is being further handed along to the American Communists — those rabid isolationists during the Stalin-Hitler pact and "patriots" only since Hitler attacked Russia. But for the happy accident that Hitler made his attack

* Victor A. Kravchenko, Soviet official who recently resigned in Washington, places the number at 15,000,000. ("I Broke with Stalin's Russia," *Cosmopolitan Magazine*, July, '44.)

on Russia *before* instead of *after* Pearl Harbor, these Communists would now be in jail with the Nazis. But that does not prevent them from playing, with the help of high-up New Dealers, a more and more important role in American politics. Few even of their enemies realize how important that role is.

The "dissolution" of the Communist Party, which set so many naïve minds at rest, marked the beginning of a Communist conspiracy in the United States, which is vastly more dangerous than the original party ever was to our institutions. To anyone familiar with Communism, this maneuver was not a new one. From its foundation by Lenin in 1903, the Russian Bolshevik movement always had two organizations, one "legal" and one "underground." The function of the legal party was to set the stage for a seizure of power by the controlling underground group. To "liquidate" the legal party altogether in certain situations was a recognized, frequently discussed maneuver. The American Communists have now executed that maneuver. Unless you understand this, you will never find your way in the present maze of Left-Wing politics.

Four events recently followed one another in quick succession:

1. The transformation of the Communist Party of America into an "educational" association;

2. The winning by the Communist Left Wing of control of the American Labor Party;

3. The emergence of the Political Action Committee of the CIO as a

ALEXANDER BARMINE was born in Russia 44 years ago. After serving at the front with the Red Army, he entered the General Staff College and graduated in 1923 with the rank of brigadier general. Sent abroad by the Foreign Trade Office, he studied political life in Europe, Asia and Africa, saw democracies in work and in struggle, how they fell and how dictatorships rose in their place. From 1929 to 1931 he held the post of director general of the Soviet Trade Delegations in France and in Italy. In 1932, he became first vice-president of the Central Trust "Stanko-Import" (Machine-Tool Import), an organization conducting the retooling of all the defense plants in the U.S.S.R. For the next two years he was the president of the central trust handling the exports of all products of the automobile, aviation and armament industries of the Soviet Union — the "Auto-Moto-Export." In December 1935 he was appointed to the Soviet Legation in Greece.

During his years of work abroad, Barmine became gradually disillusioned with the Bolshevik dictatorship, and in 1937, while chargé d'affaires in Athens, he resigned and broke with the Soviet regime. He was granted asylum in Paris as a political refugee. He started his career in the United States in 1940 as a worker in a metal factory. In 1942 he entered the United States Army as a private. Subsequently, in what he considers the happiest moment of his life, he became an American citizen.

Since 1937, Alexander Barmine has published numerous magazine and newspaper articles, and a book, *Memoirs of a Soviet Diplomat*, which attracted international attention. Another book, *One Who Survived*, is ready for publication.

major force in Democratic Party politics; and

4. The "dismantling" of certain special departments investigating Communist activity in our Army and Navy Intelligence, and the attempt to destroy their files.

Few understood the connection between these events. Yet they marked the beginning of a grandiose plan for the penetration and eventual conquest of American social, political and governmental institutions — a new Communist conspiracy.

New Disguise

For many years the American Communist Party functioned, with a frank program of overthrow by violence, as an open revolutionary party. The result was complete failure. The American people repudiated this overt attack on democracy, and the party remained a small isolated group. In all these years it never elected one Representative or Senator, and at Presidential elections never polled much more than 200,000 votes. The sole pro-Communist elected, Representative Marcantonio, of New York, campaigned as a representative of democratic organizations. But Marcantonio's success was significant, and it taught the Communists a lesson. They began to tone down their extreme program, and to penetrate our established political institutions in disguise.

It was not, however, until the Soviet Union was attacked by Hitler, and needed vastly increased help from American capitalism, that the Communists started going through the motions of suicide. This began in February 1943 when the Party published in full-page ads in 16 newspapers throughout the country a speech of its General Secretary, Earl Browder, entitled "Hitler's Secret Weapon — the Bogey of Communism." Browder laughed at democratic Americans for taking seriously the Communist threat. "American democracy," he said, "must grow up and stop believing in ghosts and witches."

Probably nothing like that had ever happened before — a political party spending $56,000 (the estimated cost) to hold its own program up to ridicule as a bogey.

But stranger things were to come.

On May 22 the dissolution of the Communist International was announced in Moscow, and Browder promptly wrote a letter to the press offering "to responsible groups and leaders in American public life" the assistance of the Communist Party in "a coöperative effort to lay the specter of Communism." And in January 1944, at an immense mass meeting in New York's Madison Square Garden, Browder "recommended" that the Communist Party go out of business! It was to be replaced by a "Communist political association." But this association would "oppose all strikes" and champion capitalism, the "big bourgeoisie," the program of the National Association of Manufacturers — everything to which Communism is diametrically opposed.

The nation's bewilderment at this volte-face was typified by a New York newspaper, which called it "the most amazing episode in the history of American Communism," and asked: "What is left of Communism?"

What is left of Communism is

CIO through their seats on his executive council, and there isn't a blessed thing he can do about it. Sidney Hillman is just as badly off. Both of them have got to play ball with the Communists now or die."

Less than four years ago Hillman himself warned the CIO against the very maneuver he is now engineering. At its Third Constitutional Convention, November 20, 1940, he pleaded — "with tears streaming down his face," to quote a New York reporter — against an attempt to coöperate with Communists who "cannot participate in the democratic processes."

> "I must say to you that we must warn our young membership not to be misled by the fine speeches they will make, their professions of loyalty. . . . Their loyalty is to someone else. They will take orders. . . . I say to you that *these people are a menace to the labor movement.*"

Now Hillman is hand-in-glove with these same Communists. He thinks he is using them; but they know they are using him. There is just one way for democrats to beat totalitarians, and that is to refuse all coöperation and all political deals with them. Lewis learned this by bitter experience. Hillman knew it in 1940. What psychological change has come over Hillman in the meantime, I do not know; but politically only one big thing has happened. The Communists have liquidated their legal party, camouflaged themselves as democrats and procapitalist patriots of Americanism, and are conspiring in this new and more subtly unscrupulous manner to destroy our democratic institutions.

What Is the Communist Program?

THE READER may find it hard to believe that the Communist Political Association really hopes, within a reasonable future, to seize the state power in America. But he must remember that, besides their "maximum" revolutionary program — total abolition of democracy and private enterprise — the Communists have a "program minimum" that must precede the "maximum" program — *weaken democratic capitalist America to such an extent that she will be no serious rival to totalitarian Communist Russia.*

The simplest way to achieve this objective is to create disunity inside the United States — to provoke racial and social conflicts, epidemics of hatred, suspicion, intolerance and political demoralization, until the situation borders on civil war. In short, to transform the United States into a country similar to France in the epoch of the Popular Front of 1939 and 1940.

This is the service that the American Communists, with help from liberal and New Deal groups and some members of the Administration, are now performing as their "program minimum." The present glorification of Russian totalitarianism serves this purpose directly. Every encroachment by the New Deal upon individual liberties, if not clearly required by the war effort, serves this purpose. The growth of bureaucracy, of an excessive apparatus of regimentation, serves it. Stirring up racial issues, inflating the facts of persecu-

tion, hysterical witch-hunting by the *Daily Worker* type of newspaper and by certain types of columnists — all serve this purpose. The perpetuation of one Administration for 16 years also serves it. The present Administration, moreover, because of its apparent blindness to the conspiratorial and totalitarian nature of Communism, consciously or unconsciously protects in numberless ways the success of the conspiracy. That is why, by orders from Moscow, the Communists are all out for the Fourth Term.

The Drive on the Navy Desk

BUT while Communists have taken over the Labor Party, and are penetrating the trade unions, worming into Government agencies in growing numbers, and hoping to get control of the Democratic Party, there are two Government institutions in which previously they have been unable to achieve any success at all. Those are the Army and the Navy. The Communists have failed here, first because high Army and Navy officers took an uncompromising attitude toward them, and second, because both possessed in their Intelligence services an extremely efficient apparatus for detecting, unmasking and blocking the Communist maneuvers — especially their efforts to penetrate into the officer corps.

To the Communists this was a disastrous defeat, for at the moment when their plot for the seizure of key posts and departments in the Government should approach completion, the attitude of the Army and Navy might frustrate the whole thing. Moreover, the exhaustive files on Communists kept by the Army and Navy Intelligence, besides barring them from responsible military posts, help to unmask those who are trying to win key positions in civil government.

That is why tremendous pressure was exerted to bring about, against strong opposition in responsible Army and Navy circles, a dismantling of those branches of the Army and Navy Intelligence which dealt with the activities of Communists and Communist-fronters, and a destruction of their files.

In the Third Naval District which includes New York City, headquarters of the American Communists, the Navy had built up an intelligently informed "Communist desk" which since Pearl Harbor had accumulated extensive files on subversive individuals and organizations. So authoritative had this intelligence unit become that its weekly reports of "trends" in the American Communist movement went regularly to the FBI, Army Intelligence and the highest Navy officers in Washington. The unit itself came to be recognized as one of the best in the country.

Several months ago, after the equivalent "desk" in the Washington Office of Navy Intelligence was partially dismantled, the New York "desk" was virtually abolished and its trained experts sent to remote and unrelated assignments elsewhere.

The embarrassment of Army and Navy officials when approached about such developments, and their half-denials, show that there has been a serious conflict, and that pressure has been strong. A U. S. Senator has asserted that an attempt was made to

destroy the Army files on Communist activities, and that only prompt Senate action forestalled the attempt and preserved these vital files.

The fact that a few months earlier there had been a softening up of the policy of the Civil Service Commission in questioning applicants as to their affiliation with Communist-front organizations shows that these moves have had backing in high circles. The influence of eminent Government officials, whether conscious or not, must have been used.

Such is the meaning of the four recent events mentioned. They reveal a flourishing conspiracy, helped by influential but foolish people, to undermine American democracy and the American State as a barrier against world totalitarianism. This conspiracy must be exposed.

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Internal Evidence

WHEREVER U. S. forces have fought in the Pacific, reports have been circulated that the Japanese had Japanese women in their camps. Few if any such reports have been substantiated. Commander Myron W. Graybill, however, quoted a Solomon Islands native chief as having been positive the Japs had at least one woman at a camp near his village.

"How can you be so sure?" Graybill asked. Replied the chief: "I ate her."

— *Time*

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Ways to Get There

» "SONNY," a woman called to a boy passing her house, "would you mind putting this parcel on a streetcar? It's my husband's lunch."

"What streetcar?" the boy asked.

"Any streetcar," the woman said. "He works in the company's lost-objects office."

— Contributed by Sgt. Harold Helfer

» I APPROACHED a group of rowdy youngsters who were playing ball to ask the whereabouts of a short street in the neighborhood. "I dunno," one said. "Ask the dope over there."

On the corner sat a small boy under a faded beach umbrella with a large sign reading: "ALL KINDS INFORMATION — 1¢ to 5¢." He was a homely child, wearing glasses and a studious look, and his nose might be called a topographical error.

"I'm looking for Bird Street," I said. He pulled out a large map and pointed out the location.

"That will be one cent," he replied seriously, and added, "Haven't you any more questions, mister?"

"Well . . . there is another bit of information I need," I said with tongue in cheek. "Where is the sacroiliac joint?"

For several minutes he shuffled books of every description — cook books, almanacs, a handbook of chemistry, *Diseases of Animals*, Roget's *Thesaurus*, and finally — to my surprise — an ancient copy of Gray's *Anatomy*. After much search he found the answer and an illustration. I gave him a quarter, and he thanked me profusely. "I'm studying for several professions," he mentioned casually.

— Contributed by Ernest W. Page

IRAN IS CONDEMNED BY MOSCOW PAPER

Premier Who Rejected Soviet Bid for Oil Is Accused of Not Curbing Fascists

By W. H. LAWRENCE

By Wireless to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

MOSCOW, Oct. 22—A sharp attack on the policies of Mohammed Said Maraghei, Iran's Premier and Foreign Minister, as harmful to the best interests of the Iranian people and injurious to Iran's relations with the Soviet Union, Britain and other Allies was published today in Trud, Soviet trade union newspaper.

The criticism came just six days after the publication here of the news that the Iran Parliament, following the Premier's leadership, had refused to grant to the Soviet Union concessions for the exploitation of Kevir and Khurian oil deposits in the northern part of Iran.

Trud asserted that the Iranian Government had left unpunished "harmful actions of certain evil-intentioned elements" who had disrupted the regular flow of Allied supplies to the Soviet Union through Iran and had not opposed the present "intensification of subversive work by pro-Fascist elements in Iran."

The paper charged also that,

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IRAN IS CONDEMNED BY MOSCOW PAPER

Continued From Page 1

while Iranian authorities had not prosecuted "criminals" preying on the Soviet supply lines, they had "persecuted Iranian officials who are striving loyally to carry out their obligations under the treaty alliance between Iran, the U.S.S.R. and Britain."

Nowhere in Trud's one-column denunciation of the Iranian Premier and the policies of his Government is there any mention of the rejection of the Soviet Union's oil concessions proposal, which was the first time the Soviet Government had indicated a willingness to develop economic properties outside the boundaries of the Soviet Union.

The article, which appears under the headline, "The Words and Deeds of Mr. Said," notes that he was the Iranian Ambassador to Moscow more than ten years and therefore the Iranian public had believed him to be a friend of the Soviet Union and one who understood the full importance of good relations with the Soviet Union.

On the contrary, according to Trud, the Premier's policies have made Iran's relations with the Allies "strained and tense."

On the question of policies Trud quoted the Iranian newspaper Shabkaz as asserting that "reactionaries have set Premier Said to the task of smashing workers' organizations and democratic organizations and for this purpose he has introduced a bill for the militarization of industry."

It is for this purpose, Trud declared, that "clashes have been organized in Ispahan, Tabriz and Shakhrud and that tribes are being armed."

Many Iranian newspapers are inquiring why Premier Said does not resign, said Trud, as are "all those public circles in Iran who understand that continuation of Premier Said's policy is harming the interests of Iran and the Iranian people."

[After the Teheran conference President Roosevelt, Premier Stalin and Prime Minister Churchill issued last Dec. 1 a special statement on Iran that said in part: "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."]

Oil Distribution Stressed

MOSCOW, Oct. 22 (AP)—The magazine War and the Working Class in an article today cited American statistics showing that the United States controls 57 per cent of the world's oil resources, Great Britain 27 per cent and the Soviet Union 11 per cent.

The article said companies in possession of Arabian oil concessions had been inspired by the hope of dominating European markets as well as organizing a low cost export business, and asserted there were reasons to believe profits totaled 100 per cent.

The magazine said the British feared cheap Arabian oil would break the price for their output from their Iranian fields.

The article said there was a split among American oil interests over the international oil development.

"Influential political and economic circles in the United States fear South American oil will lose its European markets because of competition from Near East oil and the latter will flood over into the internal American market, threatening the domestic output," the article stated.

This is a clipping from page 1 & 8 of the New York Times for Oct. 23 1944
Clipped at the Seat of Government.

Soviet View on Peace Action Unanimity Keyed to Fear of Powers' Past Prejudice

MOSCOW, Oct. 22 (AP)—Russia's intention to protect herself against anti-Soviet prejudices of the members of any future international security organization was expressed today in the publication War and the Working Class.

Discussing the Soviet Union's insistence on a unanimous vote of the great Powers for dealing with any alleged case of aggression, the magazine said:

It is difficult to forget that the League of Nations did not find it necessary to expel Poland for seizing Vilna or Italy for invading Ethiopaia, but voted for expulsion of the Soviet Union when it deprived Germany of a springboard prepared for invasion."

The article said that although Russia's prestige had increased during the war, "nevertheless, anti-Soviet prejudices are very tenacious. One can't forget about twenty countries which are possible members of the security organization and which have not yet established normal diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union.

"These circumstances prove an open unfriendly attitude. Therefore, it is not to be expected that the Soviet Union would await an impartial decision of 'a majority of the countries' in discussions affecting its vital interests."

Spaniard Snipes at Plan

MADRID, Oct. 22—Augustin Aznar, recognized as a spokesman for the Franco regime, said today in an article published in the Spanish press that the world security plan evolved at the Dumbarton Oaks conference showed the United Nations had "fallen into the same evils that they pretend to abolish."

Señor Aznar ignored repeated statements of British and American spokesmen that the result of the Dumbarton Oaks conference was not a complete plan but an effort to determine some points of agreement for a future plan.

Pointing out that only four of the forty United Nations had participated in the conference, Señor Aznar asked if the thirty-six weaker powers could accept "under the principle of democracy unlimited submission to the overwhelming material predominance of the powerful."

This is a clipping from page 6 of the New York Times for Oct. 23 1944
Clipped at the Seat of Government.

~~Russian~~ Calls Pope 'Franco's Godfather'

By Reuters

MOSCOW, Oct. 23.—The Soviet periodical, *War and the Working Class*, continues to criticize Papal politics.

In the latest issue it refers to the Pope as "Franco's godfather." Fedor Golubev, writing in this issue, recalled that the Pope, as Cardinal Pacelli, went to the U. S. A. in October, 1936.

"After this, all proposals for U. S. assistance to Spain's lawful government against the Franco mutiny were knocked on the head," he said.

This latest attack on the Pope is linked up with a general survey of Franco's policy. Golubev adds that Spain figures in Hitlerite plans as "a protected breeding ground of fascism."

"The future security of Europe, among other things, requires that the hotbed of fascist infection in Spain be totally liquidated."

Russian

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FILE

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Churchill, Stalin Talks 'Good Omen' -- Izvestia

Wireless to the Daily Worker

MOSCOW, Oct. 22.—All newspapers here, carrying the results of the Stalin-Churchill conversations as their main story, describe the meeting as of the greatest political and military significance.

They greet the fact that "a common language" has been achieved on the Polish question and point out that this is a defeat for Nazi propaganda.

Relative to southeastern Europe, Izvestia, government organ says: "Sometimes the Balkans are described as the powder magazine of Europe. In the Balkans, in recent months, there arose a number of differences between the USSR and Britain. Speculating on past traditions, Hitler calculated on finding these differences a favorable ground for driving a wedge between Moscow and London.

"The talks," Izvestia continues, "proved that there too Hitler has met cruel disappointment. Questions connected with Romania, Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, Hungary and Greece were discussed in detail and a single point of view reached—a point of view which will facilitate the speedy destruction of the enemy and which, far from threatening in any way the interests of the Balkan nations, opens up for them broad prospects for their democratic development."

OTHER MATTERS

Izvestia also describes the exchange of opinions on other postwar matters as of exceptional importance especially now when Allied armies are knocking on the western and eastern doors of Germany.

Summing up, Izvestia declares: "It can definitely be said that the talks in Moscow are a splendid confirmation of the joint, friendly working-together of the USSR, Britain and the USA during the war, and a good omen for continuation of this in the postwar period.

"This latter is of the greatest importance for all freedom-loving peoples. It gives them a sound basis for believing that the leading Allied powers are bound in closer unity for the speedy defeat of the enemy after a successful solution of the problems of peace and security for all nations."

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This is a clipping from page 3 of the DAILY WORKER
Date 10-23-44
Clipped at the Seat of Government.

BRITAIN AND RUSSIA NOW SEE EYE TO EYE

Moscow Conferences Went Long Way Toward Fixing a Lasting Accord

By W. H. LAWRENCE

By Wireless to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

MOSCOW, Oct. 21—The keynote to the conception, execution and results of the Churchill-Stalin conference can be found in Prime Minister Churchill's vivid phrase that only Anglo-American and Russian friendship in war and peace can save the world and avert future bloody sacrifices by yet unborn generations.

It is against the background of knowledge of this conviction of the British Prime Minister that one must read the results of the ten-day talks between these great war leaders and it is on this basis that the Allied world must conclude that great progress was made in ironing out a number of troublesome and tricky questions which might conceivably have split the United Nations and killed world cooperation, even before the accomplishment of victory.

Fortunately for the whole world, at the end of their talks the two men saw eye to eye on the chief questions they tackled and were therefore able in the final communiqué to make it quite clear that a final settlement of the Polish issue apparently is realizable and expectable in the not distant future and that the two Governments are ready to carry out a coordinated military and political policy in the Balkans.

Toward Lasting Peace

These are important contributions to Allied unity. The results testify to the desire on both sides to achieve lasting unity in a spirit of cooperation. Take, for example, the case of Yugoslavia, where they announced they would devote their efforts to bringing about a fusion of the Royal Yugoslav Government headed by young King Peter, and the National Liberation Committee, headed by Marshal Tito, for the duration of the war, leaving to the Yugoslav people in the post-war period their inalienable right to choose the type of Constitution and kind of ruler they desire.

In a different vein was the problem of Poland, on which Premier Stalin and Prime Minister Churchill likewise found fundamental accord, even though they were not able to come up with the final settlement announcement they had hoped to be able to make. The problem of Poland, both regarding her relations with the Soviet Union and the other United Nations and regarding her internal political setup, was one that for months had been the subject of considerable correspondence between the leaders of the Soviet and British States.

There were no diplomatic relations between the Soviet Union and the exiled Polish Government in London and there had been innumerable exchanges of hot words between the partisans of each. Moscow recognized the Polish Committee of National Liberation, with headquarters in Lublin, as civil administering authority for that section of Poland which has already been liberated, but none of the other United Nations had any dealings with the Polish Committee of National Liberation.

Accord Expected Soon

With all these facts in mind Mr. Stalin and Mr. Churchill asked to Moscow representatives of the London Polish Government in Exile—Premier Stanislaw Mikolajczyk, Foreign Minister Tadeuz Romer and Stanislaw Grabski—and of the Polish Committee of National Liberation—President Boleslaw Bierut, Edward B. Osubka-Morawski, chief of foreign affairs, and Col. Gen. Michal Rola-Zymierski.

It is possible on the best available authority to report that there now exist no differences between the Soviet and British Governments on the Polish issue and to predict an early return of M. Mikolajczyk with an undetermined number of his colleagues from the London Government-in-Exile to form inside liberated Poland a provisional government representative of both camps. M. Mikolajczyk and Mr. Churchill are fully satisfied with the Soviet Union's attitude toward Poland as stated by Mr. Stalin.

Much of the Polish talk centered about that country's boundaries with the Soviet Union, and while in a final communiqué Mr. Stalin and Mr. Churchill did not mention this question, it is now believed that it will follow precisely along the Curzon Line offer put forward by the Soviet Government on Jan. 11.

But more important to the cause of world cooperation than the concrete results illustrated by unity on Polish and Balkan questions was the undoubted great success achieved by Mr. Stalin and Mr. Churchill in their personal relations.

Shift to Cordiality

Two years ago Mr. Churchill came here in the none-too-fancy "siren suit" bearing the bitter pill that the Anglo-American Allies would not be able to live up to the promise that they would establish a second front in Europe in 1942.

The Russians neither liked Mr. Churchill's message nor his dress, which they considered disrespectful, and the result was that there neither were agreements on the basic issues nor any public or social demonstrations of friendship. This time Mr. Churchill came at a time when all the war

N.Y. Times
Oct. 22, 1944
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Soviets Determined to Break German Militaristic Spirit and War Industries

Think It's More Important to Insure Peace Than to Get Vengeance

By RALPH PARKER
Staff Correspondent
(Copyright, 1944, by Field Publications)

PM Exclusive

MOSCOW, Oct. 21.—In these fateful weeks before the power is finally wrested from German hands, the question that men in Europe have asked themselves so frequently—"How long will the war last?"—is giving place to another asked with no less yearning and anxiety—"How long will be the peace?"

To the Slav world the length and stability of peace depends on how effective is the removal of the German menace. It is on measures to break the German stranglehold on Europe rather than on the organization of an international security system that Russian attention is directed at this stage.

As they see it here, there are two ways whereby the German menace could be made unsubstantial to the children of tomorrow:

¶ By harnessing of German power.

¶ By removing the German will to power.

No Experiments

Russia is in no mood to experiment with the German character so long as Germany retains the power to make war. There is widespread agreement here that a "good Germany" is possible, that when the power is broken of all that is brutal, rapacious and stupid in the German nation over the worthier elements, something may emerge, with which the other nations can live without dread.

But their experience of this war, the sheep-like acquiesence of the German masses in their leaders' plans, the instability of the German character resulting from a mass inferiority complex, has persuaded the Russians that if there is to be a metamorphosis in Germany, what emerges will need to be watched with the greatest distrust.

Ralph Parker, PM's correspondent in Moscow

Means of Control

Thus, measures favored here concern the means whereby control of the German will to power is made actual.

What are the means?

The war has taught us certain things. In the political field we know that:

¶ Germany will not embark on a war unless she is first able to coerce or cajole certain of her neighbors, particularly the food producing countries of the Danube Valley, into an alliance with her.

¶ She will not embark on a war in Europe if she is convinced that two great European powers—Britain and the Soviet Union—are against her.

¶ She will not embark on a war if she is not in possession of certain strategic springboards from which her armies may be launched against the east and west.

Thus, the countermeasures that need to be taken in the political field are:

¶ Make those lands coveted by Germany and necessary for her war effort strong enough to resist the German *Drang*, by freeing them,

Russian

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from German economic control and by linking them with Britain and Russia by means of military mutual aid alliances. Thus, in the east, Yugoslavia, with its great industrial potential developed, and Poland, certain of Russian aid if attacked, would be in a position to resist all German cajolery.

¶ Consolidate the Anglo-Soviet treaty of alliance to construct so solid a front that the Germans would be left without the slightest chance of dividing these Allies.

¶ Dislodge Germany from her foothold across the Rhine and from East Prussia; secure the southern frontiers of Bohemia by maintaining an independent Austria and extend Poland's western frontiers in such a manner as to give Poland the longest possible common frontier with Czechoslovakia and the shortest possible with Germany.

Other Methods

What are the other means necessary to Germany before she can make her will to power a menace to European peace?

An industrial potential, particularly the means to the possession of steel, oil, explosives and chemicals, and a war planning organization.

Effective countermeasures must, therefore, be taken to reduce Germany's industrial potential to the lowest level that can be equated with the prosperity of Europe and to control what remains in order to prevent its being used for war purposes.

Nor must the Germans be permitted to retain a general staff, secret cadres of officers disguised as patriotic societies and a military intelligence service.

How are these measures to be carried out?

No Russian plan for dealing with German industry has been made public, but recently there have been several indications that opinion here runs strongly in favor of breaking down the German monopolies and trusts — first of all, the steel and chemical trusts.

Responsible Soviet writers have assailed plans circulated abroad for maintaining monopolies in order that they should fit once again into the rigid construction of world cartels. From these opinions it is clear that Russia does not wish to see Germany emerge as a great steel and chemical producer with a highly ~~organised~~ and efficient industry.

The liquidation of the German war planning machinery is closely associated in Russian minds with the question of punishment of war criminals. Many crimes committed by individuals and by whole categories of Germans need to be avenged. Yet it is not in a spirit of revenge that the Russian envisage their actions against the German war criminals.

For some time now the idea has gained ground in the Red Army and, indeed, throughout the Soviet Union that there can be no adequate revenge for what has been suffered. The law pursues and punishes the criminal not only to avenge outraged justice, but to protect society from him and from those who would be encouraged to crime by the example of his escape.

It is with a vision of the next war in their minds, rather than of the crimes committed in this one, that Soviet justice will seek out the German war criminals.

Germany's Conditions

In all these considerations of what shall be done to Germany it is necessary to take into account the condition of Germany at the end of this war. Should the Nazis succeed in the effort to keep Germany at war through the Winter, the problem of Germany may, in the first instance, pose itself in the form of whether the war-racked land is to be allowed to perish of hunger, disease and want, or whether sufficient life is to be infused into Germany to keep her from chaos.

Nations that have such power over the enemy have vast opportunities for redirecting its life along new lines. Sentimentality under such circumstances is perhaps the greatest danger.

The longer Germany persists, the worse will be her sufferings, the more permanent her wounds, and the facts all indicate that at the close of hostilities Germany will have enfeebled herself completely.

The army, which was fed off France, the Ukraine, Bessarabia, Rumania, Hungary and the Netherlands, must now be mainly fed from German-grown food. Armies eat more than civilians. Germany never had so many men under arms as today. Moreover, western Germany cannot feed itself, let alone the armies defending it. A flow of food from east to west is necessary. How long can that movement be maintained under the increasing blows of the Allied air forces?

Nearing Starvation

It may not be that Germany's fighting capacity will be seriously impaired by the condition of German agriculture, but it is unquestionable that at the close of hostilities Germany will be on the brink of starvation.

The possibility of using the situation to settle larger numbers of Germans on the land than there were before the war is one which may make a certain appeal to the victorious powers. The first problem, especially in western and southern Germany will be the raising of food. It may, therefore, be less difficult to divert German labor from the factory to the field, and less compulsion may be needed to transform Germany into an agricultural community than imagined at present.

Moscow Talks End in Optimism; Churchill and U. S. Envoy Fly Home

By W. H. LAWRENCE
By Wireless to The New York Times.

MOSCOW, Saturday, Oct. 21—Prime Minister Churchill and Premier Stalin achieved material progress in resolving the Polish question and agreed on coordinated military and political action in the troubled Balkans, including an attempted fusion of the Royal Yugoslav Government and Marshal Tito's Committee of National Liberation, it was made known early today.

The two war leaders have concluded ten days of conferences designed to speed Adolf Hitler's complete defeat and iron out political questions whose solution is vital both to military victory and a secure, stable peace.

United States Ambassador W. Averell Harriman, who represented President Roosevelt at the Stalin-Churchill talks as an observer, left Moscow by plane yesterday morning shortly before Mr. Churchill to report to Mr. Roosevelt.

Marshal Stalin and Mr. Churchill, together with the top-ranking military officials of both nations, reviewed military decisions affecting the European war that had been taken at both the Teheran and Quebec conferences, and were confident that the future military operations against Germany would go well.

While it was clear, as the conferences adjourned, that the Polish

Continued on Page 5, Column 2

MOSCOW TALKS END ON A HOPEFUL NOTE

Continued From Page 1

question—both as it affects the relations of that country with the Soviet Union and the other United Nations and internal Polish politics—had not been completely settled, high hopes were entertained in the best-informed quarters that the final solution might not be far off after Premier Stanislaw Mikolajczyk reports to his London Cabinet. The view that progress had been made toward a final solution of the Polish difficulties was maintained even after the appearance in the Soviet press today of a new outburst against the London Polish Government by adherents of the Polish Committee of National Liberation of Lublin. Tass, Soviet official news agency, today quoted from Rzeczpospolita, official Lublin newspaper, an editorial asserting that M. Mikolajczyk's first trip to Moscow coincided with what it termed the premature Warsaw uprising and that his second visit, just concluded, came at the same time as the "organization of several terroristic acts on liberated territory with which the Polish exile government is conected."

[According to the Columbia Broadcasting System, which heard a Moscow broadcast of the Lublin article, resolutions adopted in Lublin said the attitude of the London Poles "is due to the fact that the Polish Committee of National Liberation is handing over the land of the landlords to the peasants ~~and farm laborers~~"]

This is a clipping from page 1 & 5 of the New York Times for

Oct. 21, 1944

Clipped at the Seat of Government.

Another Tass dispatch from Lublin dated Oct. 18 reported several mass meetings had been held in that temporary capital at which crowds shouted, "Down with Mikalajczyk's Government" and "Long live the P. C. N. L." Resolutions adopted at this session declared "the criminal terroristic acts" on liberated Polish soil "could not have been made without the knowledge and agreement of the so-called Government in London headed by Mikolajczyk."

Churchill Is Confident

Despite this undercurrent, there must be balanced Mr. Churchill's calm confidence that the differences between the Soviet and British Governments on the Polish issue had been virtually removed and M. Mikolajczyk's apparent satisfaction with the future role of Poland, as evidenced after his final talk with Marshal Stalin Wednesday night.

On the surface also there was every evidence that British-Soviet unity had never been firmer or more complete. Premier Stalin even went to the airport at an early hour yesterday to see the British leader off and clambered aboard the British-made special transport to see the machine.

Premier Stalin wore his marshal's uniform and Prime Minister Churchill, dressed as a Royal Air Force commodore, stood side by side in a drizzling rain at the airport, decked with Soviet and British flags, while a crack Soviet guard of honor passed in review and a Soviet band played the national anthems of both countries.

Then, stepping to a newsreel microphone, Mr. Churchill delivered his speech:

Marshal Stalin and comrades gathered here:

"I have now come to the end of a most strenuous and at the same time most agreeable visit to Moscow. We have worked very hard. As I said last night, we have been a council of workmen and soldiers, but the generous hospitality and cordial friendship with which we have been welcomed and sustained has left me and my friend and colleague, the Foreign Secretary, Mr. [Anthony] Eden, with the pleasantest memories of these crowded and serious days.

"Most of all has it been a pleasure to me and an honor to have so many long and intimate talks with friend and war comrade Marshal Stalin and to deal with him on the many difficult questions inseparable from the united, forward march of the great nations through the many vicissitudes of war.

Convinced of Unity

"I hope most earnestly and I believe with great conviction that the warrior-statesman at the head of Russia will lead the Russian people —all the peoples of Russia— through the years of storm and tempest into the sunlight of a broader and happier age for all and that with him in this task will march the British Commonwealth of Nations and the mighty United States of America."

It is evident that Premier Stalin and Prime Minister Churchill spent most of their time on the Polish question and informed quarters believe that much misunderstanding had been removed.

In reviewing the whole European war picture the leaders and their Foreign Secretaries, Mr. Eden and Vyacheslaff M. Molotoff, agreed in principle on armistice terms affecting Bulgaria and then turned

This is a clipping from page_____ of the New York Times for

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Clipped at the Seat of Government.

to Yugoslav affairs. There has been a long-standing dispute between King Peter's Government, which formerly included Gen. Draja Mikhailovitch as War Minister, and Marshal Tito's forces.

The Stalin-Churchill joint plan for Yugoslavia is highlighted by the effort to merge the Royal Government and liberation committee forces for the duration of the war with the final decision on the future constitutional set-up inside Yugoslavia to be made by the people after the war.

Before leaving Moscow, Mr. Churchill had a background talk with thirty members of the Anglo-American Correspondents Association and eight Soviet press representatives. While it is not permitted to quote Mr. Churchill at this talk, it is no violation of confidence to say that he left Moscow with firm conviction that this war must be the last and that British-American-Russian friendship in peace can save the world and probably is the only factor that can secure the world for future generations.

Mr. Churchill would have the world know that the relations of the great war leaders behind the front lines are as good as the military results on the battlefields.

The Prime Miniser looked fit and in good spirits as he talked with the correspondents for about thirty minutes.

Before seeing the correspondents at the British Embassy Mr. Churchill had delivered a pep talk to about 150 members of the embassy staff and military, naval and air missions which broke up with the traditional, thrice-repeated "Hip, Hip, Hooray."

U. S. Approval Noted

MOSCOW, Saturday, Oct. 21 (AP) —The agreements reached at the Stalin-Churchill conferences had the full approval and knowledge of the United States Government.

Sitting in at the sessions in the Polish issue where Premier Mikolajczyk and his Foreign Minister, Tadeusz Romer; Boleslaw Berut, Polish National Council chairman, and Edward B. Osubka-Morawski of the Polish Committee of National Liberation.

After he saw Premier Stalin three days ago Premier Mikolajsiyk was described as "completely happy," and he was said to have gained an understanding he never before had had. M. Mikolajczyk, who left for London yesterday, is expected to return to Moscow "in a matter of days." He was reported to have been confident that the London Poles would give him a mandate for constructing a unified government.

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

Clipped at the Seat of Government.

STALIN ENTERTAINS CHURCHILL AND EDEN IN MOSCOW

he Soviet Premier and his guests at the dinner given for British visitors. Seated are Foreign Commissar Vyacheslaff M. Molotoff, United ate Ambassador W. Averell Harriman, Winston Churchill, Joseph Stalin and Anthony Eden. Standing are V. M. Berezhkoff, British nbassador Sir Archibald Kerr, V. N. Pavlov, A. Birs and Fedor T. Guseff, former Soviety Ambassador to Canada.

The New York Times (Sovfoto Radiophoto)

Churchill-Stalin Text

MOSCOW, Saturday, Oct. 21 (AP)—A communiqué concerning the Moscow meetings of Prime Minister Churchil and Premier Stalin:

Meetings were held at Moscow from Oct. 9 to 18 between Mr. Churchill and Mr. Eden, representing the United Kingdom, and Marshal Stalin and Mr. Molotoff assisted by their political and military advisors.

The unfolding of military plans agreed upon at Teheran was comprehensively reviewed in the light of recent events and conclusions of the Quebec conference on the war in western Europe. Utmost confidence was expressed in the future progress of Allied operations on all fronts.

Free and intimate exchange of views took place on many political questions of common interest. Important progress was made toward solution of the Polish question which was closely discussed between the Soviet and British Governments.

They held consultations both with the Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Polish Government and with the president of the National Council and chairman of the Committee of National Liberation at Lublin.

These discussions have notably narrowed differences and dispeled misconceptions. Conversations are continuing on outstanding points.

The march of events in southeast Europe was fully considered and agreement was reached on main points in the Bulgarian armistice terms.

Thhe two Governments agreed to pursue a joint policy in Yugoslavia designed to concentrate all energies against the retreating Germans and bring about a solution of Yugoslav internal difficulties by a union between the Royal Yugoslav Government and thhe National Liberation movement.

The right of the Yugoslav people to settle their future Constitution for themselves after the war is of course recognized as inalienable.

The meeting took place with the knowledge and approval of the United States Government who were represented at the conversations by the United States Ambassador at Moscow, Mr. Averell Harriman, acting in the capacity of observer.

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Oct. 21 1944
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GROMYKO PRAISES U. S.-RUSSIAN TIES

Ambassador Predicts Tendency to Study Each Other's Culture Will Grow Stronger

Expressing his gratification at the strengthening of the cultural relations between the Soviet Union and the United States, Andrei Gromyko, Russian Ambassador to this country, predicted last night, at a dinner of the American Russian Institute at the Hotel Commodore, that the tendency of the two peoples to study each other's national culture and scientific achievements would grow stronger and stronger.

Ambassador Gromyko was making his first public address since the close of the Dumbarton Oaks conferences. Other speakers at the dinner included Lieut. Col. William McChesney Martin Jr., former president of the New York Stock Exchange; Dr. Ralph Turner, assistant chief of the division of Cultural Cooperation of the State Department; Prof. B. G. Skramtaev, director of the Central Institute for Industrial Building Research in Moscow, and Prof. Stuart Mudd, president-elect of the American Society of Bacteriologists.

Praises Institute's Activities

Ambassador Gromyko, after expressing his pleasure at being present, said that he considered the activities of the American Russian Institute to be "an expression of the desire of the foremost part of the American intelligentsia to strengthen the cultural relations with the Soviet Union and with the Soviet intelligentsia."

"The collaboration between our countries at the present time is expressed in various forms," he continued. "It is expressed in the mutual struggle of our heroic fighting men against the common enemy not only of our countries but of all humanity—Hitlerite Germany. It is expressed in the political and economic collaboration of our countries which is directed toward the speedy defeat of the hated enemy. It is also finding its expression in the strengthening of the cultural relations between our peoples and our countries."

Millions of the Soviet people have been acquainted from the school days with such American classics as the writings of Jack London, Mark Twain and Longfellow, Ambassador Gromyko said, while such modern American writers as Ernest Hemingway, Upton Sinclair, John Steinbeck, Richard Wright and Theodore Dreiser "are read with great interest in the Soviet Union."

Cites Music and Movies

He said that he noted with equal pleasure the fact that such classic Russian writers as Leo Tolstoy, Dostoevski, Chekhov and Turgenev, and such modern Soviet writers as Sholokhov, Ehrenburg and Poliakov were read here. He said that music and the motion pictures were other cultural bonds between the two countries.

"The intelligentsia of both our countries, as well as the intelligentsia of all other freedom-loving nations, workers in science and art, and other branches of culture will have to face the serious work of ridding science and culture in general of everything pseudo-scientific and false that the Fascist obscurantists tried to bring into it," he said.

Professor Mudd declared that in the Soviet Union education and pure scientific and technological training have become the privilege of the many, and have been vigorously fostered by the Government. He said that the great development in various sciences and technologies resulted, and provided the foundation for Russia's magnificent achievements in the war. He urged an exchange of scientific information on a large scale between the two countries.

Mr. Skramtaev said that Russia will need American machinery and building equipment after the war. He declared that the construction of an "American-type" town near Moscow, completely equipped with American products so that the Soviet people could see them, has been suggested.

Louis E. Browne, executive secretary of the American-Russian Chamber of Commerce, said that it was "utterly fantastic" to suppose that Russia, in the light of the effects of the war on her economy, could furnish enough goods to "make even a down-payment on the imports necessary for an adequate start on industrial rehabilitation." He said that financial credits would have to be arranged for the Soviet Union to buy goods here in the post-war period.

This is a clipping from page 7 of the New York Times for Oct. 20 1944
Clipped at the Seat of Government.

STALIN SAID TO AIM TO PRESERVE REICH

Soviet Publication Stresses Plan for a German Army After End of the War

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

WASHINGTON, Oct. 17—Interesting sidelights on the Russian point of view on the question of the peace settlement with Germany, now one of the uppermost subjects in the debates of the Allied statesmen, are contained in an article, "Russia and Germany," printed in a new publication, Russian Affairs, and made available through the Soviet Embassy here.

The article quotes Marshal Stalin as favoring rather the destruction of the Hitler State and the Nazi Army than to destroy Germany and the German military organization.

"These utterances," says the article," in so far as they are not altered by subsequent agreements with the other United Nations, seem to imply that the Soviet Government opposes the partition of Germany. The Soviet Government has since signed a joint statement with other Allied leaders for the separation of Austria from Germany.

"And the Russian press and the Polish language press issued on Russian soil under the aegis of the Soviet censorship have declared for the separation from German of the whole of East Prussia and Silesia up to the Oder, which is to be attached to a future Polish state, provided it possesses a government approved and favored by the Soviet Government and agrees freely to the annexation of former Eastern Poland by the Soviet Ukraine and Soviet White Russian.

"Except for these qualifications, the declaration for the preservation of Germany and the German State remains unmodified to date."

The article asserts that further light is thrown on the matter by the activities of organizations of German war prisoners and other Germans that have been set up in Russia during the war.

"The most striking and significant of the German war prisoner organizations," it says, "was set up on Sept. 11 and 12, 1943, as a Bund Deutscher Offiziere or League of German Officers. The bund elected as its chairman General von Seydlitz and as vice chairmen General von Daniels, Colonel von Hooven and Colonel Steidle. A proclamation of the bund was signed by four generals, six colonels, twelve majors, eleven captains, thirty-six lieutenants and one Storm Troop lieutenant.

Among the signers was the chief of the Intelligence of the Sixth Army and a Totenkopf or Deaths Head battalion commander, General Walter Meyer. Other captured generals have subsequently signed the names to later manifestoes. In the light of Marshal Stalin's declaration on the preservation of the German Army this organization of high officers, including well-known Junker names and members of the former German General Staff, takes on great significance."

The article concludes by quoting General von Seydlitz as having declared:

"Our intentions are to lead back the Wehrmacht to the frontiers of Germany and to preserve it for the people. An honorable peace can be in store only for a people whose Wehrmacht is not disintegrated."

This is a clipping from page 11 of the New York Times for Oct 1944

Clipped at the Seat of Government.

IRAN TURNS DOWN SOVIET BID FOR OIL

Moscow Press Reports Most Teheran Newspapers Oppose Delay Till After War

By W. H. LAWRENCE

By Wireless to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

MOSCOW, Oct. 17—The Soviet press disclosed today that the Iranian Government had turned dov. the Soviet Government's proposal for the immediate granting of a concession for the exploitation of oil deposits in northern Iran and had decided that nothing would be done about new concessions until after the war.

News of this important decision by the Iranian Government was given in a Tass dispatch from Teheran dated Oct. 10 and marked "delayed in the mails," which quoted a number of Iranian newspapers in sharp criticism of the Government's decision.

The Tass dispatch did not say what action had been taken on American proposals for southern Iranian oil concessions, which were reported last week. Up to now the British Government alone has had Iranian oil concessions. The Soviet offer to undertake the development of Kevir-Khurian oil deposits marked the first time the Moscow Government had shown interest in investing its capital and engineering talent outside the borders of the U.S.S.R.

Tass said most of the Teheran newspapers had criticized the Government's decision, declaring it was not supported by public opinion, which regarded the proposed concession as in the best interests of Iran. Tass said these newspapers had called upon the Iranian Government to accept the Soviet offer.

The dispatch quoted the newspaper Ferman, which described the Soviet offer as of great significance for the development of Iranian economy, particularly in the poorly inhabited northern region. It said Soviet aid would decrease unemployment and help develop a highly qualified body of Iranian workers and engineers. The paper pointed out the possibility that in the search for oil valuable deposits of iron, copper and coal might be uncovered.

From the profits of this concession and possibly other discoveries, Ferman contended, the Iranian Government could finance necessary Iranian social reforms. This newspaper also commented on the generosity of the Soviet offer and said the terms proposed testified to a Soviet desire to see Iran develop as a strong and independent country.

"Acceptance of the Soviet proposition corresponds with the interests of both countries and will strengthen their economic and political ties," Ferman said.

The newspaper Keikhan sharply attacked the Iranian Parliament and Deputies who made the decision to delay the granting of further concessions, declaring that these officials had placed their private interests above the interests of their country.

The newspaper Iran Ma was quoted as authority for the statement that Prime Minister Mohammed Saed Maraghei's recommendations to Parliament had produced a bad impression abroad and hampered relations with neighboring countries.

Tass said that only the newspaper Forda had agreed with the Government's decision to delay concessions until after the war, but added that it saw no objection to the Soviet offer in principle.

This is a clipping from page 10 of the New York Times for Oct. 18, 1944

Clipped at the Seat of Government.

Europe Going Left, but Russia Has No Hand In It

Rise of New Type of Political Party Seen

This is the concluding article dealing with the principles underlying the Soviet Union's attitude toward eastern Europe and the Balkans. An interpretation of Moscow's policy toward Germany will follow.

By Ralph Parker
Staff Correspondent
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MOSCOW, Oct. 16.—A little thought shows how absurd it is to see Moscow's hand in the mood of radicalism that is sweeping Europe. What has Russia to do with the fact the Romanian peasants are determined to put an end to a system whereby a glittering city life is maintained at the expense of those who tilled the land, in debt, pawning tools in Winter to keep going, browbeaten by county gendarmes and tax collectors?

Is it Moscow's influence that gives Slovaks the determination to oppose the appointment of Czech officials in their land? Is it Moscow that has caused Polish peasants to welcome an administration that excludes representatives of Polish aristocracy and has given them land?

New-Type Setups

Of course not. Regardless of what the great powers want, eastern Europe and the Balkans are swinging leftward.

The most hopeful sign that pacification can be attained without disillusionment is perhaps the emergence of new types of political organizations in these lands. Without abandoning as yet the names of old political parties, coalitions have been formed which, if they survive, will lead to parliamentary rule.

Edward Kardel, vice chairman of the Yugoslav Committee of National Liberation, in a highly important article in the Moscow review, *Bolshevik*, describes the new political alignment in Yugoslavia.

He assails both those who consider Tito's movement as wholly Communist and those who consider it as a coalition of various political groups.

In Poland, Too

Kardel writes that thanks to the Communists' firm anti-fascist policy and correctness of their attitude to the nationalities question, they've played a leading role in the national liberation movement. But, he continues, that movement altogether supersedes political parties being founded on urban and rural mass member committees, whose officers are elected not according to party affiliations, but by their intrinsic worth. Thus, from below, a new political movement is being created.

Something very similar is happening in Poland, where the political vigor of the people is being given an opportunity of expression in local committees. We can see in the Romanian democratic bloc the outline of a similar movement there.

Nothing would be so fatal to stability in eastern and southeastern Europe than the persistence of belief in those lands that Moscow is in favor of one type of government and Britain of another.

PM
Oct. 16, 1944
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Problems Before Stalin, Churchill: Reich, Land

What is the Soviet Union's planned policy for Europe—particularly those parts of Europe which the Red Army has helped, or will have helped, directly to liberate? We have asked Ralph Parker, our Moscow reporter and dean of foreign correspondents in the Soviet capital, to report fully on Soviet foreign policy. Today and tomorrow Parker deals with the principles underlying the Soviet attitude toward eastern Europe and the Balkans. These pieces will be followed by an interpretation of Moscow's policy toward Germany.

By Ralph Parker
Staff Correspondent
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MOSCOW, Oct. 14.—Prime Minister Churchill and Marshal Stalin are meeting in Moscow at a time when it is most important that the Soviet Union and the western Allies should be in agreement about the handling of problems that arise as liberation forces pry the Germans out of one position after another in Europe.

Some problems are old and thorny, others are of recent growth and still others are only just breaking ground. But whatever their toughness, they can, if neglected, choke the path that leads to a firm and long peace. Churchill has let it be known in Moscow that he means to have that path well cleared before he returns to London.

What are these problems?

As many see it here, they fall into two categories—the question of Germany and the question of European lands which have been and still are partly under German control. By the time the two leaders have met again, it is highly probable that Allied forces will be deep inside the Reich.

Every day Churchill has been in Moscow, the Russians have added tens of thousands of Romanians, Yugoslavs and Hungarians to the host who have been torn from the German clutch by the Red Army. The Allied conference that was held in Moscow almost one year ago resulted in the agreement about the approach to be made to Germany's satellites in order to ease their detachment from Germany. The fruits came, perhaps, a little later than expected.

But the very success of Allied political and military policy has created new problems. What is to be done with these lands which have become something between defeated nations and co-belligerents?

The Soviet attitude is at the same time stern and generous. On the one hand, there is an insistence that the armistice terms should be carried out precisely. To Finland *War and the Working Class* wrote that though the armistice was of such a nature as to permit future friendship between Finland and the Soviet Union, the prospects of collaboration depended on the Finns in whose land the power was still held by certain representatives noted in the past for their anti-Soviet views.

In the case of Romania, the Soviet press has given wide publicity to charges made against the government by the democratic bloc that purging the civil service of collaborationists has been unnecessarily slow and indecisive.

On the other hand, the armistice terms to both Romania and Finland are clearly designed not to prejudice future good relations between the Soviet Union and her neighbors. Russia has a deep interest that her smaller neighbors should not coalesce into a bloc cemented together by distrust of her.

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In the meantime, however, all the lands of eastern and southeastern Europe are suffering from the consequences of German domination. If the aspirations of the Anglo-Soviet treaty of alliance are to be achieved, and Europe led back to security and prosperity, a way must be found to restore healthy order in those areas whence the tide of German aggression has been swept back.

But what represents order to one man may be injustice to another; and the prosperity of one class may be built on the poverty of another. The problem that is taking shape is whether social justice and political and economic democracy can be attained by orderly process.

Both Churchill and Stalin, of course, are interested in a solution of the problem, for they fully realize that chaos in eastern Europe could benefit none save Germany.

By the nature of things, it has fallen to the Red Army to be the military force that has swept across eastern Europe and the Balkans. It is an army advancing with one slogan, "Death to the German invader!," and the slogan has been taken up by ally and former foe.

It is a tremendous triumph for Russia and for the United Nations that despite the years of German propaganda and decades of prejudice that preceded it, the peoples of every land from the Arctic to the Rhodope Mountains should have taken up arms to aid the Russians drive the Germans back into the Reich.

But when the fighting is over, something else comes into the minds of these eastern Europeans. Unlike the men of the Red Army, they've not been fighting the Germans to defend their way of life. For them, the battles are not over with the expulsion of the Germans. There are traitors, collaborators, to be dealt with; a more just order to be established. And here arise problems in approach to which Allied accords are so necessary.

For there will be some who will think they see Moscow's hand in the radical movements that are rising up in eastern Europe, and who will, perhaps, long after Goebbels has stopped writing his weekly contributions to *Das Reich*, remember that he wrote about "bolshevization of Europe." And if there are many who think this way, it can harm relations between the Soviet Union and her allies.

Says Vatican Wants Nazis Forgiven

TW 3 10/15

War and the Working Class, Soviet trade union organ, last week attacked the Vatican foreign policy as supporting fascism and charged that the pope wants the German war criminals to be forgiven.

In a long article signed by D. Petroff, the magazine declared that the Vatican regarded the fascist Franco regime in Spain as the "propotype of a Christian state" for postwar Europe.

The Catholic masses are imbued with hatred of fascism through bitter experience, Petroff asserted, but the Vatican has never once condemned Hitler, Goering or Himmler "and other organizers of mass murders, looting and destruction of human culture."

ANTI-SOVIET TRICKS

On the other hand, the Vatican has tried to help the Germans against the Soviet Union, the author declares. He revaled that the Vatican had sent many priests into German-occupied parts of the Soviet Union after instructing them "how to struggle against heretical ideas spread by leaders of the Soviet State!" The priests were supposed to control the Russians and reconcile them to German occupation.

The "Vatican's great activity in foreign affairs in recent months" is noted, and the author lists such political visitors as the pro-fascist Polish generals, Kasimierz Sosnkowski and Vladyslaw Anders and the anti-Soviet American ex-ambassador, William Bullitt. The article adds that it is difficult to see the purpose of continued representation of a "Lithuanian Fascist" in the large diplomatic corps accredited to the Holy See.

FACT AND FICTION

Although the Vatican officially claims to follow a policy of strict neutrality, the Soviet writer comments: **"Such statements cannot calm these circles which have been attentively watching statements by the Pope and the Papal press, because neutrality toward a murderer and his victims is more than a strange neutrality."**

Rivam

This is a clipping from page 3 of the [redacted] Worker for

Oct. 15, 1944

Clipped at the Seat of Government.

RED STAR CHARGES REVIVAL OF CARTELS

MOSCOW, Oct. 11 (U.P.)—The political commentator of the Red Star, in a three-column article today, criticized the alleged attempts of certain American and British circles to revive international cartels after the war.

The article said:

"The Allies' victory will not be complete if the military defeat of Germany is not followed by an economic disarmament and if effective measures against German monopolies and cartels are not taken. The future peace should guarantee humanity against the possibility of the rebirth of the military and economic basis of German imperialism.

"The most important task of the future peace is to create conditions that will prevent the renewal of German aggression. This can be achieved by such reconstruction of Germany's economic system as will prevent a resurrection of the basis of German imperialism created by German monopolies with the help of international cartels.

"Germany will again become the center of international cartels, as before the war, if an agreement is not achieved among the Allies to liquidate German monopolies."

The commentator asserted that most of the "soft peace" feelers emanated from international groups allied with German monopolies that were responsible for the development of new factories in Switzerland, Spain and Portugal at the present time to obtain a new basis for post-war revival.

This is a clipping from page 10 of the New York Times for

Oct. 12, 1944

Clipped at the Seat of Government.

Prisoners of War.

German information concerning the number of Russian prisoners of war is contradictory. On 3 October 1941, only three and a half months after the invasion of Russia, Chancellor Hitler stated that the number of Russian prisoners had risen to 2,500,000, and on 11 December 1941, in declaring war on the United States, that Russian prisoners up to 1 December totalled exactly 3,806,865. But on the anniversary of the invasion of Russia, the official German news agency (D.N.B.) stated that in one year Russia had lost more than two million men captured, and on 12 August 1942 the German High Command announced that 1,044,741 Russian soldiers had been captured since the resumption of fighting in the spring. The latter figure caused some surprise, for whereas in the campaign of 1941 whole regiments and even divisions were reported to have been surrounded by the German armoured troops which pierced the Russian lines, nothing similar had been announced in the campaign of 1942, and there seems to be no explanation for such great losses in prisoners by an army showing stubborn resistance and retiring in good order.

The explanation given for this contradiction is that the German figures include not only Russian soldiers captured on the battle-field, but also civilians who are regarded as prisoners of war and treated accordingly. A communiqué of the Soviet Government Information Bureau accused Germany of treating every male able

[1] It is not clear whether this figure relates to workers who actually left for Germany or to all those who registered for work in Germany.

to bear arms as a prisoner of war and supported this assertion by the publication of some Orders of the Day found in the possession of German detachments.[1]

With regard to the territorial distribution of Russian prisoners of war, the following figures, which give a rough picture of the situation in February 1942, are derived from a well-informed source. The total number of persons regarded as prisoners of war was between two and three million. Of this number, 300,000 were in camps and labour detachments in Germany and 180,000 in the General Government. The transfer of Russian prisoners of war to the west was then in full swing, but there is no doubt that the bulk of the prisoners were still in the area between the fighting front and the line from which the German offensive started in June 1941. Many of this vast number of prisoners remaining in occupied Soviet territory were confined in temporary or more permanent prison camps in different districts, but a constantly increasing number were brought to work in the Ukraine and in other parts of the Soviet Union. Thousands of Russian prisoners were reported to have been sent to German-occupied or German-controlled countries; for instance, 32,000 to build railways and fortifications in Norway[2] and 7,000, as already mentioned, to Belgian mines.[3] Thirty-five thousand Russian prisoners in Rumanian hands have been put to work on farms in Rumania.[4]

Civilian Workers.

The system of treating all civilians capable of bearing arms as prisoners of war may have been primarily intended to put down guerilla warfare, but it was also a special method of recruiting labour. In addition, by September 1942, the German authorities had also set up 238 employment offices in occupied Russia[5], excluding the Bialystok region, which was incorporated into the

[1] The following Order issued on 21 Jan. 1941 by the 9th German Tank Division was published in *Pravda* on 9 Feb. 1942: "According to the Secret Order of the High Command, No. 2974/41 of 6 Dec. 1941, all men liable for military service from occupied localities must be sent to prisoner-of-war camps".

[2] *Norsk Tidend*, 6 May 1942.

[3] According to *Ny Dag* (Stockholm), 20 Mar. 1943, Swedish sailors who had been to Danzig stated that only Russian prisoners were working in the docks. Another report refers to Russian prisoners sent to work on fortifications along the Aegean coast (*Folkviljan*, Stockholm, 30 Mar. 1943). According to an Order issued in the autumn of 1942, Soviet prisoners of war of Ukrainian stock who came from the Galician district of Lvov were to be released for war work in Germany.

[4] Reported on 5 Jan. 1942 from a reliable source.

[5] *Berliner Börsen-Zeitung*, 11 Sept. 1942. Another paper gives this figure as "about 288" for the whole of the *Ostraum*, besides a number of labour offices set up by the military authorities in the south (*Deutsche Bergwerks-Zeitung*, 4 Sept. 1942).

Reich, and Galicia, which became part of the General Government.[1] Nevertheless, in the first months of the German occupation, the labour supply from Russia was very meagre. The German authorities explained this partly by the opposition to the employment of Russian workers in the Reich on grounds of principle, and partly by the great shortage of manpower in occupied Russia itself, a shortage which was caused by the flight of the population before the advancing German armies and which made it necessary for all available agricultural labour to be used on the spot.[2] Even in 1942, for the spring ploughing, 400,000 agricultural workers were requisitioned "from the northern regions of the Eastern Territories for the Ukraine to remedy the lack of manpower there".[3] For the same reasons the great majority of the Russian prisoners of war had to be left in the occupied regions to work in local agriculture and thus to ensure at least the supply of food necessary for the German army.

During the course of 1942, however, the situation changed considerably. Measures were taken to isolate the Russians from other workers. Recruiting was extended to regions more remote from the main lines of communication. In the summer of 1942 it was announced that between 14,000 and 20,000 Russian workers had been brought daily to Germany.[4] These were not only agricultural workers, but also industrial workers in steadily increasing numbers. The German authorities admitted that in occupied Russia "the labour supply possibilities in the cities have fallen to a negligible level owing to the destruction wrought almost everywhere".[5] The great majority of skilled workers had of course been evacuated by the Russians before their retreat. So far as those who remained were concerned, the German authorities realised that "it would be unreasonable to employ them for rural labour". The proper sphere of activity for these skilled industrial workers would be the armament industry in the Greater German Reich.[6] Great successes were announced in the recruitment of miners, metal and other workers. Ukrainian women are reported to have been sent

[1] *Reichsarbeitsblatt*, 25 Mar. 1942, No. 9, Part V, p. 168.
[2] *Ibid.*
[3] *Die Deutsche Volkswirtschaft*, No. 17, June 1942, p. 554.
[4] *Der Deutsche Volkswirt*, 17 July 1942.
[5] *Reichsarbeitsblatt*, 5 Mar. 1942, No. 7, Part V, p. 131. The scale of the destruction is suggested by the German claim to have achieved the clearing of some dozens of pits in the Donetz region and to have resumed production in a few of them, so that "many hundreds of men could be put to work in each pit and were again getting wages and bread" (*Die Deutsche Volkswirtschaft*, No. 18, June 1942, p. 594).
[6] *Die Deutsche Volkswirtschaft*, No. 17, June 1942, p. 555. Already in 1941 the German employment offices had been advised to employ the skilled workers among the Russian prisoners of war in their own trades. Cf. *Reichsarbeitsblatt*, 5 Dec. 1941, No. 34, Part V, p. 629.

as far away as the Westmark, a new province including Lorraine and the adjacent districts of western Germany; they were found to be suitable for certain work usually performed by men, such as transport work, the operation of large machines, and mining.[1] In some regions wholesale recruitment was carried out and all available labour taken. In August 1942 it was reported that an acute shortage of agricultural labour in Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania had been caused in this way, so that the German labour authorities permitted about 400 Estonian "volunteers" working in Germany at the time to return to their homes for three weeks for harvesting.[2]

The result of all these recruitment measures was a huge influx of Russian workers into Germany.[3] The Russian press speaks of millions of deported Russian workers, these including, of course, recruited workers as well as those whom the Germans classified as prisoners of war. "Eastern" workers from the Ukraine, the former Baltic States and the other territories occupied by the German army constituted the main supply of foreign labour at that time. In September 1942 it was stated that 1,200,000 Eastern workers had already been employed in the Reich for some time, and that this number was still growing.[4]

In all, about 2,000,000 eastern workers were reported to have been sent to Germany in 1942[5]—a figure which was confirmed by a press release of 13 January 1943 issued by the official German news agency.[6] Of this number, according to information given by the German General Commissioner for the Ukraine, 710,000 came from the Ukraine.[7] There is no reliable information to show where the remainder came from. It should be remembered that the expression "Eastern workers" is used in two different ways in Germany. In connection with regulating working conditions, an Order of 30 June 1942 limited the definition of "Eastern workers" to "all non-German workers recruited within the German Commissariat of the Ukraine, the General Commissariat of White Russia and the territories to the east of these regions and bordering the former free States of Latvia and Estonia". But in every-day language, the expression often includes all workers recruited east of the frontier of the Greater Reich (including territories incorporated into the Reich)

[1] *Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*, 21 July 1942.
[2] *Deutsche Zeitung im Ostland*, 18 Aug. 1942.
[3] For a more detailed study of the methods of recruitment and conditions of employment of Eastern workers in Germany, see "Soviet Workers in Germany", in *International Labour Review*, Vol. XLVII, No. 5, May 1943, pp. 576-590.
[4] *Deutsche Bergwerks-Zeitung*, 4 Sept. 1942.
[5] *Monatshefte für N.S.-Sozialpolitik*, Nos. 23-24, Dec. 1942.
[6] *Neue Zürcher Zeitung*, 14 Jan. 1943.
[7] *Deutsche Ukraine Zeitung*, quoted by *National Zeitung* (Basle), 8 Jan. 1943.

and thus applies, in addition, to the workers recruited in the territory of the General Government (including Galicia) and in the German Commissariat of the East—that is, in Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia. Probably the figure of 2,000,000 published by the German news agency should be taken to include all workers from the east in the wider sense of the term. The communiqué of the German Labour Front, already noted above[1], speaks of "two million Poles and Russians who came to the Reich in 1942 for work". If this is correct, it may be estimated, by subtracting the number of Polish and Baltic workers and returning seasonal workers, that 1,500,000 workers from the Soviet Union were employed in Germany at the beginning of 1943 and that nearly half of them had come from the Ukraine.

Russia

Soviet Negotiates for Iran Oil; U. S. Interests Also Seek Field

By Wireless to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

MOSCOW, Oct. 10—The Soviet Government is interested in developing economic properties outside its own boundaries and already has a mission in Iran negotiating with the Government there for a Kevir-Khurian oil concession in the northern part of that country, it was disclosed today.

News of this important international development was given to Soviet readers in indirect fashion on the day after the arrival of Prime Minister Churchill and Foreign Secretary Anthony Eden for a series of talks with Premier Joseph Stalin and Foreign Commissar Vyacheslaff M. Molotoff. The news of this Soviet move was given in the form of a Tass dispatch from Teheran, which quotes an interview with Sergei I. Kavtaradze, Soviet Vice Commissar for Foreign Affairs, as published in the Teheran newspaper Ettelaat.

In the early formative years of the Soviet Union, during the period of Lenin's New Economic Policy, foreign capital was permitted to obtain concessions inside the Soviet Union for oil, gold, manganese, coal and other raw materials, but over a period of years these have gradually been liquidated. The last one was settled last spring when the Japanese gave up their oil and coal concessions on North Sakhalin Island. In those years the Soviet Government devoted all its energies to developing the internal resources of the U. S. S. R. had no time or desire to invest its labor

Continued on Page 6, Column 6

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and funds outside the Soviet boundaries.

In today's dispatch Mr. Kavtaradze said Soviet experts had made preliminary studies of northern Iranian oil deposits and that the Soviet Government had instructed a Commission now in Iran "to propose to the Iranian Government a plan for giving to the U. S. S. R. the right to search for and exploit oil in northern Iran" on the theory that oil production developed by Iranian labor and Soviet engineering skill would contribute beneficially to the economic betterment of both countries.

The Iranian newspaper that interviewed Mr. Kavtaradze had an open mind on his proposal. It said that if Iran could organize the exploitation of her own oil resources, it would undoubtedly be a mistake to grant concessions to foreigners, but the newspaper added:

"But it this is impossible, the Government and Parliament ought to make a careful survey of the terms proposed and, if they find that the conditions proposed by an American company for the exploition of oil in southeast and the Iran Soviet conditions for northern oil are advantageous and useful and in no way harmful to Iran's national rights, why not grant concessions that will contribute to the fight against unemployment, poverty and hunger?

"If the terms proposed are unacceptable and detrimental to the interests of the country, the Government and Parliament must say so clearly without delay."

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

Oct. 11, 1944

Clipped at the Seat of Government.

IG 3 PEACE UNITY TOASTED BY STALIN

oviet Premier Acclaims U. S., British Armies at Luncheon for Churchill and Eden

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

MOSCOW, Oct. 10—Premier Joph Stalin paid the highest tribte today to the British and Amerin forces who have broken into ermany and thereby brought arer Adolf Hitler's defeat.

The tribute of the Soviet Union's ar leader, more expansive and ore generous than the usual coment in the Soviet press, was paid a luncheon given by him in nor of British Prime Minister urchill and Foreign Secretary nthony Eden, at which Marshal alin sat between Mr. Churchill d United States Ambassador W. verell Harriman, and Foreign ommissar Vyacheslaff M. Molotff sat between Mr. Eden and itish Ambassador Sir Archibald ardk-Kerr.

In the space of a few hours Mr. urchill got the answer to the estion he had raised at the Mosw airport after his arrival yesrday when, after declaring that e United States and the British ommonwealth of nations had rained their efforts to the utost, he observed "it is for you to dge whether or not we have ruck heavy blows."

Premier Stalin, who wore a marasts in recognition of British al's uniform, was in high good mor and the generosity of his d American assistance drew from . Churchill this response:

"It is a sign of a great nation

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Continued From Page 1

and a great man to be magnanimous and generous, and Marshal Stalin has been both. I have always thought, and I think now, that it was the Red Army which clawed the guts out of the filthy Nazis.

Premier Stalin spoke most earnestly about the need for future cooperation to insure continued world peace and to avoid the mistakes of the past, as peace-loving nations apparently are never prepared, but aggressor nations always seemed to be. He added:

"In the future this must be avoided. This is the duty of a security organization."

About fifty guests attended the luncheon, held in the Soviet Foreign Office guest house, Spiridonovka, where last year's conference of Foreign Ministers was held.

Premier Stalin toasted the continued cooperation of the United States, Britain and the Soviet Union in the post-war world to preserve peace and establish security for all nations, large and small.

Mr. Churchill, refreshed by his night's rest in a country house after this arrival in Moscow, followed up the Stalin luncheon with a frank conversation with the Dominion representatives in Moscow. He had already talked privately with the British and American Ambassadors.

Premier Stalin's toast for continued post-war cooperation emphasized that peace-loving nations must prepare as they had not prepared for war in 1939, when Adolf Hitler struck.

Friendly Atmosphere Prevails

The expansive official luncheon included toasts so numerous that the guests lost count of them, but the atmosphere was much friendlier and more cordial than on Mr. Churchill's last visit here, when he had the unhappy task of informing Premier Stalin that a "second front" in Europe in 1942 would be replaced by the North African invasion.

Ambassador Harriman offered a toast to both the Soviet Union and Britain, whose hard fight against Hitler had given the United States time to prepare. Mr. Molotoff offered toasts to both Mr. Eden and Secretary of State Cordell Hull, who came here almost one year ago to confer with him and with the Moscow declaration for world security, which was the basis for the agreement reached by the Big Three at Teheran and for yesterday's announcement regarding the agreement established at the Dumbarton Oaks security conference.

Mr. Eden raised his glass in a toast to Premier Staling, Prime Minister Churchill and President Roosevelt.

Beneath the cordial atmosphere of the luncheon was an unmistakable undercurrent of concerned opinion about the type of peace the great Allies would write. This was the keynote of every Soviet editorial on the front page today regarding the world security talks concluded at Dumbarton Oaks.

Experts Meet Quickly

The delegations repressting Britain and the Soviet Union lost no time buckling down to the work of attempting to settle speedily the political and military questions that confront them at this stage of the World War.

Mr. Eden, accompanied by Ambassador Clark Kerr, saw Mr. Molotoff and Vice Foreign Commissar Andrei Y. Vishinsky for an hour and a half, beginning at 6:30 last night, and two hours later Mr. Churchill and Mr. Eden met for three hours with Premier Stalin and Mr. Molotoff—a session that ended at 1 A. M.

Mr. Harriman, who is President Roosevelt's personal representative at these discussions, did not take part in either initial meeting, but was present at Premier Stalin's luncheon for the leading delegates, as were the Ministers of Canada, Australia and New Zealand.

Significantly, on the day after Prime Minister Churchill's arrival the Soviet press published full-page texts of the agreement on vital questions of world security reached at the Dumbarton Oaks conference.

It is an interesting fact directly linked with the success of the Churchill-Stalin parleys, which will be concerned primarily with political decisions affecting the whole pattern of post-war Europe, that the keynote of all Soviet editorial comments regarding Dumbarton Oaks is that there must be unanimity among the three great Powers on all major questions affecting the future peace as well as the present war.

Unanimity in Issue

The major issues that were not settled at Dumbarton Oaks doubtless will be discussed by Messrs. Stalin and Churchill, even in Mr. Roosevelt's absence, and the Soviet press makes it clear that one of the questions that have not been settled is the Soviet Union's view that this unanimity must be expected to endure in the future even in disputes directly concerning one of these Powers.

All the leading editorials indicate that the Soviet Government is not willing to accept the proposal put forth by the British or American delegates, that the principle that United Nations' council decisions must have the unanimous support of the five permanent council members, shall be waived when the dispute in question affects a permanent member.

To permit such a waiver of the unanimity rule would, in effect, be to "attempt to decide such ques-

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

Oct. 11, 1944.

Clipped at the Seat of Government.

tions behind the back" of the power involved and nullifying the principle of unanimity would be to destroy the cornerstone around which an effective security organization can be erected, the Soviet press contended.

Izvestia, the organ of the Supreme Soviet, said the principal lesson to be drawn from the failure of the League of Nations "is that without a firm agreement and joint activities of the leading peace-loving powers, the preservation of peace, warding off of aggression and, even more, the suppression of aggression remain illusions capable only of bringing harm to the peace-loving peoples and lulling their vigilance in the face of threatened danger of aggression, as occurred in the years preceding the present war."

Sequel to Dumbarton Oaks

The same day that the Soviet papers gave their readers the news that Prime Minister Churchill was here and had met with Mr. Stalin editorials observed that questions that could not be settled at Dumbarton Oaks would be discussed and ironed out, and added:

"With calm confidence the Soviet public is awaiting further steps in the organization of a system of universal security. Both before and during the war the Soviet Union has shown the whole world that it is the truest bulwark of peaceful and friendly relations between peoples and countries, an unconquerable barrier in the path of the aggressor. The foreign policy of the Soviet Union is unvaryingly determined not only by interest in its own security but by a desire to curb an aggressor who has threatened the security of all other peace-loving peoples—large and small."

The principle of required unanimity on the part of Britain, the United States, the Soviet Union, China and France on future world problems doubtless is a topic Mr. Churchill and Premier Stalin are discussing, along with more immediate issues affecting a general European settlement and the harshness of the peace that will be imposed on Germany.

While there is speculation that the Polish question may be discussed, there is no indication that representatives of the Polish Committee of National Liberation are coming here from Lublin, although it was understood Mr. Churchill would be willing to receive them if they came.

There seems to be no reason for believing the Churchill-Stalin talks will be primarily military, although the Prime Minister brought a large staff of experts.

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

Clipped at the Seat of Government.

RUSSIA HONORS PRIESTS

Metropolitan Nikolai Among Those Getting Medals

By Wireless to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

MOSCOW, Oct. 9—Pravda prominently displayed today the news that Metropolitan Nikolai and other officials of the Russian Orthodox Churches in Moscow and Tula had received medals "for the defense of Moscow."

The news article said that the priests had helped to strengthen the defenses of the two cities when the German Army drove to the gates of Moscow. They helped to organize anti-aircraft defenses and collected funds for arms and presents to the Red Army.

Accepting the first medal, Metropolitan Nikolai expressed gratitude to "our dear Government" and asked that a message be conveyed to Premier Stalin, whom he described as "our dearly beloved leader," that the whole Russian Church would intensify its efforts to serve the motherland in hard times and prosperity, peace and war.

This is a clipping from page 7 of the New York Times for

OCT. 10, 1944

Clipped at the Seat of Government.

VATICAN'S POLICY ASSAILED IN RUSSIA

War and Working Class Says It Favors Soft Peace to Let Reich Escape Deserts

By Wireless to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

MOSCOW, Sept. 9—A sharp attack on the Vatican's foreign policy was published today by the Soviet publication, War and the Working Class, which said that the headquarters of the Roman Catholic Church had been a long-time friend of fascism and favored a soft peace that would let the Germans escape their just deserts. The Vatican, it asserted, regarded the Franco regime in Spain as "the prototype of a Christian state" for post-war Europe.

The long article, signed by D. Petroff and written in response to an inquiry from a Red Army officer, Major Borovikoff, is a rejainder to the Pope's recent message to Londoners appealing to them to forgive the Germans for

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launching flying bombs against England.

Mr. Petroff said that the Vatican not only had not publicly condemned Hitler, Goering and Himmler "and other organizers of mass murders, looting and destruction of human culture, but has even appealed for mercy and proposed that the Hitlerites should be forgiven."

This Vatican foreign policy line has angered Catholics throughout the world, according to Mr. Petroff, who said that the Vatican must be aware of "the gruesome experiences" of Catholics in Italy, France, Belgium, Poland and other German-dominated countries during the war and must know the attitude of these Catholics toward the Hitlerite beasts."

Neutral Policy Is Attacked

War and the Working Class said that the Vatican's announced policy of strict neutrality in the war must be compared with "neutrality toward a murderer and his victim," but added that the stated policy was not being carried out, especially in regard to activities that would react against Russia and her leaders.

The article quoted an American Magazine article of January, 1943, by a former United Press correspondent in Rome who said that the Vatican had prepared and sent many priests into German-occupied parts of the Soviet Union after instructing them "how to struggle against heretical ideas spread by leaders of the Soviet State. Mr. Petroff said that the Germans vainly hoped to use these Catholic priests for "controlling the Russians and reconciling them to German occupation.

Catholic Papers Quoted

Much of the article is devoted to quoting from Catholic and lay newspapers of Britain and America criticizing the Vatican's hope that a peace can be achieved under which the conquered will not suffer at the hands of the victors. The article also notes that the Pope has had a large number of visitors daily since Rome was liberated, including American, French, Canadian, Polish and British soldiers and officers, archStates and Britain, and foreign diplomats. Only three names are given and these are anathema to the Soviet Republic: Generals Kazimierz Sosnokowsky and Wladyslaw Anders of the Polish Army loyal to the London Government, and William K. Bullitt, former United States Ambassador to the Soviet Union and France. Mr. Petroff also commented on the large diplomatic corps accredited to the Vatican and added that it was difficult to see the purpose of continued representation of "Lithuanian Fascists."

Concluding, Mr. Petroff recalled that the American Foreign Policy Association had warned that one result of the popular belief that the Vatican and fascism were linked in Italy might result in a period of "unprecedented anticlericalism."

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

OCT. 10, 1944

Clipped at the Seat of Government.

METROPOLITAN ALEXEI EXPECTED IN LONDON

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LONDON, Oct. 6—Acting Patriarch Alexei of the Russian Orthodox Church is expected to arrive in London shortly from Moscow as leader of a delegation that will confer with Anglican Church authorities.

It is believed that the Russian churchmen may arrive in time to meet the delegation of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States now in London to confer with the Archbishop of Canterbury. The American delegation consists of Bishop G. Ashton Oldham of Albany, N. Y., and Bishop Henry Wise Hobson of Cincinnati, Ohio.

News of the Russian Patriarch's intended visit came as a surprise to church circles here, but it is recalled that an invitation to visit Britain was extended to Metropolitan Alexei by the Archbishop of York on the occasion of the latter's visit to Moscow late in 1943.

On his return, the York prelate was quoted as saying that "there will be regular correspondence on religious and theological matters between the churches, and it is hoped that the Russian Church will occasionally send delegations to Great Britain.

It was announced meanwhile that when Bishops Oldham and Hobson attend the Convocation of Canterbury on Wednesday they will receive the first ceremonial welcome the Convocation has given to overseas visitors, at least since the Reformation.

Asked if the American delegation has brought a plan for peace, Bishop Oldham replied that the church's business was to set forth moral principles and hence his group had brought no particular plan. He expressed hope, however, for British support of the "Pattern of Peace" adopted by religious leaders of the United States last year.

Russian

This is a clipping from page 5 of the New York Times for

Oct. 7, 1944

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STALIN'S SON GAVE REBUFF TO GOERING

Captured Russian Impervious to Nazi Guile, Story Told to Pope Discloses

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By Wireless to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

ROME, Oct. 3—How Jacob Stalin, son of Premier Joseph Stalin, remained impervious to all the arguments of Reich Marshal Hermann Goering in a two-hour conversation after his capture three years ago was learned here today.

Young Mr. Stalin is one of the many outstanding hostages that Adolf Hitler holds against that last day when he may attempt either a colossal blackmail on the Allies or a savage holocaust. He has the Belgian royal family, Queen Giovanna of Bulgaria and her son, French leaders like former Premiers Edouard Herriot, Léon Blum, Paul Reynaud and Gen. Maxime Weygand and Kurt Schuschnigg, former Austrian Chancellor. However, judging from what this correspondent heard today, neither Jacob Stalin nor his father is going to yield to sentiment.

Jacob was a lieutenant in the Red Army when he was taken prisoner near Ljosmo by the Germans on July 24, 1941. A few days later Propaganda Minister Joseph Goebbels presented him to foreign correspondents in Berlin, but the results were unsatisfactory to the Germans. Since then the Nazis have never mentioned his name.

However, the Vatican has a report on the conversation between Goering and young Mr. Stalin in Goering's Karinhall estate in September, 1941. The story was revealed October, 1943, by Gen. Réiner Stahel, then the German commander of Rome, to the superior general of a Catholic order, who is of German origin and does not want his name used. General Stahel said he had heard the story from Goering personally, and one of the interesting things about it is that the priest wrote a full report on it, which it is understood the Pope read with great interest.

It seems that Goering, in his discussion with the then 24-year-old Communist, tried not only to impress him with Germany's military and industrial power, but to convince him also of the superiority of Western civilization as a whole. Jacob not only was not impressed, but throughout the conversation expressed his contempt for all that was non-Russian.

Moscow, he told the astonished Nazi leader, would become the mightiest political, scientific and economic center of the world. As far as his private career was concerned, Jacob said, he saw his father rarely and had no personal privileges at all because he was the Premier's son. He expressed the conviction that all Russians of his generation were confirmed Communists.

According to General Stahel Goering was impressed by the almost religious quality of young Mr. Stalin's communism. The Pontiff, it is said, also was much interested in what amounted to the mysticism of Mr. Stalin's attitude, which led him to canalize his worship in communism instead of the church. This aspect of communism is one of the things the Catholic Church fears and opposes, and fate ordained that Marshal Stalin's son should provide the Pope with an example of fervor in the Soviet cause.

Lieut. Jacob Djugashvili—the original Georgian name of the Stalin family—was cited in Soviet dispatches for heroism while commanding an artillery battery around Vitebsk and during the siege of Smolensk early in the German invasion of Russia. He is said to have been born March 18, 1908, at Baku, the eldest son of Marshal Stalin's first wife.

Russia

This is a clipping from page 10 of the New York Times for Oct. 4, 1944
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RUSSIAN EXPLAINS CATHOLICS' RIGHTS

Poliansky Says Their Status Is the Same as That of All Other Religious Groups.

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MOSCOW, Oct. 3—Roman Catholics have the same rights as other religious groups in the Soviet Union and are permitted communication with the Vatican so long as it deals with purely church problems. This statement was made to The Religious News Service by Ivan Vasilievitch Poliansky, chairman of the newly established Soviet Council on Affairs of Religious Cults, which has jurisdiction in matters pertaining to non-orthodox churches in the Soviet Union.

The interview provided the first authoritative statement by a Soviet official on the present status of Roman Catholics in the USSR. Most of them are in the Western Ukraine, Western White Russia and Lithuania, with small numbers in Latvia and Estonia, according to Mr. Poliansky.

Mr. Poliansky, 46-year-old teacher and former Red Army soldier, asserted that Catholics practiced their faith, maintained churches and had church leadership.

Rules the Same for All

"Catholic citizens have the same rights as all other believers," he said. "The rules governing the opening and maintenance of Catholic churches are the same as for any other believers. Any registered Catholic society may receive charge of a building for religious services and freely invite all people to come there. Catholics may maintain priests and bishops, collect funds, print prayer books and other materials and hold conferences.

"We have already had a number of experiences with Catholic leadership. In Lithuania Archbishop Metropolitan Yalbzhikowsky, who had been persecuted by the Germans and was rescued by the Red Army, now leads his flock with our fullest aid. There is the Bishop of Lutsk, who leads also the dioceses of Zhitomir and Kamenetsk. The bishop recently appealed to us to help him secure the return of his house and quarters in Lutsk, which were confiscated by the Germans. I gave immediate consent."

The Soviet official was asked about religious education among youths and children. This question is considered a crucial one by Catholic leaders.

"Our laws have established separation of church and state," Mr. Poliansky replied. "Teaching religion to minors is a matter solely for parents and minors themselves."

Catholic and other children, he added, may be taught religious precepts by their parents at home. He said groups of parents could bring their children together for this purpose in one room or apartment, and that if they so desired they could have instruction in homes or other private places by ministers, priests, rabbis or mullahs.

No Instruction in Churches

Mr. Poliansky stressed, however, that religious instruction could not be given inside a church, synagogue or mosque.

"This would be against our established laws, which maintain that the church is given to the congregation for prayer purposes and no other," he asserted.

[This statement differs from a declaration by Georgi C. Karpoff, head of the Soviet Council on Greek Orthodox Church Affairs. Mr. Karpoff told the Religious News Service that although church leaders had not raised the issue, he could see no objection to instruction in church buildings as long as it is "purely informative."]

On relations of Russian Catholics with the Vatican, Mr. Poliansky said that "from a purely internal church viewpoint, there is no objection against Catholics communicating with the Pope, consulting him, and obtaining advice. This is entirely a church affair."

He said there could be no objection against holding a Catholic congress for the nomination of a cardinal, or his selection in some other way by Catholics in Russia.

As to contributions from Russian congregations to Rome, Mr. Poliansky explained:

"This is entirely a matter for the state to decide. Since Catholics have the same privileges and obligations as all other citizens, this also applies in respect to the current prohibition against the export of Soviet or other currency and valuables, which affects all citizens. But there is no special clause affecting Catholics, nor can there be in this respect."

This is a clipping from page 10 of the New York Times for

OCT. 4, 1944

Clipped at the Seat of Government.

U.S. Hope for 'Moral Peace' Held Placed in Jeopardy

Territorial or Special Privilege Demands Declared Likely to Place Europe in Danger of Future Wars Caused by 'Power Politics'

By Constance Brown

Within three short years the United States has become the foremost military power of the world.

Military men who know our actual and potential strength are convinced that if the political leaders of this country wish to make good use of the prestige which military power enjoys abroad they could persuade our Allies to establish an "American peace," based on justice and fair play.

For the first time since the days of Queen Elizabeth, Great Britain has become the world's second naval power. Considerations of military security prevent a detailed comparison between the present American and British naval strength. But we have far outdistanced our Allies in battleships, cruisers, auxiliaries and particularly plane carriers.

The manpower of Russia is greater than our own. But students of military history say that in modern wars manpower does not guarantee victory. Our equipment and our ability to keep up a steady flow of modern weapons place the United States ahead of Russia in military strength. Numbers count only when the men in the field are supported by a first-class industry.

The Russians themselves now admit that had it not been for the tens of thousands of rifles, guns and trucks and the thousands of planes we have sent them since 1941, Hitler with a smaller army might have succeeded in breaking the resistance of the Red armies.

U. S. Air Power Leads.

America is now the world's top air power. Not only have our factories provided the American Air Force with an enormous number of planes but they also have contributed heavily to the British and Russian aviation.

In past war, the nations which possessed such tremendous strength used it for their own advantage to expand their frontiers and obtain political and military domination. Military force has never before been used for the purpose of establishing peace in the real meaning of the word. Now, for the first time in many centuries, a country which has a genuine desire for peace and desires no territorial aggrandizement has come to the fore as the paramount military nation. It is within the power of that nation to demand from its associates the establishment of a durable peace without which the sacrifices made by the peoples of the United States will have been in vain.

President Roosevelt interpreted this thought of his fellow citizens when in March, 1940, he said:

"Today we seek a moral basis for peace. It cannot be a real peace if it fails to recognize human brotherhood. It cannot be a lasting peace if the fruit of it is oppression, or starvation, or cruelty, or human life dominated by armed camps. It cannot be a moral peace if small nations must live in fear of powerful neighbors."

The division of Germany into a number of small independent states as existed before the creation of the Reich is accepted by most observers as the best solution to prevent Germany from again becoming an aggressive power.

Hoped to Avoid Power Groups.

But during the two years preceding the Pearl Harbor attack, when our actual participation in the war appeared inevitable, the overwhelming majority of Americans hoped that the peace to follow would not tend to create another power or group of powers in the world.

They envisaged a world in which the big would assist the small who in turn would not be deprived of their freedom just because they happened to be numerically weaker. This thought was fully shared by our Commander in Chief, who said on January 6, 1941: "We know that enduring peace cannot be bought at the cost of other people's freedom. We Americans are not destroyers—we are builders."

Yet, although all the trump cards for the setting up a durable peace are in our hands, it appears from the few indications the public receives that "just another" peace is being planned; a peace which has all the earmarks of being born and raised in Europe, whose nations for hundreds of years have been thriving on wars and have been expanding at the expense of their neighbors.

Regardless of how much secrecy may surround the diplomatic conversations among the three powers in whose hands the future of the world rests, it is pretty clear that a peace based on territorial gains will be the result of the Second World War.

It is an open secret no longer denied by the highest officials in Washington that the Teheran conference resulted in Russia's being given a "free hand" in Europe from Petsamo in Finland to the Black Sea and the Adriatic.

Political Factors Discussed.

The Red Army's military activities in the last 10 weeks have been concentrated on cleaning up the Germans from the Balkans and Central Europe. This is being described as a military-political operation. Germany's satellities are being compelled to go to Moscow for their armistice terms, which are being granted with the specification, among others, that they must include Communists in their new governments as the only guarantee to Moscow that in the future they will be friendly to the U. S. S. R.

It was because of the Poles that the Western European nations declared war on Germany. Great Britain and France have undergone untold hardships because they decided to oppose Hitler's expansionist aims and insisted that Poland's sovereignty must remain untouched. Yet the Poles are being told that they, a nation now which has less than 30,000,00 starved inhabitants, must form a government acceptable to Moscow.

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

Oct. 1, 1944

Clipped at the Seat of Government.

Russia

It is immaterial from our point of view whether the Polish committee formed in Moscow is in sole control of liberated Poland or whether members of the government in London are included. The fact that a sovereign government must accept the dictates of the capital of a powerful neighbor is a clear indication of future trends. And the Polish government in London has been told frankly by Washington that it must seek a solution to its problem by dealing directly with the Kremlin.

Turkey's Status Uncertain.

There will be no direct annexation of all these former sovereign states. For instance, the plans for the establishment of a Danubian confederation with Vienna as its probable nominal capital are believed to be in the making in the Moscow Foreign Office. In some quarters it is believed that even Turkey will have to be brought into that confederation regardless of whether or not Ankara believes in it. The idea of a Danubian confederation has been a pet of most of the governments of Europe ever since the World War.

But this combination of heterogeneous small nations is considered as a step toward peace in that turbulent valley, provided the confederation was not under the absolute domination of one power. As things now stand, it is highly probable that it will be dominated, economically, politically and militarily, by the U. S. S. R., to whom it owes its liberation.

President Roosevelt and many of his advisers are reported to realize that the pattern for the reconstruction of Europe as drafted will not bring a durable peace. The objections of the friendly critics are answered by those close to the President and the Secretary of State that Russia has played and still is playing an important part in this war, hence America cannot offend her by opposing her exact and matter-of-fact demands.

It is a question of history repeating itself. In 1915 and 1916 the Czarist government threatened to leave the war unless it obtained from its British and French allies a formal agreement that Constantinople and the Dardanelles would be given to Russia as a price for remaining in the fight. London and Paris did not like the idea, but they were afraid of losing the strong Russian military support and yielded. A secret treaty was signed giving the Russian government all it wanted. The revolution of 1917 and the Brest-Litovsk peace which followed prevented that secret agreement from being enforced.

Situation Similar to 1915.

A similar situation developed last year before Secretary Hull and British Foreign Secretary Eden went to Moscow. Less than 12 months ago we were confronted with the same situation as London and Paris were confronted with 25 years ago. It was a matter of giving the Soviet government all the political concessions it wanted in regard to its neighbors or face the consequences of Russia abandoning the fight. Premier Stalin won in the same manner Czar Nicholas obtained full satisfaction in the World War.

Great Britain, which may have been willing to go along with President Roosevelt's original idea of an "unselfish peace," found herself confronted in 1943 with the prospect of facing alone in Europe a strong Russian Empire extending physically and ideologically as far as France.

Following the traditional policies of other great British Prime Ministers, Mr. Churchill was originally interested only in the preservation of the British Empire. When in August, 1941, he helped draft the Atlantic Charter he did not

(See MORAL PEACE, Page C-11.)

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

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Moral Peace

(Continued From Page C-1.)

include the Far East because he was willing to restore Europe to her pre-war status but not Britain's interests in Asia. But when he realized that the expansion of Russia would make her the dominating power in Europe he changed his tactics.

The prospect of a Russian Navy and air force established in the Eastern Mediterranean filled him with apprehension. He is said to have obtained from the leader of the French in Algiers, Gen. Charles de Gaulle, the promise of naval and air bases in North Africa at Bizerte, Oran and Casablanca. He also is said to have obtained bases for the British Navy and aviation at Beirut in Syria and to have sought to obtain from the Italian government under Field Marshal Badoglio the use of Sicily, Pantelleria and Sardinia as air and naval bases for the British forces.

The terms of the armistic signed by the Italian field marshal have not yet been officially revealed. The reason is said to be that they contained these clauses, which may not be relished by the Italian population. The British government is now endeavoring, while the war is going on, to establish fences in Western Europe to counter the growing domination of that continent by the U. S. S. R.

Whether or not it will be successful remains to be seen. But there is no question in the minds of those who have an intimate knowledge of what is going on behind the scenes. It is only an armistice at best—and not a durable peace—that is being prepared at the present time. In fact, it is admitted that no peace conference is possible soon after the collapse of Germany. But at the same time armies of occupation and liberation will enter the various states which have been blueprinted to come into either the Russian or British zones of influence.

There is nothing we want in Europe except at least 50 years of peace. This cannot be achieved by a policy of injustice toward the nations which have striven to maintain their sovereignty and were not guilty of aggression such as Finland, the Baltic states, Poland and Yugoslavia. Europe and particularly our major associates, Russia and Great Britain, will need our support when all organized resistance in Germany ceases, almost as much as they needed it when the Germans threatened their own national life.

They do not talk about it, but realize it probably better than Washington does. Nevertheless, there seems to be no desire or willingness on the part of our leaders to raise their voice—which can be very strong—and demand from our Allies as a price for our further international co-operation the assurance that a just peace, as the American people conceive it, should follow this war, instead of the planned peace of zones of influence and power politics.

And unless this is done, peace-minded America will have to remain an "armed camp."

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SOVIET ECONOMICS STIRS DEBATE HERE

Significance of the Revision in Theory Will Be Discussed by American Experts

By WILL LISSNER

The American Economic Review, official organ of the country's economists, made public yesterday an article that will appear in its forthcoming issue, initiating a discussion by American economists of the significance of the recent revision of Soviet economic theory.

In the issue, The Review will publish a full translation of the article, "Teaching of Economics in the Soviet Union," from Pod Znamenem Marksizma (Under the Banner of Marxism), to which attention was called by an abridgement in Science and Society, American Marxist quarterly, and by a news story in THE NEW YORK TIMES last April.

The Review's critical article, which pronounces the Russian treatise "the constitution of Russia's post-war economy," is by the translator of the Soviet study, Miss Raya Dunayevskaya of New York. Her translation is the second to be published in full, the other being that of International Publishers, New York.

The debate within the column of the journal of the American Economic Association, which, in its membership of 4,000, includes the country's leading economists, was heralded in the June issue by Prof. Carl Landauer, who, in a communication, considered the revision a turn toward orthodox economic science. A similar opinion was voiced recently by Prof. Oscar Lange.

Further Discussions Planned

Further discussions are planned to be published in the December issue, the editor of The Review announced. All are presented without endorsement by the association.

In her critique, titled "A New Revision of Marxian Economics," Miss Dunayevskaya reports that "actually" the Russian article "is no mere reproof of pedagogical error."

"Its raison d'être is contained in the argument that the law of value, in its Marxian interpretation, functions under 'socialism,'" she says. "This is a clear departure from the former economic doctrine which prevailed not merely in the schools but in the most authoritative and scholarly publications as well as throughout the Soviet press." She continues:

"There is incontrovertible evidence that there exists in Russia at present a sharp class differentiation based upon a division of functions between the workers, on the one hand, and the managers of industry, millionaire kolkhozniki (collective farmers), political leaders and the intelligentsia in general, on the other.

"It is this which explains certain tendencies which began to appear after the initiation of the Five-Year Plans and have since become crystallized. * * * This distinction between the intelligentsia and the mass of workers found its economic expression in the formula: 'From each according to his ability, to each according to his labor.'

"This formula should be compared with the traditional Marxist formula: 'From each according to his ability, to each according to his need.' 'Each according to his need' has always been considered a repudiation of the law of value. The document, however, states that 'distribution according to labor' is to be effected through the instrumentality of money * * * as the price expression of value."

Citing Marx and a work published in 1935 by L. A. Leontieff, one of the editors of the Soviet Journal, she expounds the Marxian theories of value and surplus value and of concrete and abstract labor. The Russian article, she declares, "contradicts this theory and its past interpretation," adding, "it recognizes the pivot on which political economy turns, but denies the basis of exploitation which to all Marxists as well as to opponents of Marxism has hitherto been the essence of the Marxist analysis."

Radical Change Is Seen

Referring to the revision as a "radical change in theoretical interpretation," she concludes:

"This startling reversal of Soviet political economy is neither adventitious nor merely conciliatory. * * *

"That this elaborate theoretical justification is made is proof that the Russian people are being prepared for the continuance of a social relation which had no place in the conceptions of the founders of communism or the founders of the Soviet State. * * *

"The ideas and methodology of the article are not accidental. They are the ideas and methodology of an 'intelligentsia' concerned with acquiring surplus labor products. What is important is that this departure from 'past teaching of political economy' actually mirrors economic reality. The Soviet Union has entered the period of 'applied economics.'

"Instead of theory, the article presents an administrative formula for minimum costs and maximum production. It is the constitution of Russia's post-war economy."

Russia

This is a clipping from page 30 of the New York Times for OCT. 1, 1944
Clipped at the Seat of Government.

'Political Economy In the Soviet Union'

A Notable Contribution to Marxism

THE pamphlet, Political Economy in the Soviet Union, the full text of the famous article that first appeared in the Soviet theoretical magazine, Under the Banner of Marxism, has recently been published by International Publishers. Its publication is very timely due to the wide discussions it provoked in the columns of newspapers, and the attention it received from many foreign correspondents in Moscow.

The appearance of this pamphlet is a contribution of major importance to the theoretical arsenal of Marxism. It sheds light upon and further develops a clear Marxist-Leninist understanding of a series of fundamental problems of political economy, hitherto obscured by misunderstanding and misinterpretation of friends, and by the willful distortion and slander of enemies.

A Basic Document

Political Economy in the Soviet Union is not the work of any single Soviet economist or individual author. It is rather a basic Soviet Party theoretical document which promises to do for the specific science of political economy what the History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union did for History, Philosophy and the Theory and Practice of Leninism in general. It is an important step in the expected preparation by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, under Stalin's leadership, of a complete Marxist text on Political Economy, the foundation of all social science.

While it is impossible in this review to even enumerate all the rich Marxist ideas, postulates and views packed into this short pamphlet, and since we dealt with many of the questions at length in the columns of the Daily Worker last April, it will be of value at this time only to treat some of its fundamental ideas, particularly those that are apt to appear new to our readers.

The document corrects and successfully overcomes certain inadequacies in approach to political economy in the past. It proves the fallacy of the attempt to narrow political economy to an analysis merely of the capitalist mode of production and exchange, and provides a rounded as well as precise definition embracing all phases of this science. "Political economy is the science of the development of relations of social production, i. e., economic relations of people. It ascertains the laws governing the production and distribution of necessary objects of consumption—both personal and productive consumption—in human society at the various stages of its development."

Solves Problem of Methodology

This definition not only broadens the scope of political economy as a science, but at the same time provides the basis for solution of the problem of methodology in teaching this science, particularly to elementary students, a problem that had perplexed teachers for many generations.

Obviously a science which "ascertains the laws governing production and distribution . . . in human society **at various stages of its development. . .**" cannot but be in its very essence an historical science. It further follows that a historical science necessitates the historical method in its development. As the document, Political Economy in the Soviet Union, points out commodity production developed long before capitalism. It is also an objective historical fact that the law of value is about 7,000 years old, and that the categories market, money and exchange arise and develop long before the dominance of capitalist production. In the past Marxist teachers did not always draw the proper methodological conclusions from this—namely that "such categories as commodities and money must be dealt with not only in the section devoted to capitalism but also in the preceding sections of the course" (in political economy). The rise of commodity production, the historical stages in the development of money and exchange must hence be treated in the study of the slave owning system, and further developed in an analysis of the feudal period.

Of particular theoretical and practical significance is the section of the document devoted to the economic laws of socialism. The acquisition of a clear understanding of these laws must be considered as a must for every Marxist teacher and student, for advanced workers generally and for all true patriots who appreciate the role of our alliance with the Socialist Soviet Union as the very basis for guaranteeing the peace and security of our country for many generations.

A study of this document will make clear the character and laws of development of socialist society to anyone not poisoned by blind prejudice, or by the malicious distortions of certain professional Soviet-haters in the columns of the N. Y. Times and elsewhere who so eagerly utilize the arsenal of lies and slander of our great ally manufactured for them by the Trotzkyist Hitler agents and enemies of the people.

Socialist System Of Distribution

What certain experts of the Times so greedily seized upon in the original of this document as their so-called proof that socialism has been abandoned in the Soviet Union, establishes the very contrary—that the foundations of Socialism are unshakable. The document, Political Economy in the Soviet Union discloses the very essence of the miracles of unparalleled military and economic world shaking victories of the land of socialism over the Hitlerite cannibals—the foes of mankind.

The document sums up the characteristics and laws of development of socialist society as follows: 1) Socialization of the means of production; 2) Socialist industrialization and collectivization of agriculture on the basis of socialist economic planning; 3) The rapid rise in the productivity of labor and progressive improvement of living and cultural standards on the basis of the well known main guiding principle of socialist society; "from each according to his ability, to each according to his performance."

The socialist mode of production develops on the above basis the only system of distribution of products consistent with that mode of production. Remuneration on the basis of work contributed itself presupposes the law of value. For work contributed can only be measured by the socially necessary labor time incorporated in the products of that work. Since work performed cannot very well be remunerated by time or hours, but in a universal equivalent of value, money—then it must follow

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that remuneration (wages) in a socialist society also represents the money form of value. Hence it must be said that the law of value operates under socialism.

In the planned socialist economy of the USSR articles are bought and sold. The prices paid for these articles must represent the money form of the values of these articles. To be bought and sold these articles must possess both use value and exchange value. As commodities such articles are subject to the law of value.

In a planned socialist economy however, the law of value operates in a modified form. It does not and cannot operate in a capitalist sense. Under capitalism the commodity itself expresses the latent contradictions of capitalism—the contradiction between social labor and individual labor, between social production and private appropriation, the separation between purchase and sale, the anarchy of the market, the contradictions between production and consumption, overproduction and crises.

Commodities of a Socialist Kind

It is of the utmost importance to note that in a socialist economy only articles of consumption are commodities. Means of production: the land, factories, mills and mines, raw materials, machines and tools, transportation and communications etc., are not commodities. They cannot be bought and sold on the market. They are not private property — but the public socialist property of the whole of society, owned and administered by the state.

It is the socialist ownership of the means of production that constitutes the basis for the abolition of the exploitation of man by man. Labor power is not a commodity under socialism. Labor power is not bought and sold on the market. No individual can appropriate the labor of his fellowman in the form of surplus value—the value produced by labor over and above the values the worker withdraws in means of subsistance. That however ~~does not~~ mean that labor in a socialist society ~~does not~~ produce a surplus.

The basic distinction between socialist society and all class societies lies in the fact that the surplus in a socialist society is not appropriated by individuals as their private property. It is a social surplus appropriated by the whole of the socialist society. Indeed as the document Political Economy in the Soviet Union points out, under socialism there is a qualitative transformation of the character of the surplus. The complete identity between social labor and individual labor under socialism transforms the surplus from unnecessary labor, i. e., labor over and above the labor time required to maintain and reproduce the labor power of the worker, into necessary labor time.

Necessities of Expansion

Surplus labor time in a socialist society is necessary to the continued expansion of the means of production, ~~to the~~ needs of defense of the socialist fatherland, to the progressive improvement of the cultural standards of the people, to the comprehensive system of social insurance and improvement in the living conditions of the people, and to the growing accumulation of products.

The rising productivity of labor and the surplus in a socialist society become the fundamental prerequisites for the transition from socialism to communism. For socialist accumulation places society in a material position to provide each individual "according to his needs" without regard to work contributed. **It is then, and only then that the law of value, money and exchange will disappear.**

These are only a few of the highlights of this Marxian classic that no enlightened person can afford to be ~~without~~.—G. S.

To establish any basis of friendship between the peoples of Russia and the U. S. we must understand —

What Russia Wants

Condensed from "The Time for Decision"

Sumner Welles
Former Under Secretary of State

IN THE first postwar years the two greatest powers, both from a material and a military standpoint, will be the United States and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. Upon the desire and the capacity of these two peoples to work together will depend the maintenance of world peace and the progress of humanity.

During the past quarter of a century the relationship between the United States and Russia has been marked by fanatical suspicion and deep-rooted hostility on both sides. Popular opinion in this country was molded by an almost unanimous detestation for Communism in all its aspects — particularly its doctrine of world revolution, the bloody excesses of the Soviet Government, and the vain attempt to destroy religion. For their part, the Russian people have seen the United States and the other so-called capitalist countries erect against them a wall of political antagonism. They have seen the Western powers agree to the transfer to other peoples of territory which had for many years formed an integral part of greater Russia. They had some reason to believe not long ago that the Western nations, in the hope of keeping the robber powers out of their own preserves, were ready to sanction the notorious plan of the German General Staff to divide between Germany and Japan additional spoils torn from Russia.

In brief, the record is far from one-sided. And unless both governments and both peoples make a determined attempt to find a new foundation for the relationship between the two nations, the very cornerstone of any future international organization will be lacking.

Such an effort on our part will be made much easier if we keep in mind certain salient factors in the history of the Russian people. For during the last 15 years the world objectives sought by Russia strikingly parallel the objectives sought by Russian governments during the preceding two and a half centuries.

Peter the Great wrought the first important change in Russian history. By wresting the Baltic provinces from Sweden, he obtained for Russia the "windows to the west" — the vital outlet to the Baltic Sea without which she could scarcely have become a European power. Catherine the Great and Potemkin gained from Turkey mastery of the Black Sea. By doing so they began that long duel with Great Britain for control of the Dardanelles, which in Russian hands would have made Russia a Mediterranean power. It was Catherine also who connived with Prussia and Austria to partici-

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pate in three successive encroachments upon the territory of Poland, until finally, in 1795, Poland ceased to exist.

From 1689 to 1869, every Czar fostered the steady expansion of the Russian people through the Siberian wastes to the Pacific Ocean. This finally resulted in the firm establishment of Russia as a Pacific power with full domination as far south as the Amur River.

Much of European history has turned upon these Russian policies of the past. In my opinion such policies will soon again play an important part.

By the time the Russian people overthrew the Czar in 1917, Russia had not only assimilated her territorial acquisitions, she had even been assured by the Allied governments that at the close of the war she would at last be given control over the Dardanelles. But after the Bolshevik Government had been forced to conclude the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk with an apparently victorious Germany in 1918, she was stripped of all the territories in Central and Eastern Europe which she had obtained since the time of Peter the Great. Immediately thereafter Finland, by force of arms, won its independence of Russian control. The Baltic provinces of Latvia and Estonia likewise achieved their freedom, and Lithuania was granted its independence by the Treaty of Versailles. So Russia's entrance to the Baltic was closed.

In 1921, after the Polish armies, assisted by the French, had defeated the Russian troops at the gates of Warsaw, Russia was deprived of vast additional territories, including much of the Ukraine. By the Treaty of Versailles the province of Bessarabia had already been incorporated within the new Rumania. Russia thus entered the postwar period divested of far-reaching territories in Eastern Europe which she regarded as vital to her security.

At the same time Russia's Siberian provinces were being invaded by Japan and other Allied powers bent upon assisting reactionary elements within Russia to overthrow the revolutionary government and to substitute for it a conservative regime subservient to the desires of the Western World. It is hardly surprising that the Russian people were fertile ground for propaganda against the "predatory capitalist nations," including the United States. And the long-continued reluctance of the United States to enter into official relations with the Soviet Government did nothing to offset the deep distrust and suspicion on both sides.

Actually, there are no traditional or material grounds for antagonism between the United States and Russia. With no major power have our interests collided less frequently. And the United States is the one major power, from Russia's point of view, with whom an enduring friendship should be most easily possible. As yet, however, except for the effect of our highly important military assistance to Russia, little real progress has been made.

Our first step should be an honest consideration of the question: What does Russia want? On the answer to that depends the ability of the United Nations to set up an international

organization that will be able to keep peace in the world. And so far as one can judge, the Soviet Government is reverting to the historical concept of Russia's world interests.

It seems to me that in Northeastern Asia the Soviet Government, at the conclusion of the war against Germany, will seek first to reduce Japan to a position where she can no longer threaten Russian supremacy. The U.S.S.R. may actually join in the war against Japan, or may help the Allies defeat her. When Japan is forced out of the Asiatic mainland, it would be logical for the Soviet Union to demand that Russia be restored to the position she occupied prior to 1906, which included sovereignty over the whole of the island of Sakhalin; that her present position in Sinkiang and Outer Mongolia be confirmed; and that her financial and commercial interests in Inner Mongolia be fully protected.

In the Near East, the Declaration of Teheran fortifying the independence of Iran seems convincing proof that the Soviet Union desires only equal protection with other powers of her legitimate trade in the regions north of the Persian Gulf. It is more difficult to forecast Russian policy in Eastern Europe and the Balkans. At the end of 1916 the Imperial Russian Government demanded a part of East Prussia, a western frontier on the Carpathians, and control of the Dardanelles. The changes which she then apparently desired in the Balkans would have assured her of a political "sphere of influence" without, however, any direct acquisition of territory within that area.

From present indications, the ambitions of the Soviet Government today are by no means dissimilar. It refuses to discuss the matter of bringing back within the Soviet Union the three Baltic republics. As for Poland, the Soviet Government has made it clear it will insist that the Polish eastern frontier run more or less along the so-called Curzon Line of 1919.

This line, drawn at the Versailles

Peace Conference, was from the outset protested by the new Polish state on the ground that the Polish frontiers of 1772, which had themselves been established by shifting tides of conquest, should be re-established. When the Allied governments refused to alter their decision that the new republic of Poland should incorporate only territories which were indisputably Polish in their population, Marshal Pilsudski attempted to satisfy Polish aspirations by armed force. After the Russian capitulation, the Polish frontiers were so drawn as to incorporate Russian, White Russian, and Ukrainian populations amounting to many times the strictly Polish population of those areas.

There is nothing sacrosanct about the Polish eastern frontier as then established. The Curzon Line, incorporating within eastern Poland only areas in which Polish majorities predominate, would establish a boundary far more in accordance with the principle of self-determination, and consequently far more likely to assure stability in that grievously afflicted portion of Eastern Europe.

The Soviet Government has made repeated announcements that Russia desires the independence of Finland, Austria, Hungary, Rumania and the remaining Balkan States. The Soviet Government will, and should, recover the province of Bessarabia wrested from her by Rumania in 1919.

As for the Dardanelles, for so many generations a dominating factor in Russian foreign policy, the development of aviation has considerably reduced their strategic significance from the point of view of Russian security. Only if there is no world organization in which the Soviet Union takes part, and Turkish policy appears to menace Russia's vital interests, need the historic question of the Straits once more provoke trouble.

The Soviet Government is as legitimately entitled to promote a regional system of Eastern Europe, composed of coöperative and well-disposed independent governments among the countries adjacent to Russia, as the United States has been justified in promoting an inter-American system of the 21 sovereign American republics of the Western Hemisphere. Of course, if the Soviet Union attempts to use such a regional system for the purpose of dominating the internal affairs of independent states, as a preliminary to their subsequent incorporation within the Soviet Union itself, the other nations of the world can only regard it as an unmistakable sign that Russia is embarking upon a policy of expansion. If, on the other hand, such a system is based upon the same general foundations as the inter-American system, in which the sovereign independence of each state is assured, it should readily become one of the cornerstones of a stable world organization.

The foreign policy of this government should support these principles:

1. The Soviet Government is entitled to determine its frontiers with a view to its essential security, having regard for the right of self-determination on the part of the peoples inhabiting the regions concerned. It must be admitted, however, that the manner in which the plebiscites of 1939 were conducted by the Soviet

Union gave but little assurance that they did anything more than mask a military occupation. To make sure that the frontiers of the future Russia will incorporate willing, rather than unwilling, Soviet citizens, the Soviet Government would be well-advised to conduct open plebiscites in every instance where there is a dispute as to the will of the majority, and to permit all individuals who do not wish to become Soviet citizens to depart freely with their possessions, and with due compensation for the real property they are obliged to abandon.

2. The Soviet Government is entitled to take such steps as it may judge best to create a regional system of Eastern Europe. Only if the Soviet Government were to intervene directly in the internal affairs of other nations would the United States, in my judgment, be entitled to object. For in that case the very basis for any healthy international organization would be destroyed, and the other nations would be compelled to take steps to safeguard their own security.

However, I believe Russia will act on the theory that her prosperity and security can be assured only through an international organization capable of maintaining world peace. If she so acts, there are innumerable ways in which the United States can help the Russian people in their task of reconstruction and industrialization.

The needs of Russia in the immediate postwar period for credits, for expert services, and for machinery and equipment of many kinds will be great. The commercial opportunities which such a situation will offer to American enterprise and to American export trade are almost unlimited. In a two-way trade lies an effective means of assuring a strong and healthy relationship between the two countries, and one that will immeasurably enhance the political and material well-being of both.

Russia is potentially the greatest power of the world. It can become the greatest menace that the world has yet seen. It can equally well become the greatest force for peace and for orderly development in the world. It is, I think, no exaggeration to say that Russia's future course depends very largely on whether the United States can persuade the Russian people and their government that their permanent and truest interest lies in coöperating with us in the creation and maintenance of a democratic and effective world organization.

The Understanding Heart

A FRIEND of mine who is a skillful primary teacher says that when she is tempted to scold she looks at the little feet before her and thinks of the long, hard way they might have to travel; and somehow she always follows a different course.

—Caroline Eells Keeler

THE SOVIET UNION'S FIGHT AGAINST GERMAN AGGRESSION

Based on editorial in WAR AND THE WORKING CLASS, *Number 22*

The 27th Anniversary of the founding of the Soviet State was celebrated at a time when the great fight of the freedom-loving nations against Hitler Germany had entered its concluding phase. Stalin's speech on the occasion, a document of supreme international significance, produced a deep impression upon the democratic public of the world by its penetrating analysis of great historic events and its clear-cut formulation of the cardinal problems of the moment.

The fate of Hitler Germany, which has inflicted so much woe and suffering upon mankind, was predetermined by the unexampled resistance of the Soviet people and their Red Army, which for three years fought the marauding hordes of Hitler and his satellites single-handed.

When the German aggressor launched his attack upon the Soviet Union, an attack unparalleled for its perfidy, he was at the zenith of his military power and was acting under the most favorable conditions. "And if in spite of these favorable conditions for the prosecution of the war, Germany nevertheless finds herself on the brink of imminent destruction, the explanation is that her chief adversary, the Soviet Union, has surpassed Hitler Germany in strength." *(Stalin)*.

It was the Soviet Union, as disclosed in its duel with Hitler Germany, which played so important a part in the rise and consolidation of the anti-Hitler coalition and the extension of its front. The iron will and courageous spirit of the Soviet people, the heroism and military skill displayed by the Red Army on the battlefields, and the invincible strength of the Soviet system revealed amidst unprecedented trials, induced influential circles in the other democratic countries to look upon our country with different eyes, and to discard the false and ingrained view of it which had acquired the tenacity of a prejudice. The role of the Soviet Union, which had already been clear to the more progressive elements, was now revealed to broad and diverse sections of the foreign public and to all to whom the fate of democracy and progress was not an empty word.

Historic Role of Soviet Union

"It is universally acknowledged now that by their selfless struggle the Soviet people have saved the civilization of Europe from the fascist vandals. That is the great service rendered by the Soviet people to the history of mankind." *(Stalin)*.

The widespread admission by other democratic powers of the historic role of the Soviet Union foiled the Nazi adventurers' plans of sowing dissension in the ranks of the Allies. Whereas, in the course of the war, the anti-German coalition became steeled and strengthened, Hitler Germany sustained not only military but moral and political defeat as well. The German-fascist brigands failed to consolidate their hold on the territories they had seized and, what is more, Germany's allies turned their weapons against her, thus completing the isolation of Hitler Germany and heralding her inevitable downfall.

Now, thanks to the carrying out of the historic decisions of the Teheran Conference, Hitler Germany finds herself gripped in the vise between two fronts, and complete victory over the enemy can be guaranteed if blows continue to be struck at the German-fascist army from all sides. The effect of the victories of the Soviet troops has been to rid our land of the Nazi pollution once and for all, and the task of the Red Army is, in conjunction with the Allied Armies, to complete the destruction of Hitler's war machine, to finish the fascist beast in its own lair and hoist the flag of victory over Berlin.

But besides the swift defeat of the common enemy, the most urgent task at this stage of the war is to insure a lasting peace and international security after victory. "The thing is not only to win the war but also to render new aggression and new war impossible, if not forever then at least for a long time to come." *(Stalin)*.

More than ever the big problem of international security is exercising the minds of millions all over the world. Nations passionately yearn for a stable and reliable peace after this war for as long as possible. They demand that the men at the helm of state in all peace-loving countries do everything humanly possible to achieve this lofty and noble aim. Without doubt this is by no means an easy problem, but it is equally without doubt that it is one that can be fully solved under existing conditions. For the way to do so is well known. It is to maintain, and continue to develop after the war, that close cooperation among the United Nations which was forged and tempered in the fires of this war, and which found graphic expression in the decisions of the Dumbarton Oaks Conference on the organization of postwar security. The way to solve the problem is, above all, to preserve and further strengthen the alliance of the three great powers, the Soviet Union, Great Britain and the United States.

The firm fighting alliance of the three great powers was a major acquisition and achievement for the peace-loving nations in this war. It is a highly promising token that the disastrous mistakes which after Germany's defeat in 1918 opened up broad opportunities to her for preparing and carrying out a new act of aggression will not be repeated after the present war. At that time the course of history took a very fatal turn: having finished the war against Germany, the Entente undertook armed intervention against the young Soviet Republic. It has long been obvious that this policy, far from yielding any positive results, led to the most disastrous consequences.

But now, in the concluding phase of the Second World War, the international situation is shaping quite differently. It is the alliance of the three great democratic powers that is coming to the finishing post of this titanic struggle, an alliance which represents a firm union of nations resting upon a strong foundation, for this alliance is based "not on casual, short-lived considerations but on vital and lasting interests." (*Stalin*).

Of course, this identity of underlying interests will not disappear after the last shots in this war have ceased to echo. The very essence of the problem of international security, about which so much has been written, lies, as Stalin said, in a very simple and incontrovertible truth: that this organization will prove effective if the three great powers continue to act in a spirit of unanimity and concord, but that it is doomed to failure if this indispensable condition is violated.

Spirit of Unanimity and Concord

The fact that the great Allied powers were able in the course of the war to solve major military-political problems in a spirit of unanimity and concord holds out bright prospects for the postwar period. The thing is that the disagreements and differences of opinion which are bound to rise over certain questions between representatives of various states should invariably be settled in a spirit of concord, in accordance with the underlying common interests of the freedom-loving nations.

Experience shows that the greatest danger to concerted action by the great democratic powers comes from those elements and trends who are trying to resurrect the policy of ignoring or inadequately considering the legitimate interests of the Soviet Union in the settlement of international questions. Yet it would seem that it should have long been realized that the time has passed when the existence of the Soviet Union can be ignored. It is now beyond dispute that Europe and the world will emerge from the great ordeal of the war different from what they were before. During the war the international prestige of the Soviet Union, its weight in international relations, have deservedly increased. The Soviet Union has been revealed to all as a great progressive force, as a powerful bulwark of democracy in the fight against fascism, which barred the way to the war machine of Hitler Germany, before which other democratic countries proved powerless.

It may be taken as an axiom that the policy of isolating the Soviet Union, pursued by shortsighted, reactionary politicians in the Western countries in the period between the two wars, only played into the hands of the German aggressor. It is essential to remove from the path all the debris and survivals of this policy, which has suffered such obvious bankruptcy, if an international security organization is to be created, capable of promptly averting or putting an end to aggression and saving the freedom-loving nations from the horrors of a new war. The numerous responses aroused by Stalin's speech in the press and among the public of the democratic countries indicate that the will to insure lasting peace and security after the common enemy has been defeated is displayed by the broadest circles in the Allied countries. The thing is to make this will a reality.

MANNING RAISES SOVIET ATTITUDE

Cites 'Increasing Appreciation' Shown by Russia in Its Dealings With Religion

Bishop William T. Manning praised last night the "increasing appreciation and understanding" shown by the Russian Government in its dealings with religion when he spoke at a special service at the Cathedral of St. John the Divine opening a Christmas campaign for gifts of clothing for Soviet children.

Four thousand persons attended the service, which featured a procession of gift bearers to the high altar. Bishop Manning blessed the pile of clothing, which will form part of a shipment to the Soviet Union.

Bishop Manning said he was proud to have the appeal of the Russian War Relief under way in the Cathedral and expressed the hope that it would have "a great response." The service, he added, also voiced "our deep sympathy" and "our close spiritual fellowship" with the Russian Orthodox Church.

"That church has passed through great tribulations and has survived fierce trials," he continued. "Today it is showing its deep spiritual strength and power and in this war it has given mighty support to the Russian armies and people in their miraculous defense of their homeland against the invader.

"Marshal Stalin has expressed both by word and action his appreciation of the support given by the Russian Church in this conflict, and we in America rejoice greatly to see the increasing appreciation and understanding shown by the Russian Government in its dealings with religion."

Bishop Manning paid special tribute to the "magificent, heroic and amazing" war effort of the Russian Government and people and emphasized that the United States, Great Britain and Russia must stand together "with their whole strength" in the current conflict for the complete overthrow of fascism and for the establishment and maintenance of world peace when the war ends.

Johannes Steel, radio commentator, said the children of Soviet Russia have a special claim upon the world, for more than ten million of them have died in the war against the common enemy of the United Nations. Ancient Russian liturgical music was sung by the sixty-five-voice choir during the service. Also participating in the service were members of the Wac, Waves, Spars and Army nurses, the American Red Cross, the Junior League of New York, National Security Women's Corps, Civilian Defense Volunteer Organization, American Women's Voluntary Services, Girl Scouts and Boy Scouts.

This is a clipping from page 4 of the New York Times for Nov. 27, 1944

Clipped at the Seat of Government.

Soviets Talk About Peace And Future

Their Dreams Are Spoken Now That Victory Is Near

By Ralph Parker
Staff Correspondent
(Copyright, 1944, by Chicago Sun and Field Publications)

MOSCOW, Nov. 27.—At the end of the Sunday afternoon concert for the Moscow school children last weekend, the boys and girls all joined in to sing the new song introduced recently into Soviet schools. Paraphrased, it runs:

"Soon there will be joy in our streets and all peace-loving peoples of the world will share our joy. The French will rejoice in their Paris, the Yugoslavs will come down from the hills, the Poles will dwell at peace in their homes, and we shall be secure within our borders. The torch of freedom and the torch of happiness will light our Soviet land."

Parker

This is only one of the signs, in a fourth Winter of war, which show a change in the Russian people in their hopes for peace. In the three years of close contact with the Russians I had never once heard, until recently, the question: "What are you going to do after the war?" And there were virtually no public references.

Dreamed of Peace

Nothing, of course, had stopped Russia from dreaming of peace in these terrible years. A French fighter pilot, who bailed out over Goering's hunting estate in East Prussia and landed among Siberian infantrymen, described what was on the minds of these men, who hadn't seen home for three years.

Wrapped in greatcoats and lying on the floors of the trucks where they slept, they talked mostly of farming, of the eternal process of sowing and reaping. Many Red Army newspapers print an agricultural column now to satisfy the soldiers' curiosity about what is happening on the land.

The change in the Russian people's thoughts of peace is apparent today in such things as the new song for children, movies showing scenes of reunion and other activities. Perhaps because of the conviction that the State will direct them to the jobs for which they are best fitted, Soviet men and women do not dwell too long on the question of what the future holds for them as individuals yearning for new horizons; but for the people as a whole, thought of the future is undeniable.

Worst Is Over

The government has used its great powers to lead the people gradually to the realization that victory is in sight and that the worst is behind them. For some months now, Moscow textile factories, which had been working exclusively on military orders, have

Russia

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been turning out cloth for civilian wear. But it has been introduced gradually into the shops and almost imperceptibly the people's appearance has improved. Gradually, too, more varied foods have appeared.

A new park has been laid out. Here and there a row of houses has been repainted for the first time in three years. A cut in the length of railway travel and improvement in the postal services has reminded the Russians that life is growing easier.

The Leningrad woman who during the siege realized that if she shared the meager ration equally among her three children, all would die and had to choose which one of them should live, now sleeps without nightmares. Two old ladies who lived in the Arbat and who adopted a soldier who had lost an arm and a leg, now wait with joy his return from the daily work in the cooperative workshop.

Guidance

This new mood is not being left to develop aimlessly. Playwrights, film scenarists, novelists and publicists, with that unanimity of aim that characterizes Soviet life, have begun to point, persuade and guide.

An elderly art critic, in a lecture this week, ended with the prophecy that foreigners would visit the Soviet Union by the million after the war and called on those responsible for the cultural activities of the land to be ready to receive them with dignity and hospitality.

"We shall dwell at peace within our borders and the world will come to see us," the children sang.

In a different vein, Yefim Yermashev wrote recently in the Red Fleet's newspaper:

"The prosperity and might of our state depend directly on our position on the seas washing the Soviet coasts. Permanent peace in Europe depends directly on the might of the Soviet state as a great naval power of modern times."

And in a leading article, the same paper underlines how important it was that Soviet naval officers be conversant with foreign languages, for "the Soviet land will have its great ocean fleet with warships sailing all the seas of the world."

Trends

These, admittedly, are but trends, though it is by such trends that a nation's thoughts are revealed.

In the political sphere, the pursuit of the enemy beyond the Soviet frontiers is causing a shift of emphasis in the current conception of war aims. Thus, *Pravda* recently wrote that, "the freedom-loving people must not only bring about Hitlerite Germany's military defeat, but must also secure the moral and political defeat of fascism, and the accomplishment of this task does not permit a tolerant attitude toward the pro-fascist countries, even if they bear the label of 'neutrality' or 'democracy.'"

A writer in the army's newspaper *Red Star*, describing the army's mission as one of liberation, wrote that in its eastward march it had the single thought in mind: "to deliver the world from the fascist evil."

Such words would have sounded rhetorical a year ago. Today, with the Soviet territory freed from the enemy, they seem reasonable to the Russian people, and the political and moral defeat of fascism is an attainable aim.

Put most simply, the Russian attitude toward the political aspect of victory and peace-making can be described as a determination that they are not going to allow themselves to be fooled by slow-paced action, which would enable the defeated enemy to gain a new foothold on the path that leads to a new war.

They believe that there is an auspicious moment after the war, when men of good will, who have learned the lessons of the past, should receive every encouragement to punish the guilty, root out the evil in their states and not be asked to lay down the arms with which they forced the enemy to retreat from their midst, until their work is over.

If the Soviet people, who now see victory ahead, and who are as united in desiring the complete defeat of reaction as they were in the passionate defense of their socialist land, should feel frustrated in the hour of victory, things will not go well for a great coalition during peace. Posters and cartoons depicting Franco, which are familiar to everyone today, are a cogent indication of one direction in which the Russians will look after Hitler's defeat, though, indeed, there are some who think that the lackey will perish before his master.

Russian Twits Rubber Plants for ~~Inability~~ to Cover Bottles and Make Life More Bearable for Parents and Infants

8

By W. H. DAWRENCE

By Wireless to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

MOSCOW, Nov. 24—David Zaslavsky, whose satirical pen has been directed in the last year at the late Wendell L. Willkie, former United States Ambassador William C. Bullit, the Vatican and Generalissimo Francisco Franco, emerged today as a champion of more nipples for bottle-fed babies.

It is a typical lashirng Zaslavsky article, written in a style not unlike Westbrook Pegler's, in which the nipple department of the Soviet Union rubber industry gets a thorough dusing-off, and the reader's indignation is aroused by a variety of means, including the wails of babies whose fathers are at the front fighting for the right of their babies to drink from bottles with nipples.

In Russian the word for nipple is "soska," and Mr. Zaslavsky capitalizes the first three letters to get the familiar SOS, sent out by ships and planes in danger.

To mirror the indignation of one Soviet father who could not get a nipple for his child, Mr. Zaslavsky said, in February he appealed to the main office of a rubber factory with one word, "SOS-ka!"

Left in Distress

There was no answer. In September he was back twice, shouting "SOS, SOS, SOS-ka." There was silence, Mr. Zaslavsky reports, and the reporter wanted to know why.

"What shall we answer if there is nothing to say," replied the bureaucrats on the second floor.

Mr. Zaslavsky tells about his investigation of the nipple subject. He addressed his first questions to the chief of the production department of the technical office of the People's Commissariat of the Rubber Industry, which in Russian is known for short as "Narkomat Rezinovoy Promyshlennosti."

"We would like to know about a nipple," Mr. Zaslavsky said to the chief. His story continued:

"The chief looked at us in a serious, meditative way and asked softly:

"'A nipple? * * * In what sense?'

"'A nipple in the philosophical, historical and philogical senses and also—why one cannot get a nipple anywhere?'"

From considerable discussion of this topic Mr. Zaslavsky said that he soon learned that the director's question, "In what sense" the satirist desired to know about nipples, was not an idle one but really meant "prospects" and the prospects of getting a nipple were extremely limited.

"There is a prospect, but there is no nipple," Mr. Zaslavsky added. "Some people may say that the middle of a war is no time to think about nipples. Is it not said that during a war even the muses are silent?

They Are Not Mute

"Well, first of all, even the muses are not silent. And, moreover, babies are not silent. They are just silly things, and they keep crying 'Waa-Waa-Waa.' And they are not such drunkards that they are able to drink from a half-liter bottle itself."

He concludes with a report that the Government had built a special nipple-producing plant in Cherkizov, equipped with special tools and provided with raw material. But no nipples are made because the plant management is still discussing the question how and with what to start nipple production.

In discussing the lag in this factory's production with bureaucrats on the fourth floor of central headquarters, Mr. Zaslavsky said he was told that 1,000,000 mothers could get rubber for babies' nipples if there were 100 women workers for the plant. On the third floor of the same building they told him this was nonsense.

Russian

This is a clipping from page 8 of the New York Times for Nov. 25, 1944

Clipped at the Seat of Government.

Religion

Russia

CHURCH AIDS RED ARMY

Donations in Cash and Jewelry Total Millions of Rubles

MOSCOW (Religious News Service)—In the three-year period ending June 30 last, churches and parishioners in Leningrad collected 8,672,500 rubles for the State Defense Fund to supply planes, tanks and other equipment to the Red Army, it was reported here by the Journal of the Moscow Patriarchate.

Contributions included jewelry valued at 40,000 rubles, and State Loan Bonds worth 875,000 rubles. Aid for wounded soldiers amounted to 2,356,600 rubles in cash.

During the first six months of 1944 more than 2,000,000 rubles were collected by parishioners of the Novosibirsk Diocese for Russia's war needs. A special message was sent to Marshal Josef Stalin informing him of the diocese's efforts. In reply, Stalin asked that "you convey to the clergy of Novosibirsk, who collected gifts for Red Army fighters and for aid to their families, my greetings and gratitude and those of the Red Army."

This is a clipping from page 17 of the New York Times for Nov. 25, 1944
Clipped at the Seat of Government.

FRANCO DENOUNCED BY SOVIET WRITER

Red Star Article Says Allies Must Unite to Provide Aid for Spanish Democrats

By Wireless to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

MOSCOW, Nov. 24 — The Red Army's newspaper Red Star declared today that the continuance of Generalissimo Francisco Franco's regime in Spain is an important international problem that must be dealt with by the United Nations at the earliest possible moment.

Denouncing General Franco as a German ally, Red Star's foreign affairs commentator, K. Gofman, cited, among other evidence of the ties between Germany and Spain, General Franco's continued adherence to the anti-Comintern pact, signed originally by Germany, Italy and Japan.

The existing Governments of Germany, Japan, Spain and Hungary are the only ones that have not denounced the anti-Comintern pact.

The Soviet Union is at war with Germany and Hungary and Spanish "Blue Legion" troops have served on this front for a long period without a formal declaration of war between the two countries. The Soviet Union is not at war with Japan.

Red Star said the Allies must provide assistance for the democratic elements in Spain as part of their ~~task~~ in laying the foundations for a stable peace and must unmask General Franco's "shady machinations" in which he seeks to masquerade his country as a "special kind of democracy," so as to prevent or postpone the inevitable reckoning with the victorious democratic powers.

Calling for Allied unity against the Franco regime, Red Star said it seemed very strange that the Franco Government had been invited to send representatives to the Chicago international air conference. The presence of Spanish delegates along with those of Switzerland and Portugal was announced as the reason for the Soviet Union's refusal to participate in that parley.

Mr. Gofman disputed the contention that the question of the continuance of the Franco regime is an internal Spanish problem in which other powers should not interfere. He said it is clearly an important international problem and that both General Franco "and his German masters clearly understand that having finished with the Germans the United Nations will solve the Spanish problem also."

"Franco's double game is to try and postpone this solution," Mr. Gofman declared.

The Red Star commentator expressed indignation over Spanish activities in Latin America and in North Africa Moslem countries. Under the guise of maintaining "brotherly relations with the Spanish-American countries," Spain is serving as a transit camp for German war criminals headed for South America and as a medium for the transfer of German capital and valuable German equipment into Argentina, Red Star charged.

The newspaper added that Germany thus is acquiring new military economic basis on the Iberian Peninsula and in a number of Latin-American States that are connected with German preparations for the next war.

Russia

This is a clipping from page 8 of the New York Times for Nov. 25, 1944

Clipped at the Seat of Government.

Voroshiloff Seen In Far East Post

By The Associated Press.

LONDON, Nov. 23—The German-controlled Budapest radio said tonight it had learned "from reliable sources" that Russia's Marshal Klementy Voroshiloff had been appointed "Commander-in Chief in the Far East and has probably already taken up his new post."

It was announced yesterday in Moscow that Marshal Voroshiloff had been relieved by Premier Joseph Stalin of his duties as a member of the Soviet State Committee of Defense.

The Berlin radio gave out the same report and quoted a Wilhelmstrasse spokesman as saying: "If Stalin decided to send such an important man as Voroshiloff to the Far East some definite developments might be expected there."

Russia

This is a clipping from page 1 of the New York Times for Nov. 24, 1944
Clipped at the Seat of Government.

VOROSHILOFF OUT AS SOVIET WAR AIDE

Bulganin Succeeds Marshal as Defense Board Member—Shift Not Explained

By Wireless to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

MOSCOW, Nov. 22—The Soviet press announced today without explanation that Marshal Klementy E. Voroshiloff had been relieved of his duties as a member of the eight-man top Defense Committee of the Soviet Union and had been replaced by Army General Nikolai Bulganin, former Mayor of Moscow.

No announcement was made as to the future duties of Marshal Voroshiloff, who has been one of the Soviet Union's principal leaders since the Revolution and was Commissar for Defense until 1939. At the Teheran conference he served as Premier Joseph Stalin's military colleague in talks with the highest-ranking British and American military leaders, but it was noticed at the time of Prime Minister Churchill's visit here last month that he took no part in the military talks.

General Bulganin has risen rapidly in the Soviet firmament. Before the war he was president of the Moscow Soviet and chairman of the military council that had charge of the defense of the capital. He was promoted from lieutenant general to colonel general last July 30, only a few days in advance of his appointment as Soviet representative to the Polish Committee of National Liberation in Lublin. He was promoted to the rang of Army general Nov. 15 and made a vice commissar of defense yesterday. He is a former textile worker.

The State Defense Committee is the top Soviet agency for war and production. Marshal Stalin is its chairman and Vice Premier Vyacheslaff M. Molotoff vice chairman. Its other members are Lorenti Beria, Georgi Malenkoff, Lazar M. Kaganovitch, Anastas I. Mikovan and Nikolai Vosnesensky.

Remains Member of Politburo

Students of Russian affairs in New York said Marshal Voroshiloff's age, 63, and the brilliant career of General Bulganin, now in his early forties, probably combined to cause Marshal Voroshiloff's retirement from the State Defense Council, according to The United Press. They pointed out that the latter's work has been mostly political since the war began and that he remains a member o fthe powerful nine-man Politburo.

Known as a military intimate of Stalin in the Revolution, Marshal Voroshiloff was one of the "big three" in the Red Army when Germany invaded Russia in 1941, along with Marshals Semyon Budenny and Semyon Timoshenko, The Associated Press recalled in a Moscow dispatch.

Marshal Voroshiloff figured with Marshal Stalin in the Revolution in the battle at Tsaritsin, a town on the Volga, later to become world-famed as Stalingrad. Soviet hotels, schools and Government shops are adorned with pictures of Voroshiloff, one of the oldest of the old-guard Bolshievists.

How much Marshal Voroshiloff figured in the Supreme Command in recent months was not known. Another old-guard leader, Marshal Timoshenko, received official credit for coordinating Russian forces in annihilating the German army group in Bessarabia in August. It was considered that Marshal Voroshiloff also might receive a field task.

Russia

This is a clipping from page 7 of the New York Times for Nov. 23, 1944
Clipped at the Seat of Government.

Soviet Writer Calls Romania Gov't Unfit

MOSCOW, Nov. 21 (UP).—Professor Alexander Yerusalimsky, Russian publicist who has just returned from Bucharest, wrote in the Army newspaper Red Star today that the Romanian government formed after the country's capitulation "has not shown a determination to release the country from the society of Fascist criminals."

Russians are beginning to display impatience at the "uncompromising" attitude of Romania's rulers, Yerusalimsky said. Reports of sabotage of armistice terms, political corruption and the entrenchment of the old ruling parties have reached Moscow.

He asserted that Soviet dispatches consistently stress the rift between the "national aspirations of the Romanian people in the direction of democratic order and close friendship with the Soviet Union" and the "anti-democratic policies of the so-called Liberal Peasant parties which dominate the government."

Russian sympathies are on the side of the "national democratic front" consisting of a coalition of Socialist, Communist and other left-wing elements, he added.

Though former Premier Ion Antonescu has been arrested and the Iron Guard formally disbanded, Yerusalimsky stated that the bulk of the Roman fascists has been untouched, with many still holding official positions.

Rumania

Daily Worker
Nov. 22, 1944
page 8

PRAVDA CRITICIZES DE GAULLE, PIERLOT

Says French, Belgian Regimes Tolerate Fascists—Assails Disarming of Patriots

By Wireless to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

MOSCOW, Nov. 21—Pravda on Sunday criticized the provisional governments of France and Belgium for their alleged failure to stamp out all fascist influences and for attempting to disarm the patriot resistance forces that played a big role in liberating their respective countries.

Much of Pravda's viewpoint was expressed in the form of quotations from British newspapers, but the Communist party organ left no doubt that it did not think the de Gaulle and Pierlot governments had moved swiftly enough against Nazi collaborationists or sympathizers.

Pravda began its discussion of this problem by referring to "strange reports" from Belgium that the Government regarded the disarmament of the Belgian resistance forces "as an immediate task."

Pravda quoted The London News Chronicle as authority for the statement that the campaign against the Belgian forces of resistance was inspired by General van Overstraeten, who, Pravda said, had long had a reputation of being an active agent of Nazi Germany and who, as King Leopold's counselor on military questions, carried out various projects that weakened Belgium's defense and prepared the way for her capitulation.

"The fact that he [General van Overstraeten] is still at liberty while patriots are being disarmed in Belgium is all the more remarkable in that it is taking place near the front line," Pravda said.

Concerning France, Pravda remarked that in liberating that European country the first task, after the removal of the fascist yoke, was complete liberation from all fascist influence. That, it said, was the main question. The paper then quoted The Times of London concerning differences in France over the disarming of the militia and declared that "the newspaper openly recommends the disarmament of the resistance movement."

"Assertions that the main difficulty in France at present is the question of disarming the resistance movement concentrate fire upon the forces that played such an important role against Hitler's occupants," Pravda's article continued. "This can encourage only the Vichyites whose activity has grown considerably recently."

Russia

This is a clipping from page 6 of the New York Times for Nov. 22, 1944

Clipped at the Seat of Government.

Lady Astor Praises Russia for First Time

By The Associated Press.

LONDON, Nov. 21—Lady Astor spoke her first public words of praise for Russia today, but added: "I wouldn't be caught dead with a British Communist."

"Communism in Russia has taught the people to read," she said at a press conference commemorating her twenty-five years in the House of Commons. "A people can't think or reach God until they learn to read. I don't dislike Russian communism. It has changed the European policy of keeping the people poor and ignorant—look at Spain and Italy."

She declared France was not a great country—"not even the French believe that, but we will give them a chance to become great." Nor, she added, is Russia a free nation,—"that's all tommyrot."

This is a clipping from page 1 of the New York Times for Nov. 22, 1944

Clipped at the Seat of Government.

The Clock Runs Out on Stalin

By HENRY C. CASSIDY

JOSEPH STALIN knows now that he will not live long enough to complete his work. Whatever you call that work, modernization of a backward nation, or fulfillment of the Marx-Engels-Lenin-Stalin plan, or consolidation of the Soviet system in power, it is a long-term project.

In conversations with recent visitors, Stalin has appended almost wistful references to future five-year plans for the economic development of the Soviet Union or his proposals for postwar trade and cooperation with the phrase, "If I live that long . . . if I live that long." He says it more in a demonstrative, than a conditional mood. Stalin, who will be sixty-five on December twenty-first, knows he will not live that long.

What difference does this make? It makes all the difference in the Soviet Union. For Stalin's mood governs entirely the course of the country. And a man who knows he cannot complete the work he has cut out for himself is not likely to undertake fresh adventures, is not likely to risk further explosions. He is more likely to take a conservative middle course, to conserve what he already has gained, and do what little more he can before he dies.

Suppose Napoleon, instead of invading Russia, had decided he had enough and kept the peace he made on a raft at Tilsit with Czar Alexander. Or suppose Hitler, instead of attacking Poland, had decided he had enough and kept the peace he made at Munich with Chamberlain and Daladier. How the history of the world might have been changed.

So, suppose—and there is every reason to do so—that Stalin, instead of drawing back into the isolation that geography has fashioned for Russia, or extending a grip of steel over Eastern Europe, or sending the virus of international Communism again into the world, decides he has more than enough to do, and enters into sincere co-operation with the democratic powers. How the history of the world will be changed.

During the war, there have been many signs of changes in the Soviet Union—revival of nationalism, abolition of the Comintern, regularization of the army, cessation of antireligious propaganda and tightening of family ties. For some, they have been explained away as superficial wartime expedients, adopted in moments of desperation to aid national survival. For others, who choose to regard the Soviet Union as an eternal enigma, they have been labeled as suspicious or, at best, inexplicable phenomena of a strange state.

Is not the explanation, at least in part, that Stalin knows he will not live long enough to do all he wants

ABOUT THE AUTHOR

Perhaps no American knows more about what makes Joseph Stalin, dictator of all the Russias, tick than Henry C. Cassidy, the son of a Boston stock broker, who is chief of the Associated Press bureau in Moscow. At thirty-two, Cassidy is considered the dean of correspondents in the Soviet capital. When Dictator Stalin first called publicly upon the Allies to open a second front, he did so in answer to a letter addressed to him by Cassidy. The Post believes Cassidy's word-portrait of Marshal Stalin and the implied prognostication in it constitute a contribution to knowledge.

—*The Editors.*

Sat. Eve. Post
Nov. 7, 1942
p. 14

to do? Is he not already consolidating what he has gained, making secure his position before doing what little more he can accomplish? Will he not continue to do so after the war as long as he lives?

By this, I do not wish to suggest that Stalin is dying. During the last four years, as chief of the Moscow bureau of the Associated Press, I have seen Stalin frequently. The first time was in August, 1940, when his Supreme Soviet ratified the inclusion of the Baltic states, Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia, in the Soviet Union. Then I was most impressed by the grayness of his thick hair, the sallowness of his skin and the smallness of his figure, both in height and breadth, in its formless semimilitary tunic, breeches and boots. The last time was this year, when his Supreme Soviet extended individual rights to the sixteen constituent republics in military and foreign affairs. This time I was most impressed by the evident vigor of his body and the martial air he had assumed to go with his title of commander in chief of the Red army and his smart, fawn-colored uniform of marshal of the Soviet Union. During the last year, I have had two indirect contacts with Stalin—not the rare, face-to-face encounters that are confined to his most intimate advisers and to the most exceptional visitors, but the remote, invisible relations that are more common for the many who have some kind of business with the man. In both, he showed undiminished strength, even stubbornness.

The first came in November, 1943, while Stalin was away at Teheran. A British magazine named him as its Man of the Year, and asked me to write an article on his private life. This I did, intimating that Stalin's life was strictly private, but including the fact which, until then, no correspondent had been permitted to transmit, that he had become a grandfather again, his second son, Vassily, having just become a father. The article was held by the censors in the press department of the foreign commissariat—held so long that I gave it up for lost.

Then Stalin returned to Moscow. The night of December fifth, I was summoned by telephone to appear at nine P.M. before the chief of the press department of the foreign commissariat. He telephoned twice more to confirm the appointment, and a fourth time, at 8:55 P.M., to make sure that I was on the way. When I arrived, the chief of the press department offered me his deepest black leather easy chair and his longest two-thirds-paper-tube, one-third-tobacco *papirosi*.

He had called me, he said, in connection with my article about Comrade Stalin. I could send it as soon as I pleased.

"That's fine," I said, "I'll send it immediately."

He was not content with that. Moreover, he said, a reproach had been addressed to the press department for having retained the article so long.

"That's all right," I said. "I can still make the dead line, and as long as I can send it now, I have no complaint."

No, that was not enough for him. He wanted me to understand that a reproach had been addressed to the press department, and that he apologized for having retained the article so long.

"That's not necessary," I said; "just give me the article now."

Yes, he would give me the article immediately, but he wanted to be sure I understood . . . reproach . . . apology. I understood.

A junior censor appeared with the telegrams, each one signed with special care. Not a word had been touched, even the section referring to Stalin's new grandchild, a fact that had been recorded several times before by several correspondents, and each time blue-penciled.

Only afterward did I understand the full import of that episode. Stalin had read the article, had liked it, and had become angry because it was retained. His anger, communicated even from a distance, produced a chill of fear and a display of obsequious corrective action on the part of his subordinates.

My last indirect contact with Stalin occurred last April, during the visit to Moscow of the Rev. Stanislaus Orlemanski, the Polish-American priest of Springfield, Massachusetts. Just after midnight, the night of April twenty-eighth, I was summoned to come immediately to the foreign commissariat. This time, the chief of the press department advised me to call on Father Orlemanski at eight o'clock the following morning at Room 130 in the Hotel National.

The procedure was entirely new and quite bewildering to me. It seemed to me that, if I wanted to call on Father Orlemanski, I

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THE CLOCK RUNS OUT ON STALIN

(Continued from Page 15)

could have done so directly, without the official intervention of the foreign commissariat. In any case, I did not want to call on Father Orlemanski. But something in the excessively jovial air of the official, his assurance that this was exclusively for me, and especially his unprecedented offer of a ride home in a foreign-commissariat car, convinced me that the circumstances were unusual. I declined the car, preferring to walk to my office in the near-by Hotel Metropole and sleep the few remaining hours there. But I agreed to see Father Orlemanski in the morning.

Unshaven and sleepy-eyed, I appeared at his room at the designated hour. I awakened quickly when he told me that he had spent two hours with Stalin the previous evening, just before I was called to the foreign commissariat. He had printed his name on a pad of paper, to make certain that I spelled it correctly, but otherwise, he had no prepared statement. He told me of his activities as organizer and honorary president of the Kosciusko League and of his campaign on behalf of Polish-Russian friendship; he told me Stalin wanted a "free, independent, democratic Poland," something Stalin himself had already said publicly. But of his interview with Stalin, he would only say specifically, "The results were excellent."

As a news story, it was not extremely important. I recount it here only because my colleagues of the Association of Anglo-American Correspondents in the U. S. S. R. decided to protest to the foreign commissariat against the principle of an exclusive interview for an individual, meaning me. They were kind enough to invite me to accompany the delegation of protest, but I could not see how I could gracefully complain about my own exclusive story. Afterward, I was told that they received no satisfaction whatsoever, and the only information imparted to them was that the interview was decided upon not by the chief of the press department, but by some "higher authority"—presumably Stalin.

A Historic Statement

This series of events concluded the night of May fifth, when the foreign commissariat telephoned me again, alone, at 9:30 and advised me to appear at Father Orlemanski's room at eleven P.M. This time he gave me a prepared statement, the most important part of which said, "Unquestionably Marshall *(sic)* Stalin is a friend of the Polish people. I will also make this historic statement that future events will prove that he is very friendly disposed towards the Roman Catholic Church."

If it was Stalin who decided that the first interview should be granted to me, he was certainly not shaken by the protests of thirty other correspondents. And the second was given firmly, almost stubbornly so, in exactly the same way—certainly not a manifestation of a weak or sickly man, but the opposite.

In fact, from the point of view of personal physique, the war has done Stalin good. It has changed him from the desk-tied, paper-swamped executive of the Kremlin to a far-traveling, out-of-doors soldier of the steppes, commander in chief of the Red army. From each trip he has returned sun-tanned, wind-burned, stronger in health and higher in spirits.

His face now is beginning to sag with the weight of the years, but when he smiles, as he is doing more and more often, the lines lift readily his heavy jowls. And when he throws back his head and laughs his deep belly laugh, his lower teeth look decayed and his uppers blackened from the smoke of thousands of *papirosi* he has consumed, but the laugh is one of a man who is enjoying good health as much as he is enjoying a good joke.

His mother, Ekaterina Djugashvili, lived to the age of seventy-eight. His life in the Kremlin has been harder than was hers in the Georgian town of Gori. He probably will not live as long as she did, but normally, he still has many years to live. Even so, they are not enough to accomplish all he started to do before he was interrupted by the German invasion of his country.

The New Leader

The new Stalin, who has come to this realization, has seen to it that he is being portrayed to his people in a new light. The old Stalin can best be seen in Joseph Stalin, a Short Biography, written anonymously and published by the Marx-Engels-Lenin Institute, of Moscow. It came out in 1943, but carries his life only as far as 1939. Utterly devoid of personality, it provides the conventional account of Stalin's Georgian-peasant origin, his brief theological education, his development as a revolutionary, his work with the Communist Party and his direction of the Soviet state. Summing up, it says, "Stalin is the brilliant leader and teacher of the party, the great strategist of the Socialist revolution." On its next to the last page, it quotes Stalin in 1929, in reply to congratulations on his fiftieth birthday:

"You need have no doubt, comrades, that I am prepared in the future, too, to devote to the cause of the working class, to the cause of the proletarian revolution and world Communism, all my strength, all my faculties, and, if need be, all my blood, to the very last drop."

That, definitely, is old hat, the last manifestation of a lost or at least altered party line. I had personal evidence of this when, in an article on wartime changes in the attitude of Russians toward foreigners, I tried to quote a page from an official publication, Summary of Fulfillment of the First Five-Year Plan, berating capitalists, as an example of Soviet opinion of us then (1933). I was permitted to say that the Russians now consider us as friends, but the censor, after careful deliberation, eliminated all the previous references to us as capitalists and enemies of Communism, official though they had been. "This is no longer the time," he explained, "to say such things from Moscow."

Of late, Stalin himself has had only compliments for the United States and Great Britain. As late as November 6, 1943, he said, "Together with our allies, we shall have to establish lasting economic, political and cultural collaboration among the peoples of Europe, based on mutual confidence and mutual assistance, for the purpose of rehabilitating the economic and cultural life destroyed by the Germans."

No longer the battle cry of the revolutionary, but the cautious call of the conservative, with reasons given. But these are for-the-record remarks, the kind that, automatically, opponents of the Soviet Union disbelieve. There is another way to obtain some insight into the so-called mystery of the Soviet Union and Joseph Stalin. That is to examine the portrait of the man as he is now being presented to his own people. The portrait is done for domestic consumption, and, whether it is accurate or not, it provides at least a clue to what he wants his people to think of him.

A paradox, among the many of this subject, is that people abroad who are interested in the personality of Stalin know more about it than do the Russians themselves. Material on Stalin's personality that is published inside the Soviet Union is confined generally to the most effulgent praise, and provides a very unlifelike picture.

People outside the Soviet Union have at their disposal a long list of searching analyses of Stalin's character, ranging from the most anti-Stalin to the most pro-Stalin, by those who have been close to him.

Foreign correspondents in Moscow, without coming any nearer to Stalin than the length of the council chamber of the Supreme Soviet, can form a fair picture of the man from talking to those who have been with him.

We learn, for example, that when you are introduced to Stalin, he looks, not into your eyes, but somewhere in the vicinity of the pit of your stomach. He sits, then, at one side of the long conference table in his office, opposite you, with his interpreter at the head of the table. Usually, his first remark is, "Ask him what he wants." Then he keeps his eyes on the table, often yawning or doodling, while you carry on, rather painfully, your part of the interview, eliciting grunted one or two word responses from Stalin, "Yes," "No," "Well," or "Why not?" Then, at some point in the interview, usually when you have finished what you have to say, he raises his head, looks at and through you, and from then on he takes charge. He questions you thoroughly on the subject at hand, and talks clearly and directly. This part of the interview is usually the longer. And you leave, perhaps two hours later, with the feeling of having been with an intelligent, forceful, at times even charming person.

The average Russian has no such first or even second hand insight into the personality of his leader, but he does have information of a kind. It is carefully selected for presentation to him. And it is this, during the war, that has been interesting as evidence of the new Stalin.

The latest such information has come from unusual sources—two leading aircraft engineers, never before known as writers or character students, who have been the most important portrayers of Stalin during the war—in fact, the only Russians to give a new view of their leader as he has developed during these vital years. They are Alexander Yakovlev and Sergei Lavochkin. They have had frequent business conferences with Stalin. Now they have been permitted or, probably more correctly, encouraged to write their personal impressions of the man.

Yakovlev, designer and builder of the YAK fighter, was the first to appear in print with an article on Stalin, published last spring in the Communist Youth magazine, Pioneer. He did another, later, for the Communist Party newspaper, Pravda. Lavochkin, maker of the LAGG fighter, contributed his description of Stalin in July, again to Pravda. Typically, they express their admiration, even adulation of Stalin, but they go farther; they depict a Stalin who can be stern in his direct way of doing business, but who is munificent in his rewards for work well done. All in all, a gentle, benevolent monarch—a portrayal that fits with conservatism in politics.

Yakovlev, "almost suffocating with emotion," tells of his first meeting with Stalin, who was accompanied, as happens most frequently, by Foreign Commissar Molotov and Marshal Voroshilov. "I could not say that my emotion ended as soon as I stepped into the office," Yakovlev writes, but, "the more our conversation involved technical details of my beloved science, the more I felt reassured, and by the end of the conversation, I felt quite at home."

This talk concluded with what is now becoming a characteristic episode: Voroshilov scribbled a note, showed it to Stalin for approval, and then read it to Yakovlev. It was a message to the presidium of the Supreme Soviet, requesting the Order of Lenin, a ZIS automobile and a 100,000-ruble prize for Yakovlev, in recognition of his development of the fighter that became standard for the Red air force. This distribution of largess has grown more common during the war.

From subsequent conversations, Yakovlev attributes a number of epigrams to Stalin that show kind, though firm, intentions toward his interlocutors:

To one who hesitated before answering a question, "There's no need looking at the ceiling. Nothing is written there.

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Just look straight ahead and say what you think."

To an officer who attempted to compensate for technical shortcomings by a demonstration of bravery, "The American Indians were very brave, but they could not do anything with bows and arrows against the whites armed with rifles."

Some of Yakovlev's anecdotes reveal the effects of the advance of Stalin's years, for they show he clings to prized possessions, old though they may be, and he likes to hark back to his youth. In talking of geography, he produces an old folder, and says, "Let's see my map. It's worn out, that's true, but it can still serve." And in discussing literature, he refers frequently to James Fenimore Cooper, and recalls, "When I was a boy, I was very fond of his novels."

The point Yakovlev wants most to make is that, to quote him, "Stalin is extremely gentle with people, polite and attentive to his interlocutors." When summoning them by telephone, Stalin asks first, "Are you very busy?" or "Could you come to see me at once without harm to your business?" And when they leave, he asks solicitously, "Do you have a car?" If not, he lends—or gives—them one.

Lavochkin recounts one dialogue with Stalin which has been published abroad, but which is always worth study in an examination of Stalin's character. It occurred at a conference of several engineers whom Stalin urged to increase the range of their planes. The dialogue follows:

LAVOCHKIN: I can't increase the range.

STALIN: You can't?

LAVOCHKIN: I can't, Comrade Stalin.

STALIN: You don't want to accept my changes for your plane?

LAVOCHKIN: I can't, Comrade Stalin.

STALIN: Sit down. Think it over.

STALIN *turns to discuss the problem with the others, then comes back to Lavochkin:* Now, what can I do with him? He doesn't want to. So we'll leave the matter at that.

Stalin, then, is a man who is definitely open to reason, even reason expressed as bluntly as this, and a man who is subject to change, the kind of changes he must encounter constantly as his years pass and his state evolves in this dynamic period of war.

Now, the Russians are not entirely immature in politics. Their conception of Stalin is not formed only from what appears in print. A great deal also passes by word of mouth. They have, for example, many jokes which mingle his personality and politics. The most oft-told story dates from the Teheran conference. It goes like this:

Churchill, Roosevelt, Stalin and Molotov, riding together in a car, found the road blocked by a camel, which refused to move. Churchill got out and ordered it to the side of the road, to no avail. Roosevelt got out and whispered blandishments in its ear, with the same result. Molotov got out, spoke to the camel, which laid back its ear and dashed away over the horizon.

"What did you say?" Churchill and Roosevelt asked.

"I just told it," Molotov said, "that Stalin was in this car, and that if it didn't get off the road, he would put it in a collective farm."

Stalin knows the jokes that are told of him, favorable or not. He takes pains to find out what his people are thinking and saying. Much more than is generally realized, he makes an effort to satisfy evident desires of the 180,000,000 whose destinies he largely determines.

Just before leaving Moscow, when I was collecting all the recent data I could find on Stalin, I asked an intelligent and articulate, but for obvious reasons anonymous Russian for his estimate of the man.

He said, "The war has made Stalin a success. If he had died before the war, he would have gone down in history as Stalin the Terrible. Now he will be known forever as Stalin the Great."

Stalin knows this also. And, since Stalin is a human being who knows his days are outnumbered by the length of his task, I submit the thought: He will not want to risk his present reputation.

Russians Crack Down on Price Chiselers As Multilevel Charges Induce Violations

By W. H. LAWRENCE

By Wireless to The New York Times

6

MOSCOW, Nov. 17—The Soviet Government today began a new crack-down on wartime chiselers. The first targets in the propaganda campaign are those repair shops for clothing, shoes, electrical appliances and similar articles that proclaim their inability to accept new work at the low, fixed state price but which are willing to make private deals to do repair jobs, but at open market prices.

This is a serious problem. Because the war demands for material and manpower mean that articles still in use must be repaired more frequently.

At the heart of this problem is the Soviet Union's multi-price system. In the first place, the State has fixed a very low price for essential rationed goods and essential services. In addition, there are so-called commercial stores, also operated by the State, in which prices are fixed but at a very high level. The quantity of goods in these stores is by no means sufficient for all the people.

But in these stores is a scale of discounts for special groups ranging as high as 50 per cent for a hero of the Soviet Union.

In addition, there is an open market in which goods may be obtained for prices just slightly below the commercial store prices, but well above the fixed price.

But the most serious problem for most persons is trying to keep the things they have in working order, and it is to that problem that Izvestia addressed itself today in an expose of Gorky's repair shops, which will not take new work at the low fixed priced, but will take on special work at a higher unfixed price.

This is a problem that is not confined to Gorky by any means, and the publication of Izvestia's article, while limited to that town, is designed to serve as a warning to the governments of other cities throughout the Soviet Union that the problem is one that must be dealt with effectively.

Many Russians cook with small electric stoves, and these are forever developing minor breakdowns. To make a small repair on such a stove, a repair shop at State prices should charge about 1 ruble, but private prices for having such work done in 10 rubles.

Izvestia points out that the persons operating these shops who decline to accept repair work at State prices are hampering the State's desire to have the public receive essential services at moderate cost.

Russia

This is a clipping from page 6 of the New York Times for Nov. 18, 1944

Clipped at the Seat of Government.

U. S.-SOVIET UNITY HAILED BY MOSCOW

11th Anniversary of Resumed Relations Marked by Warm Praise of Our Role

6.

By Wireless to The New York Times.

MOSCOW, Nov. 16—Editorials that in the warmest tones express gratification at the closer relations developed between the Soviet Union and the United States during the war and point out the necessity for even closer collaboration to insure a stable peace and mutual prosperity after the war, were featured in the Soviet press today on the eleventh anniversary of the re-establishment of diplomatic relations between the two countries.

Pravda, organ of the Communist party, and Izvestia, newspaper of the Supreme Soviet, both speak in the highest terms of the feats performed on the battlefields by the American armies and at the same time declared the Soviet people are appreciative of the material aid given by the United States through lend-lease "in the difficult years when the Red Army alone was repelling the attacks of a brutal enemy."

The editorialists see in President Roosevelt's re-election endorsement by the American people of his foreign policy and specifically his decision to re-establish friendly relations with the Soviet Union after many years of non-recognition. Izvestia adds that it believes a majority of those who voted for Thomas E. Dewey, as well as those who re-elected Mr. Roosevelt, also supported close collaboration between the United States and Russia.

No Insurmountable Issues

Both editorials refer to the Dumbarton Oaks conference, in which they see a spirit of unanimity and a desire for mutual understanding among the three great powers, which must bear the greatest responsibility for organizing and preserving a stable peace. With goodwill on both sides, they declare, while there are differences in the political and public structure of the U. S. A. and the U. S. S. R., there are no insurmountable differences that cannot be resolved by a desire to understand each other.

"Experience has shown that Soviet-American friendship is beneficial to both peoples and is in accordance with the vital interests of both countries," Pravda says. "The years that have passed have strengthened the economy and cultural links between the two countries. The approaching victorious culmination of the war is opening up still wider prospects of mutually beneficial collaboration between the U. S. S. R. and the U. S. A."

Sees Prejudice Dissolving

Izvestia says the whole chain of events of the last year, from the Teheran conference through President Roosevelt's re-election, "is a very convincing illustration of the consolidation of the fighting Soviet-American collaboration."

Pravda says the experiences of the war, in which the American people recognize the contribution to victory made by the Red Army and the Soviet people recognize the contribution made by the American armies, have inflicted a severe blow on "prejudices and false ideas concerning the Soviet Union, by means of which elements in the U. S. A. who are hostile to the U. S. S. R., tried to create an estrangement between the people."

"The joint fight against the common enemy has brought closer together the great peoples of both countries," Pravda declares. "The outcome of the recent elections in the U. S. A. has shown that the American people are longing to secure a speedy victory over the enemy and to establish a firm peace after the war based on close collaboration between the U. S. S. R., the U. S. A. and Great Britain.

"We mark the eleventh anniversary of the establishment of Soviet-American diplomatic relations at an important historical moment when the armies of the Allied powers have taken up positions for a decisive attack on Hitlerite Germany."

This is a clipping from page 6 of the New York Times for Nov. 17, 1944
Clipped at the Seat of Government.

Bumper Soviet Winter Crops Planted; Liberated Regions Swell Food Output

By W. H. LAWRENCE

By Wireless to THE NEW YORK TIMES

MOSCOW, Nov. 16—There was good news from the farm front today for the many millions of Soviet people who during the three and a half years of the war have lived on reduced rations to insure a sufficient supply of food for the Red Army and the people at a time when the primary agricultural regions of the Soviet Union were overrun by German armies.

For the first time since the war began it has been possible to sow winter crops in every part of the Soviet Union for Soviet benefit and the result is that the acreage already planted exceeds the 1943 total by 12,350,000 acres. This gain is largely a result of the planting in the Ukraine, Don and Kuban areas, which have always been the Soviet Union's leading winter wheat producers.

Agronomists report also that weather conditions have been extremely favorable, indicating bumper crops next year.

The Moscow News points out today that the area under cultivation in the Kiev region this year exceeds the area planted last year by nearly ten times and recalls that last year it was under German control that the crops were planted, but under Soviet control that they were harvested.

At the same time the final results are in on Moscow's summer victory garden campaign, in which more than 1,000,000 plots were cultivated. These gardeners harvested a crop of 215,000 tons of potatoes and 50,000 tons of other vegetables.

These are some of the achievements of interest and benefit to all the Soviet people, but the Moscow News also has an interesting story about new scientific researches being carried out in the Black Sea region in an effort to increase the fruit output.

The latest story, from Sochi, tells of the achievement of Fyodor Zorin, who recently harvested a second crop of pears in one season from more than 100 trees. According to the Moscow News, this was done by making use of the rare botanical phenomenon of vegetative fruit formation.

Zorin is reported to have grafted buds from a wild pear tree to cultivated pear trees, with the result that the first fruit matured in June as usual after developing through the normal process. Ten or fifteen days after the first crop was picked, some of the leaves began to thicken and developed a pulpy content, finally growing into fruit lacking seeds but otherwise normal as regards both size and taste.

Russia

This is a clipping from page 6 of the New York Times for

Nov. 17, 1944

Clipped at the Seat of Government.

SOVIET DENIES AIM TO DICTATE ABROAD

Non-Intervention in Nations Internal Affairs Declared a Basic Moscow Tenet

PEACE IS MAIN OBJECTIVE

Article in Embassy Bulletin Supports Coexistence of Two Political Systems

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

WASHINGTON, Nov. 16—The Soviet Union desires peaceful relations with all nations regardless of their political systems and has no desire to intervene in their internal affairs, a spokesman says in an official publication.

An article in the Nov. 16 Information Bulletin published by the Soviet Embassy, signed by Col. A. Galin, lists six basic principles of foreign policy that he said the Soviet Union relies entirely upon and has followed consistently for the twenty-seven years of its existence:

1. Peaceful relations with all states irrespective of their political systems.
2. Economic and political cooperation with all states on the basis of sovereign equality and independence of the contracting parties and the co-existence of two systems.
3. Alliances with any state with the purpose of protecting both partners from acts of aggression.
4. Categorical renunciation of imperialistic expansion at the cost of other nations.
5. Non-intervention in the internal affairs of other states
6. Strengthening of the coalition of freedom-loving nations in the fight against Fascist aggressors.

Colonel Galin points out that during the war the Soviet Union has established diplomatic relations with a large number of countries: The Netherlands, Mexico, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, Egypt, Syria, Lebanon, Uruguay, Cuba and Iceland, as well as consular relations with South Africa.

Home Policy Not a Factor

"This indicates," he continues, "that the Soviet Union's attitude toward the establishment of diplomatic relations with any country was a business-like one. It did not go into the question of what regime prevailed in a given country or what home policy it was pursuing, considering that the internal affairs of the country itself."

However, the article asserts, "the fundamental thing which interested the Soviet Union was the country's attitude toward the aggressor, Hitler Germany, and every country which on this basic question took its stand on the side of the United Nations against Hitler Germany met with a favorable response from the Soviet Union when requesting the establishment of diplomatic relations."

"All the world knows," he says, "that the Soviet Union has no designs on the territory of others; that it is pursuing one solitary aim and that is to drive the invader from its land and to create conditions in Europe which will make the German and other hankerers after the property of others think twice before venturing to attack peaceable nations and to establish their piratical order.

Polish "Venom" Belittled

"True, the bankrupt Polish politicians residing abroad, far from the Polish people, spit venom at the Soviet Union and the Red Army in season and out; but that is of minor importance. To listen to these gentry one might think there never were Ukrainians or White Russians in Poland, that there never was any national oppression in that country, that it was the most peaceable country in the world and that the only ambition of the Rydz-Smiglys, Becks and other Polish Fascists and semi-Fascists was to establish a paradise on earth in Poland.

"These newly baked democrats cannot conceal the fact that all their 'democracy' and all their howls about the end of civilization are directed by the landed magnates, who have been accustomed for generations to haunt the cabarets and shady resorts of all countries, squandering the wealth created for them by the Polish, Ukrainian and White Russian laboring folk."

This is a clipping from page 7 of the New York Times for Nov. 17, 1944
Clipped at the Seat of Government.

Russia

RUSSIA TO EXAMINE UNRRA'S POLISH AID

Lehman Cites Necessity of Passing Soviet Territory—Sees Test of Good-Will

12

By JOHN MacCORMAC

By Wireless to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

LONDON, Nov. 16—Because United Nation Relief and Rehabilitation Administration supplies and personnel for the relief of Poland must pass through Russia the Soviet Government will exercise a certain veto power over their distribution, it was gathered from statements made today at a press conference by former New York Governor Herbert H. Lehman, who is in London en route for the Continent of Europe.

Mr. Lehman, who is director general of UNRRA, said it had been requested by both the Polish Government in London and the Soviet-sponsored Polish Committee of National Liberation in Moscow to send supplies to Poland.

Consequently UNRRA negotiations with the U. S. S. R. to see that its supplies and officials would beallowed to pass through Russian territory.

Cooperation of Russia

Asked which Polish group the UNRRA would deal with, Mr. Lehman said it had the right to work with any recognized government or authority in effective control so that its ability to operate in Poland would not necessarily depend on a settlement between the Polish Government and the liberation committee. But, he emphasized, it would require the cooperation of Russia.

Asked why it was taking so long to make a supply arrangement with Yugoslavia where Marshal Tito has asked for "immediate help for those areas where the population is literally dying of hunger and cold,' Mr. Lehman said that the military had assumed responsibility for Yugoslav relief during the military period. UNRRA, he said, had been negotiating with the Yugoslav Government for the post-military period.

"We are getting full cooperation from the military," he said. "We appreciate their tremendous difficulties, since nothing must interfere with winning an early victory."

5 Nations Ask Relief Aid

Yugoslavia, Greece, Czechoslovakia, Poland and China have asked UNRRA for relief supplies, the director general announced. Belgium, the Netherlands, Luxembourg, France, Norway and Czechoslovakia have asked for UNRR's services in handling displaced persons and some other matters. But there has been no request for supplies from France, the Netherlands, Belgium, India or Russia.

Three of the greatest problems, Mr. Lehman said, would be shipping, supplies and inland transport. There were substantial and persisting shortages of fats, meats, textiles, clothing, transport and agricultural machinery.

"UNRRA's problems are not over; they have only just commenced," he said. "This is the hardest job I ever tackled but the most worthwhile. On whether governments and people can work together to raise the level of welfare and goodwill through UNRRA and other mediums will defend a considerable extent the possibility of bringing about a peace of understanding."

This is a clipping from page 12 of the New York Times for

Nov. 17, 1944

Clipped at the Seat of Government.

De Gaulle to Go to Moscow On Invitation From Stalin

By HAROLD CALLENDER
By Wireless to THE NEW YORK TIMES

PARIS, Nov. 15—Gen. Charles de Gaulle will go to Moscow very soon for his first meeting with Premier Stalin, it was announced today after a Cabinet meeting. Georges Bidault, Foregin Minister, will accompany him. A personal message has come from President Roosevelt thanking General de Gaulle for his invitation to visit Paris, which, the President said, he was happy to receive. The President promised toreply later on his acceptance of the invitation and the possible date of his visit.

The invitation from Moscow reached General de Gaulle yesterday when he returned from his visit with Prime Minister Churchill to the French Army in eastern France. General de Gaulle communicated it to the Cabinet today and immediately telegraphed his acceptance.

A few days before Marshal Stalin's invitation arrived General de Gaulle was considering inviting the Russian leader to visit Paris, as he had invited Mr. Churchill and Mr. Roosevelt. But he doubted whether Marshal Stalin would come so far

Continued on Page 3, Column 4

Russia

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

Nov. 16, 1944

Clipped at the Seat of Government.

DE GAULLE WILL GO TO MOSCOW SOON

Continued From Page 1

from home. General de Gaulle's desire to talk with him was then suddenly met by a counter-invitation delivered just after General de Gaulle and his aides had had long diplomatic talks with Mr. Churchill regarding France's relations with her Allies.

Official French quarters said that de Gaulle's visit to Marshal Stalin would be strictly French—that is, it would not coincide with the meeting of Marshal Stalin, Mr. Churchill and Mr. Roosevelt that, Mr. Churchill said, will take place before the end of the year—and that it would amount to a renewal of French-Russian relations on the basis of the French-Russian alliance. This referred to the mutual-assistance treaty signed in 1935, which the French Foreign Office regards as still existing even though the military accord that was designed to go with it was never completed.

Officials said that there were no agenda for the Moscow visit but that important talks were expected to take place, as they did with Mr. Churchill and Foreign Secretary Anthony Eden in Paris, and as they would with Mr. Roosevelt if he came. It was indicated that General de Gaulle, now that his Government had been recognized and taken into the Allies' councils, at least as regards Germany, was taking stock of the situation in talks with the Allies' leaders. France having regained her liberty and her place in the concert of powers, her Government is resuming the contacts that had been interrupted or attenuated during the four years of German occupation.

The invitation to Moscow is still another sign of France's resumption of her place in Europe, it is believed here—and of her future position at the head of that part of Europe that lies between Russia and Britain. This is General de Gaulle's conception of France's destiny. Some think that France is the logical link or bridge between Russia and the western powers.

French Disclaimer Explained

It is with this role in mind that the French have disclaimed any intention of forming or belonging to anything that could be considered as a western bloc hostile to Russia. General de Gaulle made such a disclaimer on the eve of Mr. Churchill's visit in response to what was apparently a renewed expression of Russian misgivings on this score.

When officials said that their aim was the renewal of relations with Russia on the basis of the old alliance, they were repeating what General de Gaulle had said in a speech in Tunis on May 5, when he urged a post-war alliance with "dear and powerful Russia." The phrase caused much comment at the time because General de Gaulle had spoken with less affection of the western powers.

The word "alliance" has been freely used in the last few days in application to France's relations with Britain, as Paris thinks that they were exemplified and advertised by Mr. Churchill's visit. Many highly emotional words appear in the press on this happy renewal of the old Entente Cordiale, as it is called.

This harking back to the past almost suggests a revival of the Triple Entente of France, Britain and Russia, especially if it be assumed, as it emphatically is by the French, that the potential menace is still the possible re-creation of German military power. Between this renewal of alliances and the word organization for security outlined at Dumbarton Oaks the French see no necessary incompatibility. Apparently they believe that regional defensive schemes will be necessary to supplement the general scheme.

Moscow's expressed disapproval of blocs seems to have kept this subject out of Mr. Churchill's talks with General de Gaulle here, but it is thought likely that General de Gaulle may receive the opportunity to explain it when he gets to Moscow.

It is believed here that Moscow's persistent suspicions on this score date from the Munich agreement, which Moscow considered an anti-Russian move by Britain and France and which Moscow has never forgotten. One French official said tonight that what General de Gaulle had been asked to disavow was resumption of the Munich policy.

Some French authorities think that what frightens the Russians is the specter of a political bloc in the west that might be directed against them by their present Allies, but that economic unity among the western nations would not disturb Moscow—although it is agreed that close economic ties would imply close political ties.

The French are keen for close economic relations among the nations that must control the Rhineland and guard western European security. On the other hand, the French Government is very keen for friendly relations with Moscow in view of its theory of France's destiny as the link between east and west.

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

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Clipped at the Seat of Government.

New Triple Entente

By William Philip Simms

MARSHAL STALIN'S invitation to Gen. de Gaulle, and the General's forthcoming visit to Moscow, are the latest moves in the direction of a world security organization based on powerful regional blocs.

That a modern version of the old Triple Entente between Russia, France and Great Britain is soon to make its appearance is regarded as nearly certain. The recent Stalin-Churchill meeting in Moscow, the week-end Churchill-de Gaulle conversations in Paris and Gen. de Gaulle's coming conference with Marshal Stalin are all believed to have had a bearing on the project.

To begin with, the plans of London, Moscow and Paris all differed. Marshal Stalin has already made considerable headway in his organization of eastern Europe under the guidance of Moscow. As a counterpoise to the Soviet bloc, Mr. Churchill set about building up a western European bloc spearheaded by Great Britain. In this bloc France was to play a prominent part. But Gen. de Gaulle suspected France's role would not be quite prominent enough and so let it be known that she could be counted on only if her participation was on a basis of complete equality.

Meanwhile Russia displayed a suddenly awakened interest in western Europe. She quietly indicated that she was opposed to blocs and forthwith interest in the idea rapidly cooled—in France, Holland, Denmark and Scandinavia.

WHAT now seems to be in the air is (1) a revival of the Triple Entente among Britain, France and Russia, and (2) a sort of regional grouping around these three of the other European states—minus, of course, Germany and perhaps some of her satellites.

Thus within the framework of the new league of nations blueprinted at Dumbarton Oaks there promises to develop a number of regional organizations—one covering Europe, one the Americas, and one the Pacific and Far East.

Such a development, of course, would not involve any changes whatever in the security formula already worked out. On the contrary, it would be strictly in line with the Dumbarton recommendations which state that, where appropriate, the Security Council should utilize such arrangements for the enforcement of the peace. And the Big Five—America, Britain, Russia, France and China—are all slated to be permanent members of the council.

* * *

THE original Triple Entente was designed to offset the Triple Alliance of Germany, Austria and Italy completed in 1883. At first there was only the Dual Alliance between France and Russia, the necessity for which France realized after her defeat in the Franco-Prussian war but which only became a reality in 1893. Britain made it a threesome in 1904 when the German Kaiser's Berlin-to-Baghdad ambitions threatened both British and Russian interests in the Middle East.

Before and around the turn of the century, Britain held herself aloof. If anything, she was inclined more toward the Triple Alliance than toward the Dual Entente. Therefore Russia and France did all the courting. Today, the roles are somewhat reversed. Russia names her own conditions and, partly prompted by Moscow and partly due to his own personal inclinations, Gen. de Gaulle is making France hard to get.

Wash. Daily News
Nov. 16, 1944
p. 23

SALUTE TO RUSSIA

Eleven years ago today the Government of the United States extended formal recognition to the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. By proclamation of Lieutenant Governor Hanley the anniversary of this event is observed in New York today as "American-Russian Friendship Day." The observance is to be marked by a rally tonight in Madison Square Garden, presided over by former Ambassador Davies, at which such distinguished representatives of the United Nations as Acting Secretary of State Stettinius, Soviet Ambassador Gromyko and the British Ambassador, the Earl of Halifax, are to be the principal speakers.

It is proper that, with victory approaching in Europe by reason of the combined efforts of all the United Nations, the American people should pay tribute to that nation which for a long while bore the brunt of that struggle, after Hitler turned from Britain to the eastern front. It is also proper that the American people should express their desire for the closest kind of cooperation with Russia, as with all other United Nations, in the war and in the coming peace. As Lieutenant Governor Hanley said in his proclamation, the future of the world depends in large measure upon the continuance of the warm and historic friendship between Russia and the United States.

The political and social structures of Russia and the United States have always differed because they were born of different conditions of national growth, producing different environments and different philosophies. These differences have at times been obstacles to mutual understanding. They delayed Czarist Russia's recognition of the United States, as they delayed American recognition of the Soviet Union. But above all such differences, based on their domestic structures, the two countries have been able throughout their history to remain friends and to cooperate in international affairs in their own best interests.

Barring the arrival of American troops on Russian soil in 1918 following Russia's collapse, which the Soviet regime looked upon as intervention in the revolution and which America saw as aid to Russia in the last war against Germany, there has never been a clash between them. On the contrary, the two nations have often aided and supported each other, from the American Revolution to the present war. They were allies in the last war. They are allies in this war against the same chief enemy. Marshal Stalin himself has said that it was American lend-lease aid, now amounting in value to more than six billion dollars, which helped to save Russia, as, conversely, the supreme sacrifice and valor of the Russian armies and the Russian people made possible those Allied operations which are now clinching victory in Europe under the plan of Teheran.

That brotherhood in arms, cemented by blood shed in a common cause, is the foundation on which future relations between the United States and Russia must be based. The ideological differences will remain, but they have been acknowledged and settled by the terms of the American recognition, which pledged Russia against any attempt to propagate her doctrines in this country. Any attempt to promote Russo-American friendship by a change in the United States toward the Russian system can only endanger such a friendship. There are differences in the international field as well, which are also recognized, though still unsettled. But as Marshal Stalin said, the remarkable thing here is not that differences exist but that they are so few. The basis for their settlement has already been laid by Russia's adhesion to the Atlantic Charter, and by the more recent Declarations of Moscow, though Russia seems still to be hesitant between collective security based on these declarations and individual security based on a unilateral adjustment of borders and a bloc of buffer states.

This is a clipping from page 22 of the New York Times for Nov. 16, 1944
Clipped at the Seat of Government.

Ex-Rumanian Ministers Seized

MOSCOW, Nov. 14 (AP)—A purge of pro-Fascist elements in Rumania has resulted in the arrest of many prominent members of the government which served from 1940 until last August, advices from Bucharest said today. Lucrestiu Patrascanu, Minister of Justice in the new government, was quoted as saying that the purge is now the main duty of his department.

Rumania

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

Nov. 15, 1944

Clipped at the Seat of Government.

Russia Aggressor, Japanese Charges

In an oblique reply to Marshal Stalin's characterization of Japan as an aggressor nation, the Tokyo radio last night included Russia among aggressor powers in a broadcast on "What is the aggressor?" recorded by the Columbia Broadcasting System.

The Japanese broadcast charged that "all western nations—Britain, America, France, the Netherlands, Portugal, Spain and Russia — were guilty of aggression in the most heartless form two or three centuries ago," and that in modern times among "flagrant cases" of aggression were "the Soviet-Polish war, the Mesopotamia incident, the Nicaraguan and the Cuban incidents."

"Is it an act of injustice to demand the rectification of an injustice forced under duress?" asked the enemy commentator, adding: "If so, let it be remembered afresh by the world that Japan will punish an act of aggression resolutely, even staking her own existence."

Russia

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

Nov. 13, 1940

Clipped at the Seat of Government.

PRAVDA CALLS WRITER ON U.S. LITERARY THIEF

By Wireless to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

MQSCOW, Nov. 12—Pravda's literary critic used the sledge-hammer technique today to polish off the literary and economic pretensions of G. Ivanenko, author, who received the degree of Candidate for the Economic Sciences from the council of the Moscow City Pedagogical Institute in 1943 for his forty-eight-page brochure "The United States of America and Their Resources in the Struggle Against Fascism."

Of the forty-eight pages, more than forty simply were copied from other authors, according to Pravda, which accused Mr. Ivanenko of "gross plagiarism" in an article headlined "Pot boiler as a Thesis."

"If we were to call things by their right name, Ivanenko's 'creative' method should be called a thief's method," Pravda said. "But even in copying, Ivanenko showed his complete ignorance and has made very serious mistakes. For instance, it is well known that Puerto Rico is in the Caribbean Sea; Ivanenko transferred this island to the Pacific. We read in his brochure that the Peninsula of [Lower] California belongs to the United States. Our 'Candidate of Sciences' has clearly confused the State of California with the Peninsula of California.

"How could it happen that an ignoramus and plagiarist could receive the degree of Candidate of Sciences? It was because the director of Moscow Pedagogical Institute wished to render Ivanenko a service."

Russia

This is a clipping from page 5 of the New York Times for

Nov. 13, 1944

Clipped at the Seat of Government.

Russia Hails End of Isolationism in U. S.; Election Seen as Buttressing Allied Unity

31

By W. H. LAWRENCE

By Wireless to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

MOSCOW, Nov. 11—Moscow's three leading newspapers—Pravda, Izvestia and Red Star—today published their first editorial reaction to the election of President Roosevelt fourth term, declaring that the decision of the voters of the United States was greeted with satisfaction by the Soviet public. The Soviet Union, the paper said, regard the vote as an endorsement of Mr. Roosevelt's collaboration with the Soviet Union and Great Britain to win the war and preserve the peace.

All the papers played up the victory as a defeat for the "Republican Old Guard isolationists."

Izvestia said Mr. Roosevelt's re-election was important to the American people and to the people of all Democratic countries, as well as a source of disappointment to the Germans. It is quite natural, Izvestia concluded, that wide public circles of all freedom-loving countries should have greeted with satisfaction the news of Mr. Roosevelt's election because, during the next four years, the destiny of humanity will have been solved for many decades.

Red Star commented that Mr. Roosevelt's political, strategical and organizational ability had been most fully demonstrated during the war, and that this re-election must be considered a tribute to the correctness of the policies he has followed.

Pravda said the American voters had been "quite right" when they decided that Mr. Roosevelt could bring the war in the Pacific and in Europe to a conclusion the quickest and was best equipped to improve the fighting comradeship between the United States and Russia until the war was won and an international security organization established.

The voters felt, Pravda added, that isolationism under modern conditions would be a great help to Germany and would inflict great harm both politically and economically to the national interests of the United States.

Russia

This is a clipping from page 31 of the New York Times for

Nov. 12, 1944

Clipped at the Seat of Government.

INTENT TO PUNISH RUSSIANS DENIED

Soviet General Says Nation Will Not Harm Citizens Helping Nazis Under Duress

31

By Wireless to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

MOSCOW, Nov. 11—Col. Gen. F. I. Golikoff today criticized some Allied representatives for allegedly mistreating Soviet citizens who had become prisoners of war in the west, and denounced as "a monstrous lie" suggestions that those citizens would be oppressed by their government when they were repatriated.

General Golikoff, who recently was appointed repatriation director to deal with the problem of returning many thousands of Soviet citizens who were deported by the Germans either as slave labor or to serve in the German armed forces, said that tens of thousands already had been returned from Finland and Rumania and Poland, and the first 10,000 from England also have been returned.

Some of those taken on the Western Front were in German uniforms, fighting against the Allies, and General Golikoff complained because some of them had been placed in prisoner-of-war camps along with the Germans. He said that conditions in those camps were extremely unsatisfactory, with the prisoners badly clothed, badly fed and with no medical aid. This represents a change from recent Soviet charges that the Allies were coddling German prisoners.

He attributed this alleged mistreatment by the Allies to the failure of some Allied representatives to comprehend the line of action that should be taken against citizens of an Allied power, adding that the Soviet Government was confident that such conditions would be corrected in the near future.

General Golikoff, who spoke at a press conference for Soviet correspondents only, said his Government was aware of "many examples" of persons hostile to the Soviet Union attempting to "poison the minds" of Soviet prisoners of war by trying to "make them believe the monstrous lie that the Soviet motherland has forgotten them and doesn't consider them her citizens any more."

"These people threaten our men that they will be oppressed when they return home," he said.

"There's no need to deny this nonsense. The Soviet Union remembers and cares about its citizens who were taken into German slavery. They'll be accepted at home as sons of the country. Even those who, under German pressure, committed some acts against the Soviet Union won't be persecuted if they honestly fulfill their duty upon returning home."

He said there were many examples of Soviet citizens who had escaped from German slavery and fought heroically against the enemy, especially in France and Belgium.

Women and Children Freed

Russian civilians liberated by the Soviet advance into northern Norway "consist for the most part of women, young boys and girls, and children," the American Broadcasting Station in Europe said last night.

The broadcast, beamed to Norway and recorded by the Office of War Information, said that the liberated Russian civilians had been deported by the Germans from the Leningrad area. It added that "they were first sent to Lithuania, but when the Russians started their offensive in that territory, the prisoners were placed in unheated freight cars and sent to Rovaniemi in Finland.

The broadcast said that "from there, they were forced to walk to Kirkenes, where they were put to work for the Germans.

However, the broadcast concluded, the Norwegian population "did all they could to help the Russian prisoners."

Russian

This is a clipping from page 31 of the New York Times for Nov. 12, 1944

Clipped at the Seat of Government.

FILE

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USSR Enters 28th Year With New Confidence

By JOHN GIBBONS
Wireless to the Daily Worker

MOSCOW, Nov. 10—Two days of quiet on the Soviet industrial front due to anniversary holidays ended this morning when like a giant refreshed, millions of men and women again streamed through factory gates.

With things relatively quiet along the war front, Muscovites yesterday followed with unflagging interest the returns of the United States elections, and last night's news of Roosevelt's great victory.

For the second successive day, Pravda's columns were devoted to anniversary greetings to United Nations statesmen. Col. Gen. Nicolai Bulganin, the Soviet representative to the Polish National Liberal Council, held a reception in Lublin attended by the members of the council and Gens. Zymierski and Berling.

The only jarring note in the long list of greetings and reports of anniversary celebrations was the news of the arrest of those people who organized a meeting at Teheran.

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This is a clipping from page 8 of the DAILY WORKER

Date 11-11-44

Clipped at the Seat of Government.

78NOV 29 1944

CHURCH MERGER IN RUSSIA

Moscow Announces Union of Baptist, Evangelical Groups

MOSCOW, Nov. 10 (U.P.)—It was announced today that the Baptist and Evangelical Churches of the Soviet Union were merged at a conference in Moscow on Oct. 26-29.

The conference, composed of forty-five representatives of both religious groups representing congregations in Moscow, Leningrad, the Ukraine, White Russia, the Caucausus, Siberia, the Volga region, the Crimea and Kazakhstan, decided to form an all-union council with headquarters in Moscow and elected J. I. Zhidkoff president and M. I. Golyaeff and M. A. Orloff deputy presidents.

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87 NOV 15 1944

This is a clipping from page 4 of the New York Times for Nov. 11 1944
Clipped at the Seat of Government.

54 NOV 20 1944

JAPAN IS 'OFFENDED' BY STALIN REMARK

People Surprised by Charge of 'Aggression' Raised by Russian, Domei Says

TOKYO OFFICIALS SILENT

But Agency Sees Possibility of a Change in Relations on 'Realistic' Basis

The Japanese Domei Agency declared yesterday that the Japanese people were "surprised and offended" at Premier Joseph Stalin's characterization of Japan as an "aggressor nation," but contended that "Government circles are refraining from expressing any opinions or from making any comments."

The wireless dispatch, transmitted to occupied Asia and recorded by the Federal Communications Commission, said Marshal Stalin's speech had become the "central topic of discussion of all Japan."

[The text of Marshal Stalin's address transmitted by the Moscow radio referred to Japan as "an aggressive nation."]

The dispatch recalled that relations between Japan and Russia "so far" had been "normal," but observed that, "Russia being a realistic country," her "foreign policy vis-a-vis her neighbor is not wholly immutable."

Liberation Versus Aggression

Reiterating the Japanese propaganda theme that Japan is fighting the war to "free the peoples of Greater East Asia from the imperialism of America and Britain," Domei asserted that the people were surprised at Marshal Stalin's statement, since "liberation and aggression are two opposite things and one cannot confuse the two kinds of philosophies."

The Domei dispatch said:

"Premier Stalin's speech on the anniversary of the revolution has become the central topic of discussion of all Japan, but Government circles are refraining from expressing any opinions or from making any comments.

"All the newspapers have published the text of the speech, but none has made any editorial comment. The fact that Premier Stalin branded Japan as an 'aggressor nation' is indeed a new factor, and it may have been the most sensational part of his speech.

"Now the question of the Soviet attitude toward Japan will inevitably pop up—however, so far the relations between Japan and the Soviet Union have been normal. There are various outstanding problems yet to be solved between the two nations, but many problems in the past have been taken care of in an exceedingly smooth fashion by the two powers. Such being the case, there is not a bit of evidence that may be called 'abnormal' in the negotiations from day to day.

"The Soviet nation is a realistic country, so in all probability her foreign policy vis-a-vis her neighbor is not wholly immutable.

Ready for "New Situation"

"Conversely, it is naturally expected that the foreign policy of Russia will change as new situations demand. Consequently, it is the firm belief of the Japanese general public that Japan must also adopt a realistic policy that will conform with any new situation created by the Russians.

"In regard to the fact that Stalin has branded Japan an aggressor nation, the people of Japan were surprised and offended. Japan feels and philosophizes that the war of Greater East Asia is a fight to free the peoples of GEA from the imperialism of America and Britain. In this matter Japan is steadily realizing her aims. Japan's policy vis-a-vis the GEA nations is being revised and amplified, the design being to secure the cooperation of the various races.

"Thus liberation and aggression are two opposite things and one cannot confuse the two kinds of philosophies.

"Premier Stalin in his speech did not allude to the Chungking regime. This fact is noteworthy.

"Stalin's reference to Japan may be taken as an indication that the Soviet Union is very much interested in the situation in East Asia. He did not indicate, however, whether he would support or conciliate with Chungking. Despite the fact that he went into detail about the post-war structure, he dealt only with the United States, Britain and the Soviet Union. So it is natural that his talk is an international riddle.

"Soviet Russia did not believe it proper to sit in the Dumbarton Oaks Conference with the delegates from Chungking, and it can be said that this attitude by the Soviet Union has grown more cool. If we study the newspaper comments of the British and American press regarding Soviet territorial demands in East Asia, we can conclude that Moscow's relations with the Chungking regime are delicate.

"It is felt that, although Stalin is critical of Chungking, his attitude toward Britain and the United States is also realistic and strong. That is, he warned in his talk that the allies of the Soviet Union must 'devise the necessary measures now or they will be disposed to danger a second time.' Stalin voiced the necessity for 'cooperation' between the three powers.

"It must be said that his statements regarding the actions of the United States, Britain and Russia revolving around the German problem and the Near East oil problem carried great implications.

"Stalin, who is a stickler for caution, said nothing regarding the Polish problem, which is one test in determining the state of relationship among America, Britain and Russia."

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

NOV. 13, 1944

Clipped at the Seat of Government.

Soviet Scores Treatment Of Russians in France

The Moscow domestic radio reported yesterday that the Soviet Embassy at Paris had protested to the French Foreign Ministry against the internment of "a considerable number" of Russian nationals in French prison camps and the "hard and ous" treatment accorded them in these camps.

The broadcast, reported by the mission, charged that many Russian prisoners of war and Russian civilian deportees who had been abandoned by, or escaped from, their Nazi captors during the Allied liberation of France were subsequently taken into custody by the French and placed in camps holding German prisoners of war.

A few hours after the Moscow broadcast, the French Press Agency directed a wireless dispatch to French newspapers in North Africa reporting the creation of a "French Committee for the welfare of Soviet prisoners and deportees" by the National Front of French Servicemen.

Russia

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

Nov. 10, 1944

Clipped at the Seat of Government.

RUSSIA FACES JAPAN

Marshal Stalin's denunciation of Japan as an aggressor on a par with Nazi Germany has found a warm welcome among all the United Nations fighting in the Far East. His statement must be accepted both as an expression of Russia's consciousness of her own strength and as part of Russia's considered foreign policy.

In the context in which this statement was made it is first of all an expression of the growing solidarity between Russia, Britain and the United States in their recognition that peace is indivisible, that aggression against one menaces all, and that only concerted action by all three Powers can stop it in the future. But the immediate interest in the statement lies in the hope that Marshal Stalin's denunciation of the Far Eastern aggressor foreshadows Russian action against that aggressor. It is generally agreed that as long as Russia needs all her strength against Germany her neutrality in the Far East is in the interest both of Russia herself and of all the other United Nations. A Russian participation in the Far Eastern war now would not only scatter her forces and thus delay victory in Europe but might also expose her vulnerable Far Eastern provinces to Japanese attack, which could deprive the Allies of the very bases for which some voices are clamoring. But it is also agreed that when the time is ripe for it, Russian participation in the Far Eastern war would be of tremendous importance and would shorten that war by many months. For the Russian maritime provinces are like a dagger pointed at Japan, and would provide the ideal bases for both air attacks against and an invasion of Japan.

At present, Russia's relations with Japan are governed by the Russo-Japanese neutrality pact of 1941, concluded for five years. It would therefore expire in 1946, but only if Russia gives notice of its cancellation a year in advance, or before April 13 next year. If Russia gives such notice before that date, her policy should be clear, and her entrance into the war would be merely a question of proper timing. If she does not give such a notice, the pact could still be abrogated if Russia declares that a new situation has arisen in the Far East which makes the pact no longer applicable. This is the procedure she followed in the case of some of her non-aggression pacts in Europe.

In any case, the defeat of Japan, which is now accepted in Russia as a foregone conclusion, will bring about such a change in the balance of power in Asia that Russia is expected to come into the war at some time, if only to safeguard her own interests. The only question is whether she will come in as soon as possible after the defeat of Germany, and with full force, or whether she will play a more passive role and come in only on the kill.

This is a clipping from page 16 of the New York Times for

Nov. 8, 1944

Clipped at the Seat of Government.

HOPE GROWS STALIN MAY WAR ON JAPAN

His Branding of Our Pacific Foe as an Aggressor Kindles Cautious Elation Here

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

WASHINGTON, Nov. 7—Responsible military, naval and diplomatic observers in the capital today greeted Premier Joseph Stalin's Soviet anniversary address with general approval and felt that the Japanese should have cause for worry in the section of the speech that linked them with the Nazis in the category of aggressors.

Some military observers pointed out that it was fairly obvious that Marshal Stalin had no intention of plunging his nation into a two-front war at the present moment by taking on the Japanese and that United States officials had made it clear that they did not want Russia to take this step at a time when the primary concern was to end the European war speedily.

They reasoned, however, that Marshal Stalin's carefully worded reference to the Japanese as aggressors should serve as an ominous reminder to Japan, now on the losing side, that they might have a powerful and traditional enemy to face after the European war was over. There is not much that Japan can do about it, either, despite her large army on the Manchurian-Russian border, for it would seem foolhardy for her to make the first move against Russia when she ~~was being~~ so hard pressed on other fronts.

If and when the time comes wwhen Soviet Russia throws in her lot with the United States, Great Britain and China in defeating the Japanese, Russian air bases, to say nothing of Russian military and sea power, could be of enormous value in hastening the end, observers stated.

Qualified naval sources, in general, share the above views on the portion of Stalin's speech relating to Japan, although it is believed that Russian cooperation would aid the Army's problem more than it would the Navy's.

Another pact of Stalin's speech that received almost enthusiastic approval in military circles was the conclusion, which reiterated that the Red Army, in conjunction with the Western Allies, now faced its "final mission" of "finishing off the Fascist beast in his own lair and raising over Berlin the banner of victory."

Marshal Stalin does not make pledges of this sort to his people if he does not mean them, it was pointed out, and the vigorous pledge re-emphasized that Russia expected to smash through the strong German defenses on the Eastern Front and carry the war into Germany.

Some diplomatic observers noted that Marshal Stalin's speech reflected extreme care in its preparation. They applauded the manner in which the Soviet Premiep dealt wwith the results of the Dumbarton Oaks Conference.

On the military side, some diplomatic sources suggested that Russia obviously might not wish to be precluded from a settlemen in the Far East, for her own interests there are vital.

This is a clipping from page 12 of the New York Times for

Nov. 8, 1944

Clipped at the Seat of Government.

Topics of the Times

All in Fun

Once upon a time a young man leaped from the sidewalk into the stream of traffic and snatched an elderly gentleman from under a big truck. He proved to be a rather peculiar elderly gentleman. After he had been set on his feet by kindly bystanders and his clothes brushed off and his condition sedulously inquired after, he turned upon his rescuer and demanded to be reimbursed for the loss of his hat, which had remained under the wheels of the truck.

He may have been a peppery old gentleman, or he may have been endowed with a subtle sense of humor. Like the editor of Izvestia, for example, who wants to know what are the Americans doing in Iran anyhow. Or like Generalissimo Franco, who wants a place at the peace table so he can help protect the rights of small nations. Or like so many of our own post-June 22, 1941, American patriots and democrats who began exposing unpatriotic and undemocratic Americans on June 23, 1941. A very subtle sense of humor, which it is surprising to find so active in the midst of war.

Out on a Limb

A different brand of humor is Joseph Stalin's. It is boyishly mischievous rather than subtle, and for that reason much more appealing than the Izvestia or Generalissimo Franco type. Marshal Stalin seems to love, among other things, to let his devoted followers get out on a limb so he can saw it off behind them.

On a specific issue he will let his apologists build up a highly ingenious and moral case for giving Stalin what he demands. He will then let it be known in his own bluff way that he wants that particular thing because he wants it. This compels his ingenious expounders to throw away the moral argument and to discover that their leader is a great realist.

Their One-Man Job

The particular subject on which Stalin seems to take pleasure in leaving his special pleaders high and dry is Soviet Russia's share in winning the war. The more ardent spirits among them long ago proved to their own complete satisfaction that the defeat of the Axis has been practically a single-handed job carried on by Russia. What the Allies did on other fronts was just playing at war, if not in fact an actual drag on the real work being done on the Eastern Front. When this ritual reached a peak, Stalin has come forward more than once to thank the Allies for their invaluable assistance to Russia and their valiant efforts in the common cause.

Who Liberated Whom

Only the other day it was laid down by one of the faithful here at home that only one thing made our D-day success in France at all possible. This was the many Nazi divisions which were held fast on the Russian front. Hitler dared not detach enough men for France to put up a real fight. It was an argument which very strongly implied that the reconquest of France, Belgium and Holland was not really much to get excited about. To all intents and purposes it was the Russian Army which liberated France by allowing the Americans and British to walk in.

Thereupon Marshal Stalin permits himself to state, in his anniversary speech on Monday, that the Allied invasion of France was the operation which permitted the Russian Army to drive the Germans from Russian soil.

This rather upsets the thesis of the local faithful about who liberated whom, but the embarrassment lasts only a few minutes. After it has happened a dozen times you hardly notice it.

Rebels Who Laugh

Marshal Stalin's sense of humor is reported by those who have met him to show itself in his everyday routine as well as in public gestures like those we have cited. That would make the Soviet leader a notable exception to the rule that reformers and revolutionists are not too richly endowed with humor. The world accepts it as a matter of course. People inflamed by a great cause feel too intensely to see the lighter side of things. Humor is for the indifferent, for the detached, and finally for the contented. Humor is for the conservatives. They can afford to laugh.

In practice it would work out like this, though by no means as a universal law. There are exceptions. The nonconservative Bernard Shaw has been credited with a certain degree of humor. One could think of other cases. Just the same, it may very well be that Bernard Shaw's lighter touch has done him harm in the eyes of many earnest rebels.

This is a clipping from page 12 of the New York Times for

Nov. 8, 1944

Clipped at the Seat of Government

[From Late Edition of Yesterday's Times]

U. S. TRANSPORT PLAN OPPOSED BY RUSSIA

LONDON, Nov. 6 (AP)—The European Inland Transport Conference faced adjournment in failure today with American and Russian delegates deadlocked over a proposal to grant authoritative power to the new Allied transport organization.

The crisis arose when the American delegate, Robert Hooker Jr., proposed that the organization's executive board receive power to dictate its decisions to the smaller nations without their approval. Maj. Gen. Obyden, representing Russia, opposed Mr. Hooker's proposal, insisting the board should be only consultative and that the smaller nations shoulld have the right to make their own decisions.

Of the eight small nations represented at the conference, all except Yugoslavia supported the American proposal.

Unless a compromise can be reached within a few days, reliable quarters close to the various delegates said the conference would adjourn and the whole thing be forgotten for the time being.

The conference opened Oct. 10 and met two to three times a week at the beginning, with members of the "Big Three" meeting every day. The entire conference last met Oct. 27. The "Big Three" suspended consultations almost three weeks ago because of the American-Russian conflict.

The Russian delegates are now awaiting instructions from Moscow before proceeding.

This is a clipping from page 32 of the New York Times for

Nov. 8, 1944

Clipped at the Seat of Government

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[redacted]

Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
Russian - United States

Stalin sees Allied Near
Foe Capitulation Conference
Victory
Victory
Victory

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This is a clipping from page 3 of the DAILY WORKER

Date 11-7-44
Clipped at the Seat of Government.

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Stalin Sees Allies Near Victory; Forecasts Enduring Postwar Unity

LONDON, Nov. 6 (UP).—Premier Joseph Stalin, predicting that the Red Army would be in Berlin soon and that the Allies were on the verge of winning the war in Europe, said today the Big Three were cooperating in unprecedented unity which would continue after the war.

To the roaring cheers of his auditors at the 27th anniversary celebration of the Russian Revolution, Stalin in a speech of great scope declared that Hungary would soon be out of the war, but warned that Germany was preparing for another war. He called for a postwar organization which would provide an armed force ready to choke at the outset any attempt at warmongering.

In his speech, broadcast by the Moscow radio, Stalin spoke with deep pride of the blows the Red Army had struck Germany—blows which, he said, had knocked out 100 German divisions within the last year and left only 204 enemy divisions on the Eastern Front, of which 180 were German.

He said that since the Allies had opened the Western Front they were holding 75 German divisions. He called the British-American European offensive a tremendous liberation operation, pointed out how it compelled Germany to fight on two fronts and said that the key to victory was to keep squeezing Germany in the resultant east-west vise.

Stalin said that Finland, Romania and Bulgaria had been knocked out of the war since the last revolution anniversary and that Hungary's collapse was imminent.

GERMANY ISOLATED

Dramatically, he said that Hungary's collapse would leave Germany isolated.

BULLETIN

LONDON, Nov. 6 (UP).—Marshal Joseph Stalin in an anniversary order of the day announced tonight that the German-violated Soviet frontier had been restored along its whole length from the Black to the Barents Seas, Radio Moscow reported.

war over a long period. They had accumulated during this period of preparation great reserves of strength and were therefore bound to be better prepared than peace-loving nations, not interested in new war. This is natural and understandable and is the result of a policy which must be taken into account.

"One must not deny that in future peace-loving nations may again suddenly find themselves taken by surprise by an act of aggression—that is, if they have not worked out, right now, special measures for preventing aggression.

"That is the task: To prevent war and, if war should break out all the same, to scotch it at the start, not allowing it to develop into a great conflagration.

mania and Bulgaria had been knocked out of the war since the last revolution anniversary and that Hungary's collapse was imminent.

GERMANY ISOLATED

Dramatically, he said that Hungary's collapse would leave Germany isolated and that the end of the war in Europe was in sight but he warned thatthis would not mean security.

The task, he said was to make new aggression impossible—"if not for ever, at least for a long period."

Germany, he said, must be disarmed economically as well as militarily and politically.

Then, bringing Japan into the picture, Stalin said:

"This war is all the more important because history shows that aggressive nations — ones who attack—are generally better prepared for war than peace-loving nations who, not being interested in new war, are generally late with their preparations.

"Even before this war aggressor nations had armies ready for invasion, whereas peace-loving nations did not even have satisfactory defense armies.

"This is illustraated by the incident of Pearl Harbor, the loss of the Philippines and other islands in the Pacific.

"Thus the Japanese aggressor nation proved to be more prepared for war than Great Britain and the United States.

"This likewise accounted for the loss of the Ukraine, White Russia and the Baltic regions in the very first year when Germany, an aggressor nation, was better prepared for war than the peace-loving Soviet Union.

"It would be naive to explain these incidents by the personal characteristics of Japan or Germany, by their superiority over Britons, Americans and Russians, by their foresightedness and so forth.

AGGRESSIVE POLICY

"It is not a question of personal qualities. The explanation lies in the fact that the aggressive nations, interested in new war, were nations who had been preparing for it, while the nations not interested in war and pursuing a peaceful policy proved to be unprepared for war, were taken by surprise by an act of aggression—that is, if they have not worked out, right now, special measures for preventing aggression.

"That is the task: To prevent war and, if war should break out all the same, to scotch it at the start, not allowing it to develop into a great conflagration.

"For this complete disarmament of aggressive nations only one measure exists—organization of special organization for security by representative Allied nations and the empowering of its leading organs.

"The leading organs . . . should be given the necessary amount of armed forces to prevent aggression and should be delegated with power to use the armed forces without delay, should it be necessary, to prevent or to liquidate aggression and punish the culprit nations."

Stalin told how the Red Army during the last year had forcer Germany on the defensive and how in three great operations comprising nine separate blows most of the soil of the Soviet Union had been freed and the fight had been pressed first on German satellites soil and then on German soil itself.

Germany, Stalin said, proved under Hitler "a more powerful, treacherous and experienced" foe than had Germany in any previous war, and she strengthened herself by grabbing most of Europe's resources.

"If in spite of these favorable conditions she has reached the brink of inevitable collapse, this must be explained by the fact that Germany's main opponent, the Soviet Union, has surpassed the efforts of Hitlerite Germany," Stalin said.

Unstinting in his praise of the coordination which resulted from the Teheran conference, Stalin said that proof of the stability of Allied unity was shown at Dumbarton Oaks.

Of course there had been disagreements, he said—"serious disagreement existed over the opening of the Western front."

The wonder, he said, was that there were so few differences and

(Continued on Page 16)

Stalin Sees Victory Near, Enduring Postwar Allied Unity

(Continued from Page 3)

that they were being solved.

Dumbarton Oaks, he said "should be regarded as one of the shining examples of the stability of union of the great nations."

In warning of the necessity for postwar cooperation, he said that Germany could recover from this war in 20 to 30 years and that she was already preparing for the next war.

"Now before the Red Army lies its last final mission," Stalin said at the end, "that is to conclude together with the Allied armies the rout of the German fascist armies, to finish off the fascist beast in his own lair and to hoist over Berlin the flag of victory. There are indications that this will be carried out on the not far off future."

STALIN'S PLEDGES

Celebrating the twenty-seventh anniversary of the Russian Revolution in the dawn of Allied victory in Europe, Marshal Stalin has made a speech which puts its main emphasis on the necessity of continuing and strengthening the alliance among Russia, the United States and Great Britain. This alliance, he declared, has already thrown the enemy back behind his own frontiers and brought Germany to the "verge of disaster."

While paying rightful tribute to the achievements of the Russian armies and the Russian people, and though continuing to maintain that for three years Russia fought the war "alone and without serious support from our allies," Marshal Stalin also paid full tribute to the achievements of the western Allies, executed under the plan of Teheran. And he put the problem of coalition warfare in a nutshell when he said that without the Allied operations in the west the Russians would not have been able to drive the enemy from their soil in so short a time, and that by the same token the western Allies would not have been able to drive the enemy so quickly from France, Belgium and most of Italy without the Russian operations in the east. This united action brought forth a year of decisive victories, and in its continuation lies the key to final victory. To that Marshal Stalin pledged himself and his country.

He also pledged himself to a continuation of that alliance into the peace. On this point he gave full endorsement to the Dumbarton Oaks plan for organization of The United Nations backed by armed force capable of acting immediately to avert or suppress aggression. This organization, he emphasized, must be more effective than the League of Nations, and it will be effective only if the great Powers which bore the brunt of the war continue to work unanimously and in concord. On that general proposition all the United Nations are agreed. Marshal Stalin himself frankly recognizes that there are still differences of opinion, but he also declares that they are amazingly small, and that they are being solved peacefully. This may be accepted as a pledge that they will be solved in consultation with Russia's allies.

There can be no doubt that if the success of the new peace organization depends on the continued cooperation of the great Powers, that cooperation in turn depends on who is going to cooperate with whom and for what purpose. No cooperation can long continue if it is too one-sided, or entirely for the benefit of individual members of the coalition. That applies to all the United Nations, large and small. It applies especially to the great Powers —to the United States, to Great Britain and to Russia, who today might feel themselves in a position to take what they covet. The organization of peace must be backed not only by force of arms but also by the moral sense of the world, if it is to last longer than did the alliances of the past, concluded for war and spoils.

Russia

This is a clipping from page 26 of the New York Times for Nov. 7 1944
Clipped at the Seat of Government.

Text of Premier Stalin's Address in Moscow on Eve of 27th Anniversary of the Revolution

LONDON, Tuesday, Nov. 6 (AP)—The text of Marshal Joseph Stalin's speech marking the twenty-seventh anniversary of the Soviet revolution, as recorded from Moscow radio by the Soviet monitor:

Comrades, today Soviet people celebrate the twenty-seventh anniversary of the victory of the Soviet revolution in our country. For the fourth time our country is celebrating the revolution in conditions of the patriotic war against the German fascist troops. This, of course, does not mean that the fourth year of the war does not differ from the preceding three years of war. On the contrary, between them a radical difference exists.

The previous years of war were years of the offensive of the German troops. Their advance deep into our country obliged the Red Army to conduct defensive battles.

The third year of war was a year of radical change on our front, when the Red Army developed powerful offensive battles, smashed the Germans in a series of decisive battles, cleared the German fascist troops from two-thirds of our soil and forced the enemy to pass to the defensive.

The Red Army, moreover, still continued to wage war alone against the German troops without serious support from our allies.

The fourth year of war turned out to be a year of decisive victories over the German troops on the part of the Soviet Armies and the armies of our allies. The Germans, forced to wage war on two fronts, found themselves hurled back to the frontiers of Germany.

War Carried to Germany

During the past year there has been achieved the expulsion of German troops from the confines of the Soviet Union, France, Belgium and middle Italy and the transference of military operations to the territory of Germany.

The decisive successes of the Red Army this year and the expulsion of the Germans from the confines of the Soviet Union was achieved by the series of crushing blows struck by our troops on the German troops. The blows were begun this year before Leningrad and Novgorod when the Red Army broke down the permanent defenses of the Germans and hurled them back to the Baltic area.

The result of this blow was the liberation of the Leningrad region. The second blow was struck in February and March of this year on the Bug River when the the Red Army routed the German troops and hurled them back beyond the Dneiper. The result of this blow was that the western Ukraine was liberated from the German fascist invaders.

The third blow was struck in April and May of this year in the Crimea area, when the German troops were thrown into the Black Sea. As a result of this blow the Crimea and Odessa were liberated from German oppression.

The fourth blow was struck in June of this year in Karelia, when the Red Army smashed the Finnish troops, liberated Viborg and Petrozavodsk and hurled the Finns back into the interior of Finland.

The result of this blow was the liberation of the major part of the Karelo-Finnish Soviet Republic.

Reached Soviet's Frontiers

The fifth blow was struck on the Germans in July of this year, when the Red Army ground down and smashed the German troops before Vitebsk, Bobruisk and Mogilev and accomplished its blow on the encircled German divisions in the Minsk area.

The result of this blow was that our troops completely liberated the white Russian Soviet Republic, reached the Vistula and liberated a considerable part of Poland allied to us; reached the Nieman and liberated the major part of the Lithuanian Soviet Republic, forced the Niemen and reached the frontiers of Germany.

The sixth blow was struck in July and August this year in the area of the western Ukraine when the Red Army smashed the German troops before Lwow and hurled them back beyond the San. The result of this blow was that the western Ukraine was liberated. Our troops crossed the Vistula and beyond the Vistula formed a powerful bridgehead west of Sandomir.

The seventh blow was struck in August of this year in the area of Kishinev and Jassy when our troops utterly routed the German Fascist troops and completed their blow by surrounding twenty-two German divisions before Kishinev, not counting the Rumanian divisions.

The result of this blow was that the Moldavian Soviet Republic was liberated, that Rumania, Germany's ally, was put out of commission and declared war on Germany and Hungary; that Bulgaria, Germany's ally, was put out of commission and also declared war on Germany; that the road was opened for our troops into Hungary, the last ally of Germany in Europe, and that the opportunity was presented for stretching out a hand of aid to our ally Yugoslavia against the German invaders.

The eighth blow was struck in September and October of this year in the Baltic Sea area when the Red Army smashed the German troops before Tallinn and Riga and drove them from the Baltic area.

The result of this blow was that the Estonian Soviet Republic was liberated, Germany's ally Finland was put out of commission and declared war on Germany. More than thirty German divisions found themselves cut off from Prussia, caught in pincers in the area between Tukums and Libau, and they are now being smashed by our troops.

In October there began the movement of our troops between the Tisza and the Danube in Hungary which aims at bringing Hungary out of the war and turning her against Germany. The result of this blow, which has not yet reached its culmination, is that our troops have rendered direct aid to our ally Yugoslavia in the work of driving out the Germans and liberating Belgrade. Our troops obtained the opportunity of advancing through the Carpathians and stretching out a hand of assistance to our ally Czechoslovakia, part of whose territory is already liberated from the German invaders.

Enemy's Divisions Smashed

Such are the main operations of the Red Army during the past

This is a clipping from page 8 of the New York Times for Nov. 7, 1944
Clipped at the Seat of Government.

year which brought about the expulsion of the German troops from the confines of our country. The result of these operations was that 120 divisions of Germans and their allies were smashed and put out of action. Instead of 287 divisions standing against our front last year, of which 207 divisions were German, today we have against our front, after all the total and supertotal mobilizations, a total of 204 German and Hungarian divisions. Of these not more than 180 are German divisions.

It must be admitted that in the present war Hitlerite Germany with her fascist army turned out to be a more powerful and perfidious enemy than Germany and her armies in past wars. To this must be added the fact that the Germans in this war succeeded in making use of the economic forces of almost the whole of Europe and the pretty significant armies of her vassals.

And if, in spite of these conditions favoring Germany's conduct of the war, she has nevertheless found herself on the verge of inevitable catastrophe, it has to be explained by the facts that Germany's chief opponent, the Soviet Union, has surpassed the efforts of Hitlerite Germany.

What is new in the past year in the war against Hitlerite Germany is the fact that the Red Army conducted its operations against the German troops not in isolation, as had been the case in the preceding years, but jointly with troops of our allies.

The Teheran conference was not in vain. The decision of the Teheran conference for joint blows on Germany from the west, south and east began to be carried out with astonishing exactness.

Simultaneously with the Red Army's operations on the Soviet-German front the Allied troops began the invasion of France and organized powerful operations, forcing Hitlerite Germany to wage war on two fronts. Our allies accomplished mass landing operations on the coast of France, unprecedented in history as regard organization and scale, and by mass force overcame the German fortifications.

Thus Germany found herself seized in the vise between two fronts. As was to be expected, the enemy was not able to stand up to the joint blows of the Red Army and the allied troops. The resistance of the enemy was smashed and his troops in a short space of time were thrown out of the confines of middle Italy, France, Belgium and the Soviet Union. The enemy was hurled back to the frontiers of Germany.

Fronts Mutually Dependent

There can be no doubt that without the organization of the second front in Europe, which pinned down seventy-five divisions of the Germans, our troops would not have been able in so short a space of time to break down the resistance of the German troops and drive them from the confines of the Soviet Union. Thus it is equally without doubt the mighty operations of the Red Army in the summer of this year, which pinned down some 200 German divisions, the troops of our allies would not have been able so quickly to deal with the German troops and throw them out of the area of middle Italy, France and Belgium.

The task is to continue to hold Germany in the vise between two fronts. This is the key to victory.

If the Red Army was able successfully to fulfill its duty to the motherland and drive the Germans from the confines of the Soviet Union, it did so thanks to the fact that it had the supreme support of the rear, the whole country, the whole peoples of our country.

The selfless work of all Soviet peoples, under leadership of our state and party organs, went forward in the past year under the banner "All for the front."

The past year was marked with new successes in industry, agriculture and transport, a new upward trend of our military economy. On the fourth year of the war our factories produced planes, tanks, guns, mortars and ammunition many times more than at the beginning of the war. The most difficult period of the restoration of agriculture lies behind us. After the return to the country of the fertile lands of the Don and Kuban, after the liberation of the Ukraine, our agriculture is rapidly recovering, inspired by the victories.

Soviet rail transport stood up to the traffic, which it is hardly likely the transport of any other country could have coped with. The Soviet State despite the hard times of war, despite the temporary occupation by the Germans of extremely large, economically important districts of the country in the course of the war, did not curtail but increased its supplies to the front of arms and ammunition.

Now the Red Army has tanks, guns, planes in not smaller, but larger numbers than the Germans. As for the quality of our war material, in this respect it is considerably superior to that of the enemy.

Cites Russian Sacrifices

The Soviet people gave up a great deal that was necessary, accepted deliberately serious material privations in order to give more to the front. The ten-fold labors of the present war did not break, but made still stronger the iron will and courageous spirit of the Soviet people.

Our working class strained all their efforts for the sake of victory, constantly perfected the technique of production, increased the capacity of industrial enterprises, erected new factories and workshops.

Our intellectuals proceeded boldly along the road of new inventions in the sphere of technique and culture, successfully developing contemporary science still further, creatively using their achievements in the production of arms for the Red Army. By their creative labor, the Soviet intellectuals contributed an invaluable share to the cause of routing the enemy.

Just as we cannot fight and conquer without modern arms, we cannot also fight and be victorious without provisions. The Red Army, in the fourth year of the war, thanks to care shown by the collective farming peasants, is experiencing no shortage of food. Men and women collective farmers are supplying the workers and intellectuals with food, and industry with raw materials, thus securing the normal working of the factories and plants making arms and equipment for the front. Our collective farming peasantry, actively and with a complete understanding of their duty to their motherland, are assisting the Red Army to achieve victory over the enemy.

The unexampled feats of labor of Soviet women and our glorious young people, who carried on their shoulders the main burden of the labor in the factories and plants, in the collective and State farms, will forever go down in history.

For the sake of the honor and independence of the motherland, Soviet women, young men and girls are displaying prowess and heroism on the front of labor. They have shown themselves worthy of their fathers and sons, husbands and brothers defending the motherland from the German Fascist monsters. The feats of labor performed by Soviet people in the rear, equally with the undying military deeds of our troops at the front, have their source in the ardent, creative Soviet patriotism.

The strength of Soviet patriotism lies in the fact that it has as its basis not racial or national prejudice, but profound loyalty and the faith of the people in their Soviet motherland, the fraternal friendship of the working people of all nations of our country.

Soviet patriotism is harmonious. It combines the national traditions of the people and the common vital interests of all the working people of the Soviet Union. Soviet patriotism does not disunite, but on the contrary consolidates all nations and nationalities in our country into one single fraternal family. In this should be seen the basis of the indestructible and still stronger friendship of the peoples of the Soviet Union. At the same time the peoples of the Soviet Union respect the rights and independence of the peoples of countries abroad, and have always displayed their readiness to live in peace and friendship with neighboring states.

In this should be seen the basis of the developing and strengthening ties between our states and all the freedom-loving countries.

Disavows Racial Hatred

The Soviet people hate the German invaders not because they are people of a foreign nation, but because they have brought our people and all freedom-loving peoples misery and suffering. It is an old saying of our people: "The wolf is not bad because he is gray but because he ate the sheep."

For their ideological weapons the German Fascists selected the racial theory of human hatred, calculating that their sermons on bestial nationalism would create the moral-political premises for the domination of the German invaders over the enslaved peoples.

However, the policy of racial hatred pursued by the Hitlerites became in actual fact the source of internal weakness and foreign political isolation for the German Fascist state.

The ideology and policy of racial hatred is one of the factors making for the downfall of the Hitlerite bandit plot. It cannot be considered an accident that not only the enslaved peoples of France, Yugoslavia, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Greece, Belgium, Denmark, Norway and Holland have risen up against the German imperialists, but also the former vassals of Hitler—the Italians, Rumanians, Finns, Bulgarians.

By their cannibal policy, the Hitlerite clique has roused against Germany all the peoples of the world. And the so-called "chosen German" has become the object of universal hatred.

In the course of this war the Hitlerites have sustained not only a military defeat but also a moral and political defeat.

The ideology of the equal rights of all races and nations, which is established in our country, has won a complete victory over the ideology of bestial nationalism and the racial hatred of Hitlerites.

Now when the patriotic war is proceeding to its victorious conclusion the historic role of the Soviet people stands out in all its magnitude. Now everyone admits that the Soviet people, by their self-sacrificing struggle, saved all the nations of Europe from the Fascist pogromists. This is the great service rendered by the Soviet people to the history of mankind.

I will then turn to foreign political questions. The past year was a year of triumph of the common cause against the German coalition, for the sake of which the peoples of the Soviet Union, Great Britain and the U. S. A. have united in military alliance. This was a year of consolidation of the unity and coordination of the operations of the three main powers against Hitlerite Germany.

The decision of the Teheran conference for joint action against Germany and the brilliant putting into practice of those decisions constitute one of the clear indications of the stabilization of the front against the Hitlerite coalition.

Few large-scale planned military operations for joint action against a common enemy can be found in history carried out so fully and exactly as the plan for the joint blow against Germany drawn up at the Teheran conference was carried out.

There can be no doubt that without the unity of outlook and the coordination of action of the three great powers, the Teheran decisions could not have been realized so fully and exactly.

United Front Achieved

It is also without doubt, on the other hand, that successful realization of the Teheran decisions could not fail to serve to consolidate the front of the United Nations.

The decision of the conference at Dumbarton Oaks on the question of the organization of postwar security should be regarded as an equally clear indication of the stability of the front of the United Nations.

There is talk of differences between the powers on certain questions of security. Of course there are differences. Differences occur even among people of one and the same party. All the more so should they occur between representatives of different States and of different parties.

One should not be surprised because differences exist, but because there are so few of them, and that they are as a rule solved almost every time after the united and coordinated action of the three great powers. It is not a question of the differences, but that the differences should not be solved against the interests of the unity of the three great powers; and that in the final count they are solved in the direction of the interests of complete unity.

It is known that more serious diferences existed for us on the question of the opening of the second front. But we know equally well that these differences were solved in the long run in a spirit of complete agreement. I can say exactly the same concerning the differences at the Dumbarton Oaks conference.

Characteristic of this conference is not the fact that certain differences were revealed there but that nine-tenths of the security questions were solved at this conference in the spirit of complete agreement.

That is why I think that the decisions of the Dumbarton Oaks conference should be regarded as one of the clear indications of the stability of the front against Germany.

Unity Shown at Parley

A still more vivid indication of the consolidation of the United Nations front should be considered the recent negotiations with the head of the British Government Mr. Churchill, and the British Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mr. Eden, in Moscow, held in a friendly atmosphere and in a spirit of complete agreement.

Throughout the whole course of the war the Hitlerites made desperate efforts to disunite the United Nations and set them one against the other, to cause suspicion and misunderstanding among them, to weaken their military efforts and mutual confidence, and possibly set them at war against each other.

These Hitlerite aspirations are fully understandable. For them there is no greater danger than the unity of the United Nations in the struggle against Hitlerite imperialism, and for them there would have been no greater military and political success than to disunite the Allied powers in their struggle against the common enemy.

It is known, however, how much in vain were the efforts of the Fascist politicians to dislocate the alliance of the great powers. This signifies that no accidental transitory motive, but vitally important long-term interests lie at the basis of the alliance of our country, Great Britain and the United States.

There is no need to doubt that if the fighting alliance of the democratic powers has stood the trial of more than four years of war, if it is consolidated by the blood of the peoples who have risen up in defense of their liberty and honor, the more so will that alliance stand the trials of the concluding stage of the war.

Allied Front Extended

The past year, however, was not only a year of consolidation of the Allied powers against the German thrust but also a year of extension of that front. It cannot be considered an accident that after Italy other allies of Germany were withdrawn from the war, finally Rumania and Bulgaria.

It should be noted that these states not only withdrew from the war but broke with Germany and declared war on her, thus attaching themselves to the front of the United Nations. This undoubtedly signifies an extension of the front of the United Nations against Hitlerite Germany.

There can be no doubt that the last ally of Germany in Europe, Hungary, will also be put out of commission shortly. This will signify complete isolation of Hitlerite Germany in Europe and early catastrophe will follow inevitably.

The United Nations make a vic-

torious combination in the war against Hitlerite Germany. The war against Germany will be won by the United Nations. There can be no doubt at all on that score.

To win the war against Germany means to accomplish a great, historic task. But to win the war does not yet mean security to the peoples of the world in the future. The task is not only to win the war against Germany but also to make impossible the outbreak of new aggression and a new war, if not forever, at least for the duration of a considerable period.

After the defeat of Germany she will, of course, be disarmed, both in the economic and military-political respects. However, it would be naive to think that she will not attempt to restore her power and develop new aggression. It is known to all that the German leaders are already now preparing for a new war. History points to the fact that a short period—twenty or thirty years—is sufficient for Germany to recover from defeat and to restore her power.

How to Curb Aggression

What means are available to avert new aggression by Germany and, if war arises, to stifle it at its very beginning, without allowing it to develop into large-scale war? This question is the more appropriate because, as history shows, aggressive nations—nations that attack—are usually more prepared for a new war than peace-loving nations, which, not being interested in a new war, are usually too late in preparing for it.

This means that the aggressive nations in this war before the outbreak of war had an invasion army ready, while the peace-loving nations did not even have fully satisfactory armies at the crisis of mobilization.

It cannot be considered accidental that such unpleasant facts occurred as the incident at Pearl Harbor, the loss of the Philippines and the other islands in the Pacific Ocean, the loss of Hong Kong and Singapore, when Japan as an aggressive nation proved more prepared for war than Great Britain and the United States, an example of the advantage of an aggressive policy.

Neither can we consider accidental such an unpleasant fact as the loss of the Ukraine, White Russia and the Baltic regions during the very first year of war, when Germany, as an aggressive nation, proved more prepared for war than the peace loving Soviet Union.

It would be naive to explain these facts by the personal qualities of the Japanese and Germans, their superiority over the British, American and Russians, their foresight, etc. It is not a question of their personal qualities but of the fact that the aggressive nations, interested in a new war, as nations preparing for war over a long period and accumulating forces for this purpose usually are and must be—more prepared for war than peace loving nations who are not interested in a new war.

This is natural and comprehensible. This is, if you like, a law of history that cannot be denied.

It cannot be denied that in the future the peace loving nations may again find themselves taken unawares by aggression, of course, if they do not work out now special measures capable of averting aggression. What means are there for averting new aggression by Germany and, if war arises in spite of that, stifling it at its very beginning and not allowing it to develop into large scale war?

Means for This Purpose

There are such means for this purpose. Apart from complete disarmament of the aggressive nations there is only one means, namely, to create a special organization to defend peace and insure security, composed of representatives of the freedom-loving nations, to put at the disposal of the leading organ of such an organization the essential amount of armed force required to avert aggression, and to make it the duty of this organization, in case of necessity, to apply without delay these armed forces to avert or liquidate aggression, and to punish those guilty of aggression.

There must not be a repetition of the sad memory of the League of Nations, which did not have either the right or the means to avert aggression. It will be a new, specially empowered international organization with everything at its disposal to defend peace and avert a new war.

Can one reckon on the fact that the activity of this international organization will be sufficiently effective?

It will be effective if the great Powers, which have borne on their shoulders the main burden of the war against Germany, will act in future also in the spirit of unanimity and concord. It will not be effective if these essential conditions are violated.

Comrades! The Soviet people and the Red Army are successfully executing the tasks that have faced them during the patriotic war. The Red Army has worthily fulfilled its patriotic duty and liberated our motherland from the enemy.

Henceforth and forever our soil is free from the Hitlerite filth. Now the last, final mission remains for the Red Army, namely, to complete, together with the armies of our Allies, the task of defeating the German fascist armies, finishing off the fascist beast in his own lair, and raising over Berlin the banner of victory.

There is ground to reckon on this task being fulfilled by the Red Army in the near future.

Long live our victorious Red Army! Long live our glorious Navy! Long live the Soviet working people! Long live our great motherland! Death to the German fascist invaders!

Izvestia Scents GOP Plot

Russian Paper Warns of Fake Attempt on Gov. Dewey's Life

Moscow, Nov. 5 (AP).—Izvestia, Soviet government newspaper, in an article headlined, "The Election of President Roosevelt Is Guaranteed," said today there was a rumor that Republican interests were plotting a fake assassination attempt against Gov. Thomas E. Dewey to sway American voters.

(Governor Dewey, reached in Albany, had no comment to make on the Russian newspaper's story. President Roosevelt was in seclusion at his Hyde Park home.)

"One should not forget that history includes a number of such insolent, crude provocations, beginning with a faked document ascribed to Communists, which appear on the eve of parliamentary elections in some democratic countries up to the burning of the Reichstag in Germany," said Izvestia.

In an unsigned article of two columns long, the paper declared, "Never before in the history of the United States have observers on the eve of a presidential election been so sure of the results as they are now because so clear is the composition of forces supporting each of the two candidates. . . . The chances of the second candidate, Dewey, have been melting before one's eyes."

Izvestia said Republican hopes were dashed when preliminary data indicated the number of voters this year would at least equal the 50 million in 1940.

"At the beginning of the campaign the Republicans believed 30 million would be cast," the paper reported.

"Because of the unfavorable course of the election campaign the split increased in the Republican Party," it added, citing the pro-Roosevelt stand of Sen. Joseph H. Ball (R., Minn.).

Izvestia said "the New York Times and New York Herald Tribune also are against Dewey."

(The New York Times has supported President Roosevelt editorially, but the New York Herald Tribune has supported the candidacy of Governor Dewey.)

"Dewey attempted to divide himself from defeatist, isolationist conceptions and the most compromised pro-Fascist elements such as Hamilton Fish and Gerald K. Smith," the paper said, "but still the pro-Fascist, pro-German ties of those who formed the core of the Republican staff who financed Dewey's election campaign are well known."

Declares Dewey Betrayed

"The Hearst newspapers and the publications of McCormick, Patterson and Gannett carried on a campaign for Dewey and simultaneously this campaign was converted into a defeatest, even a pro-Hitlerite agitation," Izvestia asserted. "The support of these newspapers betrayed Dewey. Obviously his shattered position induced Dewey to resort to the old method of uttermost reaction—'scare people with the Communist danger.'"

"This hopeless attempt by the Republican Party is made to cover with scarecrow rags their own political nakedness and lack of a positive program to attract voters," the paper continued. "The investment of millions of dollars by Republican headquarters will not bring any political or economic interest.

"In circles of the Republican bosses a feeling of alarm reigns. They understand failure is imminent. Under these circumstances it is no wonder, according to rumors circulating among foreign correspondents, that the Republicans in despair might resort to a big adventure.

"According to these rumors, a fake 'plot' against Dewey is being prepared by the Republican Party with responsibility for the plot to be fixed on American Communists. The reason for this provocation is clear—to make millions of voters jump in a different direction.

"It has been reported this fake plot will be realized at the very last moment before election, with the purpose of leaving no time for denial or investigation."

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Communism

Russia - Pol. Mat.

THE WASHINGTON POST
Monday, Nov. 6, 1944

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Moscow Press Blast at Dewey Forecasts Roosevelt Election

Faked Assassination Plot on Governor To Get Votes Alleged by Soviets

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Izvestia reported rumors alleged to be circulating in United States press circles that Republicans might be planning to announce a faked attempt on Dewey's life and attribute it to Communists in a last-minute effort to win the election.

Reichstag Plot Recalled

Izvestia said that the Reichstag fire in 1933, which the Nazis blamed on the Communists, was a similar fake staged by Adolf Hitler as a pretext to seize absolute power in Germany.

"The campaign is going on in the midst of war while the best American sons are fighting against fascism in union with all freedom-loving peoples for peace and international co-operation," Izvestia said.

"Dewey tried to keep aloof from defeatist and isolationist ideas and the most compromised Fascist leaders such as Hamilton Fish and Gerald Smith.

Isolationists Named

"But the Fascist sympathies and German ties of those who constitute the Republican staff and those who finance Dewey are well known.

"Dewey was not careful enough not to reveal the names of those who in case of his victory would lead the Senate and House of Representatives.

"He named the well-known isolationists Vandenberg and Taft, one of the most reactionary leaders of the Republican party. (Senators Vandenberg (R.), of Michigan, and Taft (R.), of Ohio.)

"The Republicans failed with their political program with which they named their candidate for the presidency. (The Republican platform.) They tried to maneuver. First they tried to attract people's attention to domestic politics, saying foreign policy must be left outside the election campaign. But to exclude foreign policy from the campaign at the present time is less possible than ever. At a time when the greatest Army in the history of the United States has been formed, at a time when the entire industry of the country is working for war, questions of war and peace and international co-operation took the most important place in the campaign.

"Dewey tried to say in general terms that he was for victory but he had to answer such unpleasant questions as why he and his supporters in Congress tried in every way to block development of United States military strength.

"Dulles could not give him real help in this difficult position. Dulles himself had to look for explanations of his close connections with German banks. (John Foster Dulles, Dewey's adviser on foreign affairs.)

Dewey Supporters Assailed

"The Hearst-McCormick-Patterson-Gannett press campaigned for Dewey. Sometimes it was candidly defeatist. Sometimes it was a Hitlerite campaign.

"Evidently Dewey's chances were weak and that is why he decided to use the old method of the threat of Communist danger. Having addressed itself to the most reactionary elements of the Republican party the Dewey press opened a campaign against communism and against all those who are not going to vote for Dewey as Communists.

"Speculation on a Communist danger, as a matter of fact, was a helpless attempt by the Republicans to cover their political nakedness with a scarecrow's rage in the absence of an affirmative policy which could attract voters.

Communist Party - Russia

Russia - Int. Rel. - R

clipped from page 2 of the Washington Times-Herald Nov. 6, 1944

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Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Coffey
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Tracy
Mr. Mohr
Mr. Carson
Mr. Harbo
Mr. Hendon
Mr. Mumford
Mr. Jones
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Nease
Miss Gandy

Soviet Paper Predicts Election of F. D.; Flays Dewey Supporters

By United Press

MOSCOW, Nov. 6—The newspaper Izvestia said yesterday that the election of President Roosevelt was certain on the basis of polls of experts and at the same time it attacked the "groups" behind Gov. Dewey, asserting that the course of the campaign had shown they were not supported by the broad masses of the American people.

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NAMED VANDENBURG AND TAFT

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"The Republicans failed with their political program with which they named their candidate for the presidency. (The Republican platform.) They tried to maneuver. First they tried to attract people's attention to domestic politics, saying foreign policy must be left outside the election campaign. But to exclude foreign policy from the campaign at the present time is less possible than ever. At a time when the greatest army in the history of the United States has been formed, at a time when the entire industry of the country is working for war, questions of war and peace and international co-operation took the most important place in campaign.

'NO HELP FROM DULLES'

"Dewey tried to say in general terms that he was for victory but he had to answer such unpleasant questions as why he and his supporters in Congress tried in every way to block the development of U. S. military strength.

"Dulles could not give him real help in this difficult position. Dulles himself had to look for explanations of his close connections with German banks. (John Foster Dulles, Dewey's adviser on foreign affairs.)

OPEN ANTI-RED CAMPAGIN

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"Evidently Dewey's chances were weak and that is why he decided to use the old method of the threat of Communist danger. Having addressed itself to the most reactionary elements of the Republican Party the Dewey press opened a campaign against Communism and against all those who are not going to vote for Dewey as Communists.

"Speculation a Communist danger as a matter of fact, was a helpless attempt by the Republicans to cover their political nakedness with a scarecrow's rage in the absence of an affirmative policy which could attract voters."

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Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
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Mr. Coffey
Mr. Glavin
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Mr. Nichols
Mr. [illegible]
Mr. Tracy
Mr. Carson
Mr. Egan
Mr. Hendon
Mr. Pennington
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Nease
Miss Gandy

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MOSCOW REPORTS 'PLOT' TO AID DEWEY

Izvestia Tells of 'Rumors' of Fake Attempt on Life of the GOP Candidate

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

MOSCOW, Nov. 5—The newspaper Izvestia said today that President Roosevelt's re-election was assured and declared that there were rumors "current in some United States journalistic circles" that the Republicans, in a desperate effort to win votes, were preparing to carry out at the final hour a fake attempt on the life of Governor Dewey, the Republican Presidential candidate, the responsibility for which would be laid to American Communists.

[Nowhere in any newspaper published in the United States or, so far as is known, in any "journalistic circles" in the United States has any such rumor as Izvestia quotes as "current" been even hinted at, much less reported.]

The unsigned article, running for a column and a half in the official organ of the Supreme Soviet, end with these paragraphs:

"The Republican 'bosses' a worrying. They understand the i evitability of failure. Under thei circumstances it is no wonder thu among some journalist circles of America rumors are being spread that the Republicans, in desperation, are ready for some great trick.

"According to this information, in Republican headquarters they are preparing a synthetic 'attempt on Dewey' and organizers of it are going to put responsibility on American Communists. The meaning of this is quite clear—to make millions of voters support Dewey as a real protector and savior from the 'Red danger.'

"It is said that this 'attempt' is going to be staged in the last hour —in order that there may be no time for denials or examination.

"On one side, it is surely difficult to suppose the Republican party will really do such a trick. On the other hand it must not be forgotten that history knows many examples of this kind of impudent and rough trick—beginning with falsifications imputed to Communists on the eve of parliamentary elections in democratic countries up to setting fire to the Reichstag, as it was done in Germany.

"Would Not Be a Surprise"

"In any case, it would not be a surprise now if these tricks happened. Additionally, it would not increase Dewey's chances. On the contrary, it would undermine his position and disclose his real nature to people who still had some illusions about him."

The article evidenced anger at Governor Dewey's recent campaign speeches in which he attacked alleged Communist support given to President Roosevelt.

"The Republicans," Izvestia declared, "are conducting their campaign on the basis that all those who don't want to vote for Dewey are Communists."

This emphasis on the alleged "Communist danger," it added, was simply a "helpless Republican attempt to cover by shabby rags their own political nakedness, which would not attract voters." This type of campaign was not improving Governor Dewey's chances for election, Izvestia asserted, quoting as its authority The New York Post.

Confidence in President Roosevelt's re-election was evidenced throughout the article, which said that never in history had United States political observers been so confident of the outcome in advance of an election. Governor Dewey's chances had visibly melted away in the course of the campaign, the article asserted, and "can now be termed minimum."

Points to View of Roper

It quoted Elmo Roper, who conducts the public-opinion surveys for Fortune magazine, as predicting that 1,800,000 Willkie voters of 1940 would support President Roosevelt this year.

It told of "defections" from the Republican party, saying that these were headed by Senators Ball, Bartley and Crum, Mr. Crum being described as "Willkie's counsellor" in the campaign of 1940.

[Senator Joseph H. Ball, Minnesota Republican, has thrown his support to President Roosevelt on the basis of foreign policy. Mr. Crum is a San Francisco lawyer.]

Izvestia declared also that influential newspapers like THE NEW YORK TIMES and The New York Herald Tribune were "all against Dewey."

[THE NEW YORK TIMES has supported President Roosevelt, but The New York Herald Tribune has supported Governor Dewey.]

"Dewey's chances are so small not only because of the activity and growth of his opponents but first of all because of the political character of his adherents," Izvestia said.

It asserted that, for tactical reasons, Governor Dewey had shied away from the support of "compromised pro-Fascist elements like Hamilton Fish and Gerald L. K. Smith, but still the pro-Fascist sympathies and pro-German connections of those who comprise the center of Republican headquarters and who supply the finances for Dewey's electioneering campaign are widely known."

Governor Dewey had been unwise, Izvestia declared, in naming persons who would lead the House and Senate in the event of his election because the first ones he named were the "prominent isolationists Vandenberg and Taft [Senators Arthur H. Vandenberg of Michigan and Robert A. Taft of Ohio], members of the most reactionary group of the Republican party."

Governor Dewey tried to evade a specific declaration on foreign policy, Izvestia said, and tried to win votes on the general declaration that he "also was for victory," but this was unsuccessful and he faced the unpleasant question of why he and his adherents in Congress had tried with all possible means to put a brake on the de-

This is a clipping from page 15 of the New York Times for Nov. 6, 1944.
Clipped at the Seat of Government.

velopment of the United States war efforts. Governor Dewey could not get help from his foreign policy counselor, John Foster Dulles, because Mr. Dulles himself "had to look for explanation of the rather thorny accusation regarding his connections with German banks."

Dewey Declared Betrayed

MOSCOW, Nov. 5 (AP)—Izvestia, in its article today headed, "The Election of President Roosevelt Is Guaranteed," said that Republican hopes were dashed when preliminary data indicated the number of voters this year would at least equal the 50,000,000 in 1940.

"At the beginning of the campaign the Republicans believed 30,000,000 would be cast," it added.

After saying that "the pro-fascist, pro-German ties of Dewey backers were well known," Izvestia asserted:

"The Hearst newspapers and the publications of McCormick, Patterson and Gannet carried on a campaign for Dewey and simultaneously this campaign was converted into a defeatist, even a pro-Hitlerite agitation.

"The support of these newspapers betrayed Dewey. Obviously his shattered position induced Dewey to resort to the old method of uttermost reaction—'scare people with the Communist danger.'"

Hits Republican Platform

MOSCOW, Nov. 5 (U.P.)—The article in Izvestia today on the American election said:

"The Republicans failed with their political program with which they named their candidate for the Presidency. (The Republican platform.) They tried to maneuver.

"First they tried to attract people's attention to domestic politics, saying foreign policy must be left outside the election campaign. But to exclude foreign policy from the campaign at the present time is less possible than ever.

"At a time when the greatest Army in the history of the United States has been formed, at a time when the entire industry of the country is working for war, questions of war and peace and international cooperation took the most important place in the campaign.

"Dewey tried to say in general terms that he was for victory but he had to answer such unpleasant questions as why he and his supporters in Congress tried in every way to block development of United States military strength."

Article Called "Crazy"

WASHINGTON, Nov. 5 (AP)—Mrs. Eleanor Medill Patterson, owner-publisher of The Washington Times-Herald, termed "crazy" today the article in the Soviet newspaper Izvestia.

She commented:

"This crazy story, as quoted by The Associated Press, makes the close alliance between our present Administration and that of Mr. Stalin and the Communist party clearer than ever."

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

Clipped at the Seat of Government.

Russia's New Women

No other women have suffered so much or worked so hard. Now they have their reward.

By W. H. LAWRENCE

MOSCOW *(By Wireless)*.

SOVIET women are emerging from the war with new privileges, a new status and new dignity—all of which they have earned with more blood, sweat and tears, to use Winston Churchill's phrase, than the women of any other country on the face of the earth. It has been said before and it may be trite, but it is also true, that to the women of the Soviet Union in no small degree must be given full credit for saving this country from the mighty smash of the Germany Army.

Here to a greater extent than in any other country at war the women were actively fighting beside the men in turning back the invader. Still they fly fighter planes and bombers. They man machine guns and tommy guns. They serve as spies and partisans behind the enemy lines. And of course they are used also in the less glamorous but none the less essential jobs of transport and army housekeeping—preparing food, nursing the wounded and similar routine jobs, where by their presence they free an able-bodied man for front-line duty.

They constitute the overwhelming majority of the employes of factories and farms which have armed, supplied, fed and clothed the Red Army and the Russian people through more than three long years of bitter warfare, during which the Soviet Union's former primary industrial and agricultural regions were overrun by Nazi armies and new bases of supply had to be created. People who live in the United States and Britain know about the large amount of lend-lease aid in arms and food which their countries have given to their Russian ally, but the fact is that the greatest bulk of Russia's supplies, aside from front-line transport, where American machines predominate, have been home produced and most of the work has been done by women.

You see women, young and old, working on railways, driving trucks, loading supplies, and in the gray early hours of the coldest winter nights in Moscow you will see them literally in thousands, with small iron picks, cleaning the ice from the city's streets, a few square inches at a time. You see them in long lines waiting in front of the stores for many hours to buy a few hundred grams of bread or a liter of milk or a pair of shoes.

ON a higher level they predominate in the casts of Moscows' beautiful ballets, theatrical productions and symphony orchestras, which help to cheer up the Red Army personnel and the civilians behind the front who are fighting a desperate struggle for the salvation of their country. They have flocked by thousands into the innumerable Government offices which administer this centralized economy, taking the places of men who were called up for army duty.

This gives an idea of one type of the sacrifices they have made for victory. Other sacrifices from the over-all world point of view may not be so important, but Russian women, like women of all countries, like new clothes, leisure time to be with their children, ~~and other~~ advantages which a

(Continued on Page 41)

This is a clipping from page 22 of the New York Times MAGAZINE

Nov. 5, 1944

Clipped at the Seat of Government.

(Continued from Page 22)
normal peacetime life offers to a woman.

HERE in the midst of war they have for the most part gone without new clothes entirely. They have patched and mended their old ones and repaired their shoes time and time again. The materials which go into lipsticks and other cosmetics are needed for the more vital task of killing Germans, so they have for the most part gone without the beauty aids so indispensable to the happiness of women around the world.

In the twenty-five years since the Soviet Government was established they have progressed materially and it is clearly the desire of the State that they should have every opportunity to go farther.

It is, of course, a fact that for a long time women in the Soviet Union have enjoyed constitutionally equal rights with men, but it must be borne in mind that this is a pioneer country, not unlike the great western frontiers of the Northwest in the United States a century ago, where officials are bound to stress the "responsibilities" rather than the "privileges" of a citizen. And so Russian women, like the wives of the early homesteaders of the Kansas-Nebraska territory, have been expected to do work in the fields, to bear and raise their children and look after the house in their spare time, as it were.

But it is an undisputed fact with which the visitor here is early impressed that the women of the Soviet Union have been lifted well above the status they occupied thirty years ago and still occupy in some other parts of this section of the world. They have a new dignity and a new purpose in life. Their contribution to building up the Soviet State and toward aiding in its defense against powerful Germany is fully recognized by the Government leaders and they are disposed to give generous rewards for it in the future.

FOR one thing, there is the relation of the woman to her family—an affair of the heart which inevitably affects her entire outlook on life. In the earliest days of the Soviet Union marriage and divorce were easy, alimony, except for the care of the children, was almost unknown, and, even when children were involved, the amount was very small. But over a period of years, culminating in the decree of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet on July 8, there has been a great change in this attitude. New dignity is now given the marriage ceremony.

Divorce now is difficult and not inexpensive — it being necessary to go through a judicial procedure not unlike those of western European countries and certainly stiffer than that employed in divorce mills, such as Reno.

Of course, the greatest importance is placed here on the role

(Continued on Page 42)

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

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Clipped at the Seat of Government.

(Continued from Page 41)
of woman as mother, and it is certainly significant that, by a strictly enforced law, it is illegal to cast reflection upon a mother.

THIS decree, designed to encourage large families, sets up a high award, "mother hero," for a woman with ten living children—an award which includes not only a fancy medal but, by normal peacetime standards, a handsome cash award as a bonus. Again there are special monthly allowances for women with two or more children. There is even a special bonus for unmarried mothers, who have the right to place their children in an institution during the early period of life and to reclaim them later.

The Soviet Union has always been proud of the special paid vacations which it awards by law to pregnant women—the standard being thirty-six days before childbirth and forty-two days afterward.

But the most significant change, so far as the happiness of women who want to bring up their own families is concerned, is the new trend in Soviet housing policy. In every discussion of the development of a new industrial city or the reconstruction of one which has been devastated by the Germans the greatest emphasis is placed upon the construction of privately owned one and two family dwellings, which may be financed by a long-term loan from the Soviet Government. Construction of these dwellings on ground belonging to the Government, but with the structure belonging to the individual, undoubtedly will run into hundreds of thousands of units in the postwar period and doubtless will serve to bring the family closer together.

This is important recognition of the fact that here, as in every other country, war, with the prospect of sudden death, has served to intensify family ties. This, too, has played a part in the emergence of the Russian Orthodox Church as a more influential element in Soviet life—and it is the observation of this correspondent that Russian church congregations today are predominantly women.

ALL that is recounted above is, of course, only a part of the picture, but it is enough to suggest that the future for Soviet women will be rosier than the past. This is not to suggest that in the great job of healing the nation's war wounds and building for the future they will not have to do their full share, but it is a forecast that the conditions under which they will work and live will be easier, and their personal dignity and the respect they enjoy will, as a result, increase.

It is right that this should be so, for in war and in peace they have earned the right to a better life and to the respect not only of Russia but of the whole world.

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

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Clipped at the Seat of Government.

RUSSIANS LACK FOOD

Will Need Aid for Three Years, U. S. Official Says

WASHINGTON, Nov. 4 (U.P.)—Russia's food situation is "unbelievably difficult" and the Soviet Union will need United States food imports for at least three years after the end of the European war, Lieut. Col. Ralph W. Olmstead, deputy war food administrator, said today.

Colonel Olmstead, who has just returned from a two-month Government mission to Russia and England to determine their post-war food needs, said most of the Russian populace existed today on a diet of black bread, boiled potatoes and cabbage.

Next year Russia will take all the food this country can supply and for which shipping space can be found, he said, adding that the Russians could use ten times as much as they now receive if ships were available.

Colonel Olmstead said Britain, where he found the diet lacking in variety and quality but "adequate," would need food imports after the war at about the present level. These, he said, could be supplied either by the United States, British colonies or both.

This is a clipping from page 5 of the New York Times for

Nov. 5, 1944

Clipped at the Seat of Government.

U. S.-Russian Clash Stymies Traffic Parley

By Frederick Kuh

(Copyright, 1944, by Chicago Sun and Field Publications)

LONDON, Nov. 4.—A basic conflict of views between the U. S. and Soviet Governments has already created a deadlock and is threatening failure of an international conference now being held in London, this writer learned today. And Britain is backing the U. S. A.

The purpose of the conference, attended by delegates of 12 powers and several observers, is to set up an entirely novel organization for regulating all of Europe's inland transport—on the waterways, railroads and transports. It opened here Oct. 10.

The U. S. delegate, Robert Hooker, Jr., assistant to Adolf Berle in the State Dept., has proposed that the new organization shall possess executive power, even if that involves a certain sacrifice of national sovereignty.

Sweeping Authority

This means that the projected body would wield sweeping authority over inland transport throughout Europe up to the Soviet frontier.

"Every member of the government," according to the U. S. scheme, "shall put into effect the recommendations of the organization."

The Soviet delegation, led by Maj. Gen. Obydin, is strongly opposing this conception. Russia is against anything like a "Pan-European ministry of transport" as the Soviet critics privately describe the plan.

They demand that the new body's authority shall be wholly consultative and advisory—more in the character of a research institution. The Russians suggest that their motive is to safeguard the rights of small nations.

Yugoslavia Opposes

Representatives of all nations at the conference, however, with the single exception of Yugoslavia, are supporting the U. S. plan.

After the conference opened, it began holding three or four plenary sessions weekly while U. S. British and Russian representatives met daily. The conference has now failed to meet for one week while the "Big Three" have suspended their meetings during the past two weeks.

Observers who had been attending the sessions include representatives of Supreme Allied Headqaurters, the Allied Mediterranean Command, the Allied Commission for Italy, the Allied Control Commission for Romania and the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration.

This is a clipping from page 11 of the New York Times for Nov. 5, 1944
Clipped at the Seat of Government.

LITHUANIAN SEES NATION DOMINATED

Zadeikis Charges 'Liberation' by Russians Brings Return of 1940 'Persecution'

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

WASHINGTON, Nov. 2—The "liberation" of Lithuania has virtually turned the country "from Axis enslavement into a new domination by the Soviet invader," Povilas Zadeikis, the Lithuanian Minister, declares in a note left with the State Department.

The note, given to the Eastern European Division of the department yesterday, charges the Russians in Lithuania with "illegally claiming Lithuanian territory for self-aggrandizement, disregarding the people's right to Lithuanian citizenship, ignoring the people's genuine will for complete independence, sidetracking application of the Atlantic Charter, bringing back the discredited Paleckis puppet regime, and disturbing the people by a system of political persecutions."

The State Department took the note under consideration and had not comment to make on it today.

In a statement to the press Mr. Zadeikis observed that, "because of the Allied (Soviet) victories and of the continuous resistance of the Lithuanian people, the German occupation of Lithuania, including the Memel territory, has nearly ended." He said the Russians had reintroduced "the Sovietization decrees of 1940-41" and as instances of political persecution he mentioned "imprisonments, deportations to Siberia and executions without trial."

"As the accredited representative of the Lithuanian Government, acting on behalf of my people, I have therefore voiced my protest against the present trend of affairs in my country," the statement said.

Estonia Reported Sovietized

By GEORGE AXELSSON

By Wireless to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

STOCKHOLM, Sweden, Nov. 2—Officials of Soviet Estonia of 1940-41 are back on their jobs, according to an Estonian newspaper man, Oscar Maend, who has just wled to Sweden. Thus Johannes Vares is once more president of the Estonian Supreme Soviet Council, the foreign commissar Franz Kruus, who was acting premier for a few months during the first Soviet rule until named as a professor at Dorpat University, and an Estonian named [illegible] installed as chief police official, Mr. Maend [illegible]

The "free Estonian" government proclaimed by Tallinn nationalists on Sept. 20, and headed by Premier Otto Kiaer, is in hiding, he said. Some of its members are believed to have fled to Sweden.

Mr. Maend, who was acting managing editor of Tallinn's largest newspaper, the Paevaleht, until it was banned in turn by the Russians and the Germans, said the Russians have mobilized the Estonian classes of 1908 to 1926, inclusive, and sent them to Russia for military training. Four thousand Estonians are clearing debris in Tallinn, and other cities wrecked by air raids. Thousands wait to work for lack of transportation. [illegible] cilities. [illegible]

Railroads and mail services have been taken over by the Russians, and Soviet officials have arrived in Tallinn in great numbers, according to Mr. Maend. Numerous arrests are made daily among elements considered anti-Russian. The Russians have plastered the cities with posters telling about Nazi atrocities. Privately owned radio sets are said to have been seized by the Russians, who have installed loudspeakers in public places for the dissemination of Moscow-approved news.

There is not much difference between Russian and German rule, Mr. Maend declared, with the exception that the Russians are not sucking the country dry as the Nazis did. On the contrary, they are bringing in raw materials.

The food situation has already improved—the bread ration has been increased to 300 grams daily, against 120 under the Germans. Agrarian reforms introduced by the Russians have been resumed with certain modifications. In principle, a peasant cannot own more than thirty hectares of land. New farms may have a maximum of twelve hectares, against six allowed in 1940, and farmers who have helped the Russians receive up to eighteen hectares. Those who have aided the Germans may keep only five to seven hectares. The collective farm system has been reintroduced, and the formation of new collective farms is encouraged.

Nazi rule was marked by corruption and ruthlessness, Mr. Maend declared. During the occupation anything could be had for money or liquor, he said, and graft among the Nazi officials was widespread. During the chaotic conditions just prior to the Germans' retreat from Tallinn, all political prisoners held by the Nazis, including Mr. Maend, were liberated by Estonian Partisans.

The last thing one Estonian officer did before fleeing to Sweden on Sept. 21, was to hoist the Estonian flag atop the City Hall tower and lock the door to the tower. He brought the key with him to Sw[illegible]

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

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Clipped at the Seat of Government.

RUSSIA GETS DESERTERS

Finland Also Turns Over Two 'War Criminal' Generals

By Wireless to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

STOCKHOLM, Sweden, Nov. 1 —Eight hundred Russian deserters in Finland have been handed over to Russia at the request of the Allied Control Commission, it was disclosed here today.

Of fofty-four war criminals on the first Russian list thirty-three have been arrested. Among them were Gen. Aaro Pajari and Maj. Gen. Vaine Palojärvi, according to a report from the Finnish capital.

Russia

This is a clipping from page 5 of the New York Times for

Nov. 2, 1944

Clipped at the Seat of Government.

Editor of Izvestia Changed by Soviet

By the Associated Press.

MOSCOW, Dec. 2.—The Presidium of the Supreme Soviet today changed the editor of Izvestia, the No. 2 Russian newspaper. L. F. Ilichev replaced L. K. Roginsky.

Izvestia was best known recently to the American public for its article two days before the United States presidential election charging the Republicans were plotting a fake assassination attempt against Gov. Thomas E. Dewey to be blamed on the Communists.

Russian

Wash. STAR
Dec. 2. 1944

Red Rise Seen Cloud Over Postwar U.S.

Expect Many Nations To Go Communist

By ARTHUR SEARS HENNING

The biggest cloud on America's economic horizon, in the opinion of conservative officials and economists, is the advance of communism in Europe aided and abetted by Russian military and political power.

Already Russia is setting up dominated governments in the countries of eastern Europe liberated from Nazi rule by Russian arms. Already strong Communist parties instigated by Moscow have arisen in Italy, France, and Belgium and are maneuvering formidably for control of their governments.

Stalin Replacing Hitler

The prospect is that with the end of the war in Europe the United States will find that a large part of that continent, economically considered, merely will have exchanged Hitler's brand for Stalin's Communist brand of totalitarianism. Private enterprise will be replaced by public ownership and operation of the means of production and exports and imports will be government controlled.

One of the arguments pressed for American intervention in the European war was that "we could not do business with Hitler." The Nazi government subsidized exports and undersold American manufacturers and merchants in foreign markets. There was no profit in selling to Germans, for the Nazis controlled imports and bought on their own terms.

The same controls obtain under Communist totalitarianism. The same impediments to American foreign trade may be expected in the Communist-dominated Russian sphere of influence stretching from central, if not western, Europe to the Pacific Ocean, a vast area that will be self-sufficient in time in almost all raw materials and manufactured products.

Britain May Be Tainted

Indications are not wanting that even Great Britain may be tinged economically and politically with communism in the not distant future. Under the Churchill government the Communists, including their press, are being repressed. Just how strong they are will not be known until there is a parliamentary election, which has not been permitted for a decade.

The predilection evinced by British industrialists for cartels and government control of business is pronounced by disciples of free private enterprise, a straw showing that the wind in Britain is blowing in the direction of totalitarianism.

The British Government, however, has displayed great apprehension of the rise of a great group of Communist-dominated nations headed by Russia in eastern Europe and is maneuvering to found a balance of power on a British-led western European bloc.

Due to British Fears

The failure of the League of Nations to check the military renaissance of Germany was due partly to such British apprehensions in the twenties and thirties and partly to a British design to prevent French domination of Europe. To hold back the Russian Communists and the French, Britain fostered a strong Germany.

In the United States also totalitarianism has made great advances under President Roosevelt's New Deal, which is a combination of fascism and communism. Government controls of agriculture and business under more than a decade of New Deal legislation and administration have provided the foundation on which the Communists of America, following the Moscow party line, are steadily moving to erect a political and economic structure on the Russian model.

By virtue of their successful drive for the re-election of Mr. Roosevelt to a fourth term, Earl Browder's Communists and Sidney Hillman's Communist-dominated CIO Political Action Committee have become a formidable political force in the United States.

They are well intrenched in the Administration, which has successfully resisted all efforts of Congress to evict them. They are stronger than ever in Congress, Hillman claiming his P.A.C. was instrumental in the return of nearly half the Senators elected and of nearly one-fourth of the House.

While Americans who cherish the preservation of free private enterprise for profit as the cornerstone of our economic system are opposed no less to fascism than to communism, the American Communists devote themselves to fighting fascism alone (or have since Hitler attacked Russia), while promoting the objectives of Russian Dictator Stalin in Europe, Asia and America.

Implements of their operations are the Russian subsidized Daily Worker and other Communist organs, the Communist Political Association, which was formed when Browder dissolved the Communist party and declared for the fourth term, the American Labor party and the CIO-P.A.C. As America is not yet totalitarian, Browder, who was freed from the penitentiary by Mr. Roosevelt, and his fellow Communists are allowed to operate as Moscow propagandists with a freedom that never would be permitted American propagandists in Russia.

Poland First Victim

Poland was the first victim of the new line of attack. Though he had subscribed to the pledges of national self-determination in the Atlantic Charter and the Moscow agreement Stalin proceeded to annex the eastern half of Poland in the wake of his conquering armies. He was all ready with a Polish government, formed in Russia of Polish Communists, and set it up at Lublin.

This Russian-dominated government of eastern Poland proceeded at once to confiscate estates and establish state socialism. According to Polish officials in exile the price of opposition to the new regime in eastern Poland was deportation or "liquidation."

Stalin has been taking his time in freeing Poland of the Germans while seeking to maneuver the Polish government in exile into acceptance of the east Polish boundary he has decreed and a Russian-dominated government of western Poland and the German territory he purposes to hand over to the Poles.

With the help of Churchill, Stalin has crowded the Poles close to acceptance of his terms. Under the Russian program Communism is to be the economic system of Poland.

In like manner Stalin has achieved domination of Finland which is in process of receiving the Communist gospel. In the Baltic States Communism has followed the Russian flag as they have been annexed in the wake of the retreating Germans. According to the Lithuanian legation in exile here thousands of people in Lithuania have been executed or deported for resisting the confiscation of their property and other applications of the tenets of state Socialism.

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Coffey
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Tracy
Mr. Mohr
Mr. Carson
Mr. Harbo
Mr. Hendon
Mr. Mumford
Mr. Jones
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Nease
Miss Gandy

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ARMY-NAVY JOURNAL CRITICIZED BY PRAVDA

LONDON, Dec. 3 (AP)—The official Communist party newspaper Pravda, in an article broadcast tonight by the Moscow radio, denounced the semi-official American Army-Navy Journal as "ugly looking" and accused it of "supplying pro-Hitlerite journalists with material."

The article said John O'Donnell, New York Daily News columnist, had reported that military decisions made at Teheran were not being fulfilled. This, Pravda said, was untrue.

"It appears," said Pravda, "that the source of O'Donnell's inspiration is the American magazine Army and Navy Journal, which states that the strategy worked out at Teheran is not being fulfilled. This journal looks ugly. It is a journal which should, it would seem, inspire American soldiers, but which in fact permits itself to make unworthy onslaught against the Soviet Union and supply pro-Hitlerite journalists with material."

Russia

This is a clipping from page 4 of the New York Times for

Dec. 4, 1944

Clipped at the Seat of Government.

SPAIN, PORTUGAL SCORED

Russian Declares That They Keep Up Exports to Germany

MOSCOW, Dec. 3 (Reuter)—A Pravda foreign observer charged today that Spain and Portugal, "despite their alleged neutrality," had increased deliveries of raw materials to Germany by one-third as against 1941."

He added that the Spanish Government had continued wolfram exports to Germany until the Summer of 1944 at the rate of about 200 tons a month, which was more than in 1942 and 1943, despite a promised six month embargo. Spain, he alleged, exported to Germany arms, munitions, citrus, wool, cotton and textiles and despite hard food conditions at home, annually sent Germany about 250,000 tons of foodstuffs.

He accused the Portuguese of exporting 2,500 to 3,000 tons of wolfram a year in 1942 and 1943 to Germany and sending to her other war making materials. Portuguese exports to Germany continued in 1944, although they were cut down, he asserted. "Portugal also granted credits to Germany and canceled all German debts for 1943," he declared.

This is a clipping from page 12 of the New York Times for

Dec. 4, 1944

Clipped at the Seat of Government.

RUMANIAN PLANTS MOVED TO RUSSIA

Machinery, Other Equipment Owned by Germans Is Taken Under Armistice Terms

By C. L. SULZBERGER

By Wireless to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

LONDON, Dec. 3—Soviet authorities in Rumania have already begun removing to Russia heavy machinery and other equipment from that recently defeated former Axis satellite.

This transfer of equipment and material from the vanquished to the victor is proceeding under the terms of the armistice, under which Rumania not only quit the Hitler line-up but also joined forces with the United Nations against the Germans and Hungarians.

It is reliably reported that oil refinery equipment from the Ploesti and Campina districts is being taken as well as parts of other factories. Foreign Secretary Anthony Eden assured the House of Commons last week that the British Government was keeping a close watch on the removal of machinery.

German Property Extensive

Under the armistice terms Russia obtained the right to seize German properties in Rumania to improve war production and to make amends for the enormous damage done by the Nazis in the Soviet Union. These German properties are extensive because under Adolf Hitler's scheme to turn Europe into a colony providing raw materials for the industrial Reich a great many Rumanian and non-German foreign holdings in Rumania were bought by Nazis through manipulations by expert financial swindlers under Walther Funk, German Commissioner General for Economy, and Dr. Karl Clodius, trade expert of the German Foreign Office.

A series of joint German-Rumanian companies was established, with the Nazis frequently contributing machinery that Germany could spare instead of capital as their share in the investment.

The Russians are legally in a position to take over all such equipment. Whether much purely Rumanian industrial machinery is being removed in the form of reparations cannot be ascertained here.

One difficult problem is the ownership of stock in many oil properties that originally was held by Allied concerns and shifted in a series of complicated transactions. Some finally was taken over by German interests. Whether these will be considered German holdings or will revert to the original owners has not been decided.

Czechoslovak sources here said the Soviet Government had placed a port in Bessarabia at the disposal of Czechoslovak forces for military and relief shipments.

This is a clipping from page 10 of the New York Times for Dec. 4, 1944
Clipped at the Seat of Government.

NEW ALIGNMENT IN BALKANS SEEN

Yugoslavia and Bulgaria Held Likely to Dominate Whole Area With Russian Aid

By A. C. SEDGWICK

By Wireless to The New York Times.

BARI, Italy, Dec. 2 (Delayed)—Yugoslavia and Bulgaria, enemies in two World Wars, are now bound in fledgling friendship, the solidarity of which, based on their common Slav affiliation, may make it possible for them, with Russia's blessing, to dominate the entire Balkan Peninsula.

The Yugoslavs and the Bulgarians are pursuing the common foe together. The Bulgarians are led by officers known to have been friendly to Yugoslavia in the past. Changes have been made in the Bulgarian Army to cleanse it of the elements that recently occupied Yugoslav territory.

While the Bulgaria of the Fatherland Front is putting its best foot forward, the policy of the National Army of Liberation is directed toward bringing the recent foe into the good graces of the Yugoslavs and helping a beaten nation to forget its own culpability and regain the prestige that it forfeited.

With the Constitution of Yugoslav Macedonia as a sovereign state within the Yugoslav federal government, many foresee a possible future merger with Bulgarian Macedonia as a step toward a general federation including both Yugoslavia and Bulgaria. There are also indications that Greek Macedonia, including Salonika, will be invited to forswear its well-established Greek allegiance.

The Communist party of Greece, with an "international" outlook, is certainly not averse to seeing Macedonia form part of a Soviet Balkan system and pave the way for the future inclusion of other Greek territories. Meanwhile Greeks of non-Communist leanings regard any surrender of Greek territory with horror, apprehensive of the growing Slavic bloc to the north. Their fears increase with supposed indications that Enver Hoxha, President of the Albanian Government and Commander in Chief of the Albanian Army, might seek to make common cause with his neighbors to the east, or under certain foreseen conditions, place his nation definitely within the orbit of the Slavic powers.

The text of an interview granted by Marshal Tito to a Bulgarian journalist, Stoyan Kroeff, is now available and clarifies the present official Yugoslav attitude to dul-Bulgaria. Marshal Tito said: "The new democratic federal Yugoslavia will do her best to create close collaboration and friendship with the other Balkan States and, in the first place, with brotherly Bulgaria. [illegible] collaboration will guarantee the elimination of any possible revival of the old dissentions in the Balkans.

"This collaboration will be realized because all the Balkan peoples want it and because the conditions necessary for its realization have been created through the elimination of all anti-national regimes and their replacement by authentic representation of the people in every Balkan country."

AMERICAN PLANTS LOSE IN RUMANIA

But Russians Are Expected to Make Settlement for Material Taken as Reparations

13

By PERTINAX

WASHINGTON, Dec. 5—Because of the removal of 26,000 tons of machinery and material from Rumanian oil fields to Russia, the weekly output of oil has fallen to 500,000 or 600,000 gallons instead of 2,600,000 gallons.

The Moscow Government acts on the principle that Russia's industrial production must be reestablished within the shortest time and that all other considerations are of secondary importance. To replace what was destroyed or carried away by the invaders, German properties of every description are being seized.

On behalf of British and American interests, which were powerfully entrenched in Rumanian oil fields, it is argued that they ought not to suffer because of reparation. Those interests are claiming ownership of part of the machinery transported to Russia. Though the machinery may have come from Germany it was paid for by British and American funds.

A compromise is likely. Inquiries are in progress to clear titles. However, little of the materiél removed to Russia will be returned to the Ploesti and Campina oil fields. Other means will be found to meet legitimate claims.

The argument that reparations ought not to be blindly exacted, that all general and local repercussions ought to be carefully weighted beforehand, is not likely to impress the Russians. The plea put forward on behalf of Rumanian agriculture and its requirements of gasoline did not prove very impressing.

Reparations are to the Russians an unconditional imperative. Bankers, who in the 1920's, could not resist an attractive rate of interest—and made short-term loans to the Weimar Republic only to discover that they had financed German rearmament, have not much chance left to ever come into their

In the Moscow conference, attended last year by Secretary of State Cordell Hull, the Russians toook gerat care to state that from reparations they expected Russians' living conditions to rise above the Germans' in conformity to the dictates of justice.

Russian

This is a clipping from page 13 of the New York Times for Dec. 6, 1944
Clipped at the Seat of Government.

RED ARMY CALLED WORLD'S GREATEST

Is Most Powerful and One of Best Trained, Soviet General Writes in U. S. Journal

WASHINGTON, Dec. 5—A comprehensive survey of the Soviet Union's war achievements on land and sea and in the air is given in a series of articles by Russian military and naval specialists to be published in the number of the Army and Navy Journal that is to appear Thursday.

Maj. Gen. G. Isayeff of the Soviet General Staff sets forth no less a claim than that "the Red Army is undoubtedly the most powerful and one of the best trained armies in the world."

In analyzing the causes of the Red Army's reaching so high a stage in the art of war, General Isayeff points to the steady progress made by Russian military science throughout the period between the wars, and he especially stresses the fact that the Soviet Union did not overemphasize the use of one type of weapon at the expense of others, but "built its armed forces on the doctrine of consistent development of all modern means of war and the mastery of every up-to-date method of warfare."

"Very important, too," he writes, "was the fact that as early as the Twenties the Red Army made substantial advances in development of the theory of deep battles and deep operations. In its essentials this theory provides for the simultaneous reduction, not only tactically but also operationally, in depth of the enemy's defenses with all available means and also for developing tactical break-throughs into operational ones with the object of reaching open ground before the enemy is able to bring up strong reserves to the sector where the breach was effected.

"The present war shows that this pre-war theory was sound and effective."

General Isayeff cites particularly the Russians' use of tanks, claiming that the Red Army's "Thirty-four" is still the best of modern tanks. He emphasizes, too, the development of heavy artillery, which enabled the Red Army in the 1943-44 campaign to blast "iron and concrete forttifications ninety-five kilometers in depth at the rate of nine to ten kilometers a day."

The Soviet Union has attained air superiority over the Luftwaffe, writes Lieut. Gen. Nikolai Zhuravleff, by the mass training of higher pilots and by the success of Soviet industry, "plus the aid in planes by Great Britain and the United States."

Adolf Hitler made a major blunder in underestimating the strength of the Soviet Union's Navy, according to Rear Admiral I. Eliseyeff, who describes the Russians' secret building of a submarine fleet second to none in 1939 and the role played by Soviet marines and navy vessels in the defense of Odessa, Hangos, Tallin, Sevastopol and Leningrad.

"The war in the Soviet maritime theatres," writes Admiral Eliseyeff, "has been of a peculiar character. There have been no big naval engagements of the usual brief duration, followed by prolonged lulls. The war at sea has gone on unceasingly without rest or pause. This stubborn struggle prevented the evacuation of the German troops from the Crimea, the Baltic and Norwegian ports, systematically harassed the enemy's communications and carried on ceaseless submarine, air and mine warfare."

In a special article on "Shipbuilding in the USSR," A. Kreps of he People's Commissariat of the Shipbuilding Industry tells the story of the secret Red Navy's construction.

Russia

This is a clipping from page 12 of the New York Times for Dec. 6, 1944

Clipped at the Seat of Government.

RUSSIA TO ATTEND LABOR CONFERENCE

Voices No Protest at Presence of Neutrals as She Did at Chicago Air Parley

By CLIFTON DANIEL
By Wireless to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

LONDON, Dec. 7—Although the Soviet Union boycotted the Chicago Air Conference because of presence there of Swiss, Swedish and Spanish delegates, it has not objected to having representatives of neutral countries attend the World Trades Union Conference scheduled for London Feb. 6. Sir Walter Citrine, secretary of the British Trades Union Congress, said today that invitations to the conference had been accepted by Sweden, Switzerland and Ireland and by the exiled Spanish Trade Union organizations in Mexico and Great Britain.

An invitation was not extended to Spain, Sir Walter said, because "we couldn't possibly invite any organization operating under Fascist dictatorship." Argentina also was excluded "because the situation is so clouded."

Neutrals' Rights Outlined

Delegates of the neutral countries, Sir Walter said, will be admitted as observers to the discussions of the furtherance of the Allies' war effort and the attitude of trade unions toward the peace settlement and can participate in the deliberations on the three other subjects on the tentative agenda. These subjects are the basis for a world trade union federation, immediate trade union demands for the post-war period and the problems of post-war reconstruction.

Sir Walter outlined the position of the neutrals at a press conference at which he and the American and Russian representatives reported on the results of the three-day meeting of the preparatory committee that drafted the recommendations for the World Trade Union Conference procedure.

Both the American and Russian representatives remarked on the speed and unanimity with which the preparatory committee reached its decisions.

Sidney Hillman, chairman of the Congress for Industrial Organization Politicafl Action Committee, said: "It is remarkable how these representatives of three United Nations think alike on the problems of the moment." He said he had expected the committee to sit for ten days, instead of three, and that he now had time for a trip to France if he deemed it worthwhile.

Leutignel Sidorenko, secretary of the Soviet Trade Union's Central Council said the statement of the committee's accomplishments "shows how unanimous we were."

The committee confined itself to recommendations on procedure and did not concern itself with the merits of the questions to be discussed. The method of voting in the forthcoming conference itself seems calculated to maintain that unanimity on general principles that characterized the committee's deliberations. Conference decisions will be by "general consent," but Sir Walter said a definition of this term had not been reached.

The committee expects 150 delegates, representing forty national trade union organizations in some thirty countries, to attend the conference. It is still hoped that the American Federation of Labor and the United Mine Workers of America will reconsider their decision not to participate.

Prime Minister Churchill will address the conference. Delegates of the United States, Britain and the Soviet Union will make the opening discussion of the Allies' war effort. Philip Murray, president of the CIO, will open the discussion of the world trade union federation, while Sir Walter will introduce the three other subjects.

The conference is scheduled to sit for fifteen days.

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This is a clipping from page 14 of the New York Times for Dec. 8, 1944
Clipped at the Seat of Government.

PRAVDA CHARGES WHITE LIED IN BOOK

Calls 'Report on the Russians' Fascist Stew—Contrasts His Views With Johnston's

By W. H. LAWRENCE

By Wireless to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

MOSCOW, Dec. 9—The Communist party newspaper Pravda charged today that William L. White, correspondent for The Reader's Digest, had violated Soviet hospitality and confidence as the traveling companion of Eric Johnston, president of the United States Chamber of Commerce, and written a book about Russia that is the "usual standard production of a Fascist kitchen with all its smells, calumny, unpardonable ignorance and ill-conceived fury."

The review of the book, "Report on the Russians," was written by Pravda's No. 1 satirist, David Zaslavsky, who summed up Mr. White's conclusions as follows:

"The Soviet people cannot work, are deprived of their [personal] independence, have nothing of their own in industrial techniques and merely imitate American models."

Here, Mr. Zaslavsky said, Mr. White "just chews the old Fascist chewing gum."

The Soviet writer compared the reactions of Messrs. Johnston and White. He recalled Mr. Johnston's Moscow speech soon after his arrival, in which, Mr. Saslavsky said, the American business man proclaimed that he far from liked everything and did not understand everything he saw in the Soviet Union. This address, Mr. Saslavsky said, was "rather unusual but polite" and one in which Mr. Johnston dealt with the Soviet Union as an allied country.

Then, the Soviet writer continued, Mr. Johnston traveled around the Soviet Union, taking Mr. White with him to see the same places. When Mr. Johnston returned to the United States his opinions about Russia were well received in America, Mr. Saslavsky wrote, because there was a desire in them to judge the Soviet people without prejudice.

Mr. White, Pravda's expert said, has written just the contrary of Mr. Johnston's speeches and writings.

Johnston related that he had met many Soviet people—directors of plants, engineers and workers, Mr. Zaslavsky continued. "They all spoke to him freely and sincerely. They all helped him to learn about our country, its achievements and the prospects of its industry.

"White wrote as if he had never met any Soviet men at all. One can only think that everywhere he met someone like himself. It would be more correct to think, though, that everywhere he spoke to himself alone. His own voice full of hatred for the Soviet Union, he then presented it as the voice of some non-existing Soviet citizens."

In violating Russian hospitality and confidence, Mr. White also cheated Mr. Johnston, who trusted him, Mr. Zaslavsky wrote. But Pravda's reviewer proposed to be unconcerned about the White book. He said that the area of the "unpunished Fascist lie" is coming to an end and would not penetrate to its point.

"The truth about the Soviet Union penetrates to America, despite all the efforts of Fascist agitators," Mr. Zaslavsky said. "White's book reveals not the features of the Soviet country but the features of the worst section of the American press. These are not good features."

Likened Conditions to Prison

In The Reader's Digest which, according to The Associated Press, permitted quotation from the book condensation, Mr. White said that he had found "one marked difference between inmates of the Soviet Union and of the Kansas State Penitentiary, where I have often visited an old friend."

"Food and clothing in both places are about the same, maybe a little better in Lansing," he said. "But should my Kansas friend decide that his penitentiary was not well run, and express the hope that there might be a change of wardens, he would run no danger of being shot if he were overheard by a stool pigeon."

In the Soviet Union, Mr. White wrote, "competition with the State is outlawed, hence inefficiency is protected. The people accept it because they know nothing better. * * * Over everything rests the dull, unimaginative hand of a bureaucracy which produces only a dreary mediocrity."

Russia

N. Y. Times
Dec. 10, 1944
p. 34

British Point of View

Contrast Seen in Our Attitude Toward Two Allies

The writer of the following letter is an author and lecturer, who was knighted in 1931 and won the Nobel Peace Prize in 1933. He has been a member of the Council of the Royal Institute of International Affairs since 1928 and co-president of the Comité Mondial Contre la Guerre et la Fascism.

To the Editor of The New York Times:

How are we to explain the striking contrast between the attitude of this country toward Britain compared with that which it takes toward Russia? To appreciate the significance of this contrast, as it must appear to Englishmen, certain facts are to be kept in mind, not as the basis of censure to our Russian ally but as the ground for at least equal indulgence to the British ally.

They are such facts as that Britain is America's ally against Japan, which Russia is not; that when Italy delivered the stab in the back to Britain in the shape of great armies in Africa which had to be beaten, and were Britain itself was in mortal danger of invasion; that in that situation Russ was not merely neutral but was Hler's semi-ally, partner in the partit of Poland.

Russia's Actions

Furthermore, that since the eginning of the war Russia has unilaterally, by her own fiat, completely revised the settlement made by the Allies after the first World War, not only in respect of Polish frontiers but by the simple extinction of three independent states, making herself sole judge of the justice of these changes; has deported immense numbers of the people of those states to Arctic regions; has objected, not to this or that member of Polish Governments but to the whole Polish Government as it existed before the war; broke diplomatic relations with it; set up a Polish Government of its own; executed Polish Jewish Socialists on charges which very many in the West believed to be untrue.

Nothing in all this provoked a single audible protest whatsoever from the American Government, while the most prominent of the Leftist press in America referred to this long succession of incidents only in the gentlest whispers.

Britain's record includes no features which correspond to those of Russian policy just cited. But she has expressed, probably unwisely, objection to one member of the Government of the country, yesterday an enemy, whose armies she had to fight in the hour of her most desperate peril. Russia did not have to fight Polish armies.

"Diplomatic Bombing"

But this one step was the signal for a diplomatic bombing of Britain whose nerves in the sixth year of war are perhaps a bit taut due to another kind of bombing, which has been heard around the world. To an official blame more severe than that administered to any other member of the thirty-five United Nations, much of the Leftist press of this country adds its quota of condemnation, of a violence never at any stage meted out to Russia.

This contrast constitutes a message not only to Britain but to Russia; and not only to Russia, but to the Communist parties, or other parties of violence which exist in every country, and whose members believe with passionate sincerity that the road to the brave new world is through the forcible seizure of government by the armed power of a small determined minority, who, once in possession of it, are justified—so runs the doctrine—in forbidding all political opposition and all electoral processes, as completely as they have been forbidden in Russia, the accepted Communist model.

This, doubtless, was not the intention of the diplomatic bombing of Britain by America, but it may well be its effect—an effect ardly favorable either to the future independence of the nations of Europe or to the rapid re-establishment of those institutions of democracy which, under the strain of war, have collpsed in the territories of all the European Allies, save only in the territon of Britain.

NORMAN ANGELL.

New York, Dec. 7, 1944.

N. Y. Times
Dec. 10, 1944
p. 8-E

Working Class attributes the recent Japanese successes on the Asiatic mainland to organic political defects at Chungking, where, it states, personal and group interests prevailed over China's true interests increasingly during the past year. Through the influence of the Chinese "Mikhailovitches," the paper states, the policy of waiting for the Allies to save China and in the meantime maintaining a reckless displacement of strength to blockade the areas where the 4th and 8th Armies are fighting has placed China in a new peril and condemned millions to needless death.

China's Place

"It is abundantly clear," *War and the Working Class* concludes, "that uniting of all the forces in the Chinese nation on the basis of a democratic policy is vitally important."

Some Russian views on China's weakness by no means imply an exaggerated opinion of Japan's strength. A writer in the current issue of *World Economy and Politics*, analyzing the position in Japan subsequent to Premier Tojo's resignation last July, describes in detail what he called "Japan's disenchantment." Germany's defeat is inevitable, the writer continues "and Japan is now faced with a war with mighty and victorious lands."

The calculation that her economy would grow to a powerful stature as a result of conquest, proved false, mainly as a result of the shipping shortage. There are rice riots in Burma while Japan goes hungry; cities are short of even the staple food—fish—because the fishing boats and fishermen have been mobilized; villages are depopulated of men; the war which cost 40 of the 50 billion yen budget for this year, will cost 50 of the 60 billion in next year's budget, the article states.

The writer says that he has difficulty in forming an opinion about the internal situation, but he considers credible the reports of strikes and dissatisfaction among the owners of small enterprises forced out of business and mobilized for war work and of the peasants' reluctance to accept fixed prices, demonstrated by hoarding and limitation of production.

Though he considers that the present Japanese Government has effected a compromise between the military extremists and the politicians put up by big business, his conclusion is that the crisis in Japan is showing a tendency to deepen.

Russian criticism is directed against Chiang Kai-shek only insofar as he tolerates persons around him, whose policy is considered inimical to China's and the United Nations' interests. It is against these persons, not against the Generalissimo that the Russians bring the charge of "reactionary."

Success at Front Buoys Soviet Interest in Orient

By RALPH PARKER
Staff Correspondent
(Copyright, 1944, by Field Publications)

PM Exclusive

MOSCOW, Dec. 9.—The third anniversary of Pearl Harbor this week finds Russia, freed from the invader, taking a keen interest in Far Eastern affairs. Significant articles about Japan and China, published within the past week, provide most tangible evidence of this attention to the affairs of its Eastern neighbors.

Parker.

Criticism of the Chungking government's war effort and of its attitude towards the Communist 4th and 8th Route Armies was paralleled with accounts of a deepening crisis in the Japanese domestic and military situation.

Five and a half years lie between March, 1939, when—in a report on the work of the Central Committee to the 18th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union—Joseph Stalin branded Japan as an aggressor in league with Germany and Italy, and the Soviet leader's speech last month, when he returned to the charge in a pointed reference.

Between the two dates the Japanese have seen their freedom of movement in the strategically important regions off the Soviet Union's Pacific Coast progressively diminished by the limitation of fishing rights and the cancellation of concessions in North Sakhalin.

Simultaneously, the Russians, keeping strictly within international law, have put their Far Eastern ports to use with the result that, as a message to a Moscow newspaper recently put it, the Pacific seaboard and its rich hinterland have been built up into "an unconquerable bastion."

As many observers here see it, there are three main factors in the situation today. Each is of a somewhat hypothetical nature. Yet each probably is being taken into account.

Firstly, Japan's defeat may be brought about by the coalition of powers presently ranged against her.

Secondly, victory over Japan may still find in power in China a regime reluctant to cooperate with the Chinese Communists, and thus preventing the unification of China.

New Adventure

Thirdly, the Japanese Army, which, despite reverses, is as strong or perhaps even stronger, on the Asiatic continent than three years ago, may be tempted to set out on new adventures while the German war is progressing.

Little can be written about how the Russians feel concerning the third hypothesis, except that Marshal Stalin's latest reference to Japan as an aggressor reveals an attitude of vigilance.

Recent articles in influential Moscow reviews, however, show that the Russians are aware of the implications of the other two hypotheses.

In its current issue, *War and the*

PM
DEC. 10, 1944
P. 12

Aloofness of Rus

IN the turmoil of establishing freedom in western Europe, the Soviet Union, up to the present, has kept discreetly aloof. Mr. Stalin is sitting tight in a situation that no doubt intrigues him profoundly and Russia makes no move publicly to take any part in a disagreement of procedure that has already brought about a sharp exchange of views between the western Allies.

It can hardly be believed that Moscow is not deeply interested in the civil war that is now raging in Greece. Any more than that the Soviet Union is not concerned by what is going on in Italy, France and Belgium. Most likely Mr. Stalin is viewing somewhat askance the British determination to smash the leftist resistance in Athens and to prevent there what Mr. Churchill has described as a "Communist coup". He must be vitally interested in how the battle in Greece is finally determined, since he considers the Balkans his sphere of influence, contemplates the annexation of Macedonia in a confederation of Communist states, with the aid of Comrade Tito of Yugoslavia, and has his acute eye on Russia's future freedom through the Dardanelles and in the Mediterranean.

He must view with at least some little amused perturbation the British resolution to have governments, republics or monarchies, in liberated Europe economically and politically acceptable to British interests. When in some quarters far from Russia it is being said that Britain wants King George back on the Greek throne on account of pre-war debts and other "strategic financial positions", it may be presumed that the Soviet Union has its own views about this particular situation. Perhaps Mr. Stalin is confident that things are going to work out all right eventually, no matter what immediate crises arise, and hence can afford to be silent amid current unpleasant clashes in the realms of Allied liberation.

The notion that the Communism which is causing trouble in the countries of Europe is simply a local product and has no real connection with Moscow can be discounted. The progress and success of the Communist program will surely have the blessing of Mr. Stalin wherever it appears—if not openly today, then tomorrow when it can be bestowed with fewer official complications. The truth is that the world's upheaval, from the internal affairs of China to the borders of Fascist Spain, is related to the Communist movement. The fundamental question which faces the western Allies — and particularly the U. S. A., since Britain seems to have made her decision — is whether the Communist partisans espousing revolution in the name of the new freedom are to be forcibly put down so that governments may be established conformable to the ideals of the British empire and the Roosevelt "four freedoms". Such an avowed course might well bring about dissension with the Soviet Union. Or are the western Allies to allow the Communist revolution to go unimpeded and thus abandon their hopes of establishing democratic enlightenment and righteousness in the newly liberated and peace-loving world? While the American armies fiercely battle the aggressor on the western frontiers of Germany, the problem begins to loom large as to whether Mr. Stalin, wrapped in silence, is not having visions of a liberated Europe that is inevitably coming his way?

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Submitted by New Haven Field Division

RUSSIANS ENDORSE STETTINIUS VIEWS

But Soviet Group in London Studies Effect 'Hands-Off' Policy May Have on Poland

By CLIFTON DANIEL

By Wireless to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

LONDON, Dec. 10—Although the Moscow press kept notably quiet, authoritative Soviet circles here indorsed last week's American criticism of British policy in Italy and the liberated Allied countries. At the same time the suspicion in some sections of the American and British press that the State Department's declaration was also intended to apply to Russia did not escape their notice.

At least tacitly the Soviet Union seems to have agreed to keep its hands off areas of primarily British interest. Although Soviet troops marched to the Greek border weeks ago, they did not cross it. The importance of Greece to Britain's empire lines of communication is fully understood by Moscow.

The Russians have a prime interest in the affairs of their Slav brothers in the Balkans, but the affairs of non-Slav Greece seem to have been excluded from the Soviet program. Months ago, it might be recalled, it was Soviet advice that persuaded the Eam, now fighting, to join Premier Papandreou's coalition government.

There has been no suggestion that the Soviet Union is now interferring as a government in Greek affairs. Its once active interest in Italy has also been almost abandoned. In the beginning it was the Soviet Union that first recognized Marshal Badogli's government. Palmiro Togliatti, leader of the Italian Communists, was encouraged to collaborate with the Royal Government.

Policy in Italy Dormant

Now, however, the Soviet member of the Mediterranean Advisory Commission, Alexander K. Kaslomoff is Ambassador in Paris and there has been no recent mention of an active Soviet policy in Italy.

Nevertheless, the Soviet Union is still ideologically sympathetic to the Communist-led Eam movement in Greece. It favors the creation in any country of an atmosphere that would give an even break to the Communists.

That may explain why Soviet quarters welcomed the American statement. Unable or unwilling, because of its commitments to Britain, to intervene in Greece and in Italian affairs, the Soviet Union would seem to welcome intervention by a third party supporting its point of view. It is noteworthy that there has been no specific, outspoken criticism of Anglo-American foreign policy in the Soviet press since the time Moscow acted unilaterally to recognize the Badoglio Government.

There seems to be a Soviet disposition to avoid any direct action or utterance hat would jeopardize the harmony of the Allied coalition. The USSR was the only one of the three major powers to pay great attention to the first anniversary of the Teheran agreement, which is the foundation of the present Anglo-American-Russian collaboration.

It has been suggested in the London press that the Soviet Union expects Britain to show the same forbearance in relation to the spheres of special Russian interest, such as Poland. The unknown factor is the United States' attitude, and Russians here want to know whether the principle enunciated in the statement by Secretary of State Edward R. Stettinius Jr. can be by implication extended to the Soviet Union.

Recognition of Lublin Seen

So far the United States has not complained of Soviet policy in liberated of former enemy countries. The next step in Polish-Soviet relations, however, is almost certain to be Soviet recognition of the Communist-dominated Polish Committee of National Liberation as the Provisional Government of Poland, to the exclusion of the Polish exile Government in London, which is recognized by the British and American Governments.

Whether the United States will regard this Provisional Government as having been created "along democratic lines without interference from outside" remains to be seen. The Soviet Union may be expected to ask the United States and Great Britain to join her in recognizing the Lublin Government.

Those here most familiar with Soviet policy indicate that Moscow places great inmoprtance on having such issues decided by joint action of the three great powers.

The thirty-third annual appeal for the Hundred Neediest Cases is made in today's New York Times.

This is a clipping from page 8 of the New York Times for Dec. 11, 1944
Clipped at the Seat of Government.

Victory Delay Laid To Britain and Soviet

By The Associated Press.

WASHINGTON, Dec. 10—The Army and Navy Journal holds that British and Russian "preoccupation" with affairs in eastern and southern Europe prolonged the war with Germany past Dec. 7. The unofficial service publication says:

"Since D-day in France, greater preoccupation has been shown by Russia in her Baltic and Balkan campaigns, intended to insure her security, and by Great Britain in Italy, Greece and Albania, to protect her lifeline through the Mediterranean, than in achievement of the prime objective of our armies, the prompt defeat of Germany and concentration of all possible power to that end.

"The result has been that the expectation in Washington that the war in Europe would be over by the Pearl Harbor anniversary this week has not been realized."

Russia

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

Dec. 11, 1944

Clipped at the Seat of Government.

Vienna Favored as Council Seat Of New Peace League by Russia

By JAMES B. RESTON

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

WASHINGTON, Dec. 13 — Soviet Russia is understood to favor establishing the permanent secretariat of the proposed United Nation Security Organization in Vienna after the war.

No decision has been taken about this and it was not even discussed formally at the Dumbarton Oaks conference, but the Russians are believed to have indicated opposition to placing the seat of the organization at Geneva and to have mentioned the Austrian capital as a possible alternative.

There seems to be agreement on this subject among American, British and Russian officials on only three points:

First, that, in view of the other more important decisions that must be taken about the procedures and principles governing the international security organization, it is unnecessary to take a decision at this time about where it is to sit; second, that it should not be at Geneva, which is identified with the failure of the League of Nations; and third; that, unlike the League of Nations, either the proposed General Assembly or the Security Council, or both, should meet in different capitals at least once a year.

President Roosevelt has indicated a preference for having the representatives of the proposed league meet in one capital one year and somewhere else the next, but it seems to be generally agreed that in view of the desire to have the Security Council meet much

Continued on Page 5, Column 3

Vienna Favored as Council Seat Of New Peace League by Russia

Continued From Page 1

oftener than the League of Nations Council met, it will be necessary to have permanent headquarters in some capital.

Russian support for Vienna as the future headquarters is said to rest on the following argument: Vienna is situated at the heart of the trouble center of the world. It is an excellent spot from which to watch the development of post-war Germany while at the same time being near enough to Berlin so that the Germans can watch the other nations working on the problem of maintaining peace; and it has the necessary buildings and transportations facilities.

Moreover, the Russians are understood to believe that if the Germans are to be discouraged from attempting another Anschluss with Austria, the Austrians must have much more political and economic support from the Allies than they received after World War I.

In this regard it is noteworthy that the Russians shared the desire of the British and the United States to pledge the restoration of Austria as an independent State and joined with the other signatories of the Moscow Declaration of Nov. 1, 1943, in the proclamation favoring a nindependent Austria.

The mere fact of making Vienna headquarters of the new League would, it is argued, provide Austria with a lucrative tourist trade and provide her with a sense of security that would encourage the Austrians to develop their independence.

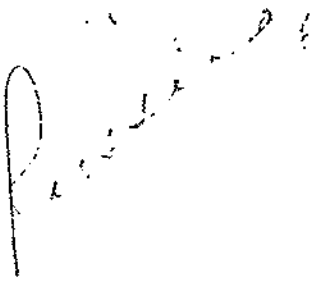
All this is still in a very preliminary stage and there is no evidence that the Russians have as yet committed their ideas to paper. The question is, however, included in that list of "unfinished business" that is expected to be on the agenda of the forthcoming Roosevelt-Stalin-Churchill meeting.

N.Y. TIMES
DEC. 14. 1944
P. 1

Full Page Poem Extols Stalin

By Wireless to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

MOSCOW, Dec. 14—All Moscow newspapers published today a full-page poem extolling the deeds and virtues of Joseph Stalin. The poem was written in the name of the Ukrainian people, who are thankful for their delivery from German rule. Tribute is paid to Premier Stalin in the highest possible terms. When he is referred to in the third person the first letter of the word is capitalized.



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

Dec. 15, 1944

Clipped at the Seat of Government.

Letters to The Times

Russo-French Pact Approved

Effective Defensive Combination Seen in Recent Alliance

To the Editor of The New York Times:

May I express commendation of your editorial of Dec. 11 on the Russo-French alliance. The event is the first piece of really good news from the diplomatic front in a long time. Despite the blundering, political cowardice and the ideological moonshine of these years of anarchy, the tide of history has at last produced the Franco-British-Russian defensive combination. Had that existed in fact instead of theory before 1914 and 1939, both the great wars could have been prevented. How solid it is now we have yet to see, but that it is the key to a secure peace in Europe is obvious to all who have understood the main facts of twentieth-century world history.

No doubt some ignorant voices will cry out that de Gaulle has sold his country to "communism." No doubt anti-British and anti-Churchill Leftists will rejoice at Russia's breach of the British bloc in western and Mediterranean Europe. In this rejoicing both the isolationists and the "Better World Order" idealists, who shudder at horrendous phrases such as "balance of power" and "spheres of influence," will of course participate. For all these people agree on at least one proposition: that the United States shall do nothing to help Britain impede the march of revolutionary communism and Soviet imperialism in Europe.

Precedents Available

Why is Mr. Churchill so valiantly determined that the outcome of the war shall not be merely the transfer of the dominion of Europe from Germany to the Soviet Union? Why is he driven to such desperate expedients as the West European bloc? The Russians oppose this latter, and rightly, because they know the weakness of such a bloc would inevitably lead it to seek the inclusion of Germany. That is precisely what happened after the last war when Germany signed the Locarno Treaty and joined the League of Nations, a development which convinced the Kremlin that Europe was being organized against Russia.

We know the consequences of that policy: competitive bidding of Moscow and London for Berlin's favors, German political recovery and capture of the balance of power between east and west, the outbreak of the second World War. A similar policy can only produce similar results—that is, a new war between Britain and Europe, including Germany on the one hand and the Soviet Union on the other, or a Russo-German coalition against the Atlantic powers of the west.

In the still-born Franco-British-American security pact of 1919 we held the key to world peace and national safety in our hands, but we threw it away. Had we not done so, there would have been no Locarno bloc, no British-German flirtation, no insoluble French security question, less Russian fear of attack from the European quarter and hence less Communist sabotage of world order, less appeasement of Germany and perhaps some statesmanlike generosity to her before 1933.

We Missed Two Chances

In other words, had we kept that key, Hitler could hardly have got the chance to wreck the world. We found the key again at the London Naval Conference of 1930, but again we refused it—even in the form of a mild consultative pact. And that refusal sent Britain and France along their separate and fateful ways, each of which led to the abyss.

You say wisely that "the last two wars have demonstrated that in the end it still takes the power of the New World to right the balance of the Old." This means that Britain and France, even with the Russian alliance, need American aid to prevent the Germans from dominating Europe. It also means that no western European combination, without Germany, can resist the will of an eastern combination headed by Russia. Therefore it means, further, that Britain and France, without the alliance of the United States, must in the end come to terms with Germany or Russia and on German or Russian terms.

Against this peril we have fought two costly wars in the lifetime of a generation not yet middle-aged. As you rightly say, these wars have shown that "out of a healthy instinct for her own self-preservation, America will always take to arms whenever a hostile power or combination of such powers threatens to dominate Europe or the Far East." But will we always do it in time to turn the tide of battle?

Surely the time has come to formulate a foreign policy in accord with geopolitical reality and to make Atlantic regional security pacts. These are not excluded but actually encouraged in the Dumbarton Oaks Charter. A Britain whose safety is anchored in a permanent Atlantic alliance would have no need to build a protective West European bloc; nor would France, if so secured, rush into Soviet arms. The Russian alliance would then be a clasp of hands, not a suffocating embrace; and that is what it should be if it is to endure. A strong Atlantic system would easily resist the blandishments of Germany, and therefore the Russians would neither be frightened nor offended by it. That in itself would diminish their temptation to extend dangerously their sphere of security in Europe.

Why can we not learn an elementary geopolitical truth? We have fought a great Battle of the Atlantic on the outcome of which the very life of our nation depended. We have produced an Atlantic Charter in which the nations of the west unwittingly described their own impulses and ideals. Why are we so blind to the existence of an Atlantic Community? In actuality the defense of it is the cardinal principle of our undeclared foreign policy. The wars of the century prove beyond doubt that here is the geopolitical fact of prime importance to the American Republic. But it seems to be one of those facts that are so obvious only the very observing notice them.

Ross J. S. Hoffman,
Professor of History, Fordham University.

New York, Dec. 13, 1944.

This is a clipping from page 14 of the New York Times for DEC. 16, 1944

Clipped at the Seat of Government.

1943—President Roosevelt meets Marshal Stalin for the first time t Teheran in November. "We leave here friends in fact, in spirit and in purpose," reads a statement signed Roosevelt, Stalin, Churchill.

1944—In October, Churchill visits Stalin in Moscow. Since spring the Red Army has cleared Russian soil of the invaders, and is victorious on all the fronts. Stalin's birthday has been a national holiday since 1929.

1922—Stalin is shown with Lenin, a few weeks before Lenin retired from public life after suffering a stroke. On Dec. 16 Stalin, Zinovieff and Kameneff form a triumvirate to take his place. Lenin died in 1924.

1939—Von Ribbentrop and Stalin, undisputed leader of Soviet Russia since 1924, meet at the signing of the Soviet-German non-aggression pact in Moscow. Hitler attacked Russia twenty-two months later.

Marshal Stalin at 65: Milestones in His Career

1885—Joseph Dzshugashvili, the future Stalin, is a six-year-old schoolboy in Gori, Caucasia, where he was born on Dec. 21, 1879.

1905—At 26, Stalin, under many aliases, has become prominent in the revolutionary movement, published his first pamphlet, met Lenin.

1910—At 31, Stalin has been exiled to Czarist Siberia three times, escaped twice. His last exile, from 1913 to 1917, ends with the revolution.

1917—The Revolution: Stalin returns from Siberia to Petrograd, edits Pravda, becomes a member of the Bolshevist Central Committee.

This is a clipping from
page 11 of the
New York Times MAGAZINE SECTION

DEC. 17, 1944

Clipped at the Seat of
Government.

Russian Satire on Americans Criticized; Eric Johnston Seen as One of Characters

By W. H. LAWRENCE

By Wireless to The New York Times.

MOSCOW, Dec. 16—It is only objective reporting for this correspondent to say that Alexander Korneichuk's satire on American life, "Mr. Perkins' Mission to the Land of the Bolsheviki's," is not a good play.

Although the play was written before Eric Johnston's visit to the Soviet Union, I think his play, in the minds of Russion people, inevitably will be linked with him, because a "villainous" reporter fits the descriptions of William L. White [as David Zaslavsky described him last week.] And Mr. Perkins himself, like Mr. Johnston, advocates long-term credits to help the Soviet Union rehabilitate its war-devastated areas.

There are two incidents in the play. The first shows two young Communist children refusing to eat at the same table with burgeois exploiter and capitalistic employer, Mr. Perkins, until a woman collective farm chairman reminds them that Mr. Perkins represents an Allied nation.

The second incident depicts a depraved, swaggering German aviator who has just been shot down at the Dnieper front insulting President Roosevelt for which he gets a healthy sock in the jaw from a Russian artillery sergeant who remarks pointedly that a Russian will not stand for an insult to a leader of an Allied country and that he trusts an American would do the same to anybody who insulted Mr. Stalin.

Reporter Chased Off Stage

The reporter, who suggests that under American traditions of free speech not even prisoners of war are beaten even if they insult America's own President, is chased off the stage by Mr. Perkins.

The clearest evidence of weakness of Mr. Korneichuk's play is that it was possible to omit a whole scene that had been in the final script without changing the remainder of the play. The audience, unaware that there was supposed to be another scene did not even miss it.

Much of the second act is taken up with sarcastic remarks about the Allies' delays in establishing a second front while the Soviet Union was bearing the main brunt of the war. The Russian audience picked up its papers today to read of the continued Allied progress against the main German positions in the Siegfried Line inside Germany itself.

White's Book Denounced

Mr. White, Reader's Digest correspondent, was attacked last Sunday by the Communist newspaper Pravda for allegedly reporting lies about the Soviet Union in his book "Report on the Russians," which he wrote after he accompanied Mr. Johnston on his trip.

Mr. Zaslavsky, the Pravda writer, called the book fascist stew and said the author had violated Soviet hospitality and confidence. According to Mr. Zaslavsky, the book pictured the Russian people as "deprived of their (personal) independce" and suffering from lack of originality in industrial techniques.

In the Reader's Digest condensation, Mr. White likened conditions in Russia to prison, particularly where food and clothing were concerned, and also said that "over everything rests the dull, unimaginative hand of a bureaucracy which produces only a dreary mediocrity."

This is a clipping from page 23 of the New York Times for DEC. 17, 1944

Clipped at the Seat of Government.

KERENSKY DEFENDS RED BALTIC CLAIMS

Exiled Enemy of Stalin Gets Applause Here When He Backs Soviet on War

SIDES WITH IT ON POLAND

He and Sir Bernard Pares Try to Minimize Border Dispute at Foreign Policy Luncheon

Alexander Kerensky, leader of the provisional Government in Russia in 1917 and long exiled by the present regime, drew applause at the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel yesterday afternoon when he told a luncheon of the Foreign Policy Association that he supported Russia's war aims and her claims to the Baltic States and eastern Poland.

He spoke unexpetcedly, called on by James G. McDonald, who presided in the absence of Senator H. Alexander Smith of New Jersey, after speeches by Sir Bernard Pares, British authority on Russia, and Vera M. Dean, director of the research department of the association.

"I am still the implacable enemy of the totalitarian dictatorship in Moscow," Mr. Kerensky declared. "But since the first day of the invasion I have supported the war and the war aims of my country, Russia. I make a distinction between Stalin, the national leader, and Stalin, the leader of international communism."

Justifies Russia's Claims

Then, justifying the historic and strategic legitimacy of Russia's claims to the Baltic States and eastern Poland, he went on:

"These territories were incorporated into Russia in 1939. The Atlantic Charter was signed in 1941. Never did anyone ask Litvinoff, when he signed for Russia in Washington, whether Russia would dis-annex these territories. It was recognized that they were a part of Russia. As well ask the British Empire to dis-annex some of its Dominions and possessions, previously and sometimes violently acquired. As well ask the United States to dis-annex its possessions, or that part of its own borders acquired in the Eighteen Forties.

"Esthonia, Latvia and Lithuania did not sign the Atlantic Charter. Their names do not appear because they did not then exist. Their names are not signed to the lists of German criminals, though so many German crimes were committed on Baltic soil."

He minimized the importance of the Polish border dispute, in agreement with Sir Bernard Pares, asserting that Poland had marched eastward at the time of Russia's greatest distress in 1919 and 1920. Then he concluded eloquently:

"This is not essential. Even strategic security for Russia is not essential if we can all concur on a great plan for international security. That plan must address itself not to the protection of national rights so much as to the essential matter of the protection of human freedom. Men must be made able to live freely under all governments. Then we will see how security and peace may be attained even as between two governments of such an apparently irreconcilable character as those of Russia and the United States."

Sir Bernard Pares was sharply questioned on his views of Prime Minister Winston Churchill's latest speech.

"Perhaps I should preserve a discreet silence," he said. "But I have lived in that part of the world. I lived in the manor house of a Polish landlord wholly surrounded by starving Russians. I do not see the justice of restoring such landlords to lordship over indubitable Russians."

"Of course," he added with reference to the southern end of the Curzon line, "I cannot support the conveyance to Russia, either of such Polish shrines and centers of university life and culture as the city of Lwow."

He supported the Prime Minister on his proposal to give Danzig to the Poles, asserting that it would add 4,000,000 Poles to the nation and give them a practical place on the sea. But, he asserted, he would hardly like to confide to Polish landlords the task of suppressing their Junker brethren. In this he was warmly supported by Dr. Dean. She declared that if any considerable ortion of East Prussia were given Poland it would be a "time bomb in Poland's heart."

"It will fan the spirit of German revenge," she said, "to tear pieces from the edge of Germany and ten, twenty years from now when most of us who remember this war are gone, a German effort to recover them through war may seem legitimate to our successors."

Most of Sir Bernard Pares speech was devoted to the thesis that Stalin never had been successful as a world revolutionist and that after this war he would be too busy reconstructing and developing Russia to seek revolution elsewhere.

This is a clipping from page 16 of the New York Times for

DEC. 17, 1944

Clipped at the Seat of Government.

SERBS SEEK TRANSFER OF CHURCH TO RUSSIANS

23

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MOSCOW, Dec. 13 — A move to transfer one of Yugoslavia's Orthodox dioceses to the jurisdiction of the Russian church, believed to be the first plan of its kind affecting Orthodox Churches in two friendly countries, was disclosed here by a delegation of Serbian church leaders from Mukachevo, northeast Galicia, now under Russian occupation.

A petition is being sent, the delegation announced, to the Holy Synod of the Serbian Orthodox Church for permission to transfer the diocese of Mukachevsko-Priashevsky, once part of Austria-Hungary and a sore spot in central European politics, to the spiritual control of the Moscow Patriarchate. In Moscow to win support for the petition, the Serbian delegation was headed by Deputy Bishop Abbot Feofan Saboff. Other delegates were Archimandrite Alexei Koboluk, Archpriest Dmitry Beliakoff, Father Johannus Korolovitch and Prof. P. V. Lintur.

Acting Patriarch Alexei has assured the delegation that the Russian Orthodox Synod favors the petition, which was signed by Abbot Feofan and twenty priests of the Mukachevsko-Priashevsky Diocese and was declared to represent the wishes of all its Orthodox clergy. The petition is not expected to lead to definite action by the Russian Church until it has been approvd by the Serbian Orthodox Synod.

High honors were paid to the Serbian visitors by Russian Church and state officials during a three-day stay in Moscow. They were greeted on their arrival by Archpriest Nicolai Kolchitsky of the Moscow Patriarchate and G. T. Utkin of the Soviet Council on Greek Orthodox Church affairs.

This is a clipping from page 23 of the New York Times for

DEC. 17, 1944

Clipped at the Seat of Government.

PRAVDA HITS NEO-FASCISM

Assails Liberation That Merely Exchanges Tyrannies

LONDON, Dec. 17 (AP)—The Moscow press declared today that "one cannot liberate a people from fascism of one kind and deliver them into the hands of Fascists of another kind."

Without direct reference to any country, Ilya Ehrenburg in the Communist party organ Pravda declared: "There can be no half measures. If fascism is left to breed anywhere then in ten or twenty years' time rivers of blood will flow again."

The article, as reported by the Soviet monitor, added: "The Red Army has shown what it means to liberate. The Poles, the Norwegians, Serbs and Slovaks know it. We do not replace Fascists by semi-Fascists."

Russia

This is a clipping from page 12 of the New York Times for

DEC. 18, 1944

Clipped at the Seat of Government.

Ehrenburg on Democracy

MOSCOW, Dec. 16.—In an indirect reference to the crises in Italy and Greece, Ilya Ehrenburg, foremost Soviet writer, in an article for Pravda said that the Red Army has proved what it means by the word "liberate" and that the Poles, Norwegians, Serbs and Slovaks know this meaning.

"We shall not replace fascism with semi-fascism," Ehrenburg said. "We are liberating."

The writer defined democracy as "a daughter of the people and not a haughty, unapproachable lady admired from afar."

This is a clipping from page 3 of the Daily Worker for

DEC. 15, 1944

Clipped at the Seat of Government.

ALKANS' LEFTISM NO PAN-SLAV SHIFT

wing Held Due to Political, Not Ethnological, Factors—Albania Also Veers

LLIES' REPORTS DIFFER

ito Is Believed to Consider Yugoslavia Without Any Obligations to Britain

By C. L. SULZBERGER

By Wireless to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

ROME, Dec. 16—The ascendency f Left-Wing movements sympaetic to tthe Soviet Union is now learly discerned in liberated Balan areas from the Aegean Sea to he Danube River.

[redacted] ve emerged on top in the chaos ollowing the German withdrawals. This cannot be explained simply y traditional pan-Slavism, seeking to emulate Moscow. Panlavism not only does not exist in Bulgaria, Greece and Rumania but, n the contrary, the history of hese areas has always been arked by a degree of Slavophobia. urthermore, although the Red rmy penetrated Rumania, Bularia and Yugoslavia it has not ntered Greece or Albania, where milar tendencies are evident.

In some regions the Governments ave not moved swiftly enough toard the left to suit local leaders. he Communist Mayor of Constanta, Rumania, has, in a number f speaking, established a regional ictatorship of his own. Rumors hat the Russians were laying [redacted]

Albanian Government Leftist

In Albania the Government of Enver Hoxha is patterned along the pro-Communist, pro-Russian lines evolved in the Balkan Partisan movements. Although the movement led by Premier Hoxha and Mehmet Shehu was closely connected from time to time with Marshal Tito's Yugoslav Liberation Army, the only great support it received was from Britain, which helped supply and organize the Shehu Brigade.

A few days ago Premier Hoxha conferred at Tirana with a Soviet mission which had flown in suddenly. Shehu has made it clear that he is not only anti-British but that he entirely sympathizes with the Greek Elas.

Ghedza has been traditionally Anglophile [redacted] Slavophobic. The Soviet [redacted] nize the [redacted] Greece [redacted] backing [redacted] Kreyali [redacted] Greek [redacted]

Nevertheless, the Communist leadership in the Ham is undoubtedly strong and is influential far beyond the number of its follow- [redacted]

[redacted] from Greece to [redacted] and the "suggestions" in reports made available to the captains of the three great Allies.

In Yugoslavia there is no similarity in American and British reports on the overshadowed Mikhailovitch movement, its alleged remaining forces and claims as to its popular backing.

Long after the British withdrew their entire mission from the headquarters of Gen. Draja Mikhailovitch—who, incidentally, is in Yugoslavia despite reports that he had been taken out by American special forces—the United States sent in a special group of observers, who emerged strongly impressed by his strength and popular backing. This took place [redacted] a few weeks ago.

American observers say [redacted] General Mikhailovitch's forces [redacted] considerable but [redacted] force of 100,000 fighters [redacted] popular backing. This [redacted] the "national" [redacted] and vehemently asserts that [redacted] sha Tito's Partisans did [redacted] the Germans until after the [redacted] sion of the Soviet Union.

British observers contend [redacted] General Mikhailovitch's [redacted] finished and are now a myth.

Churchill Backs Tito

It has been evident that [redacted] September, 1943, Prime Minister Churchill has put all his eggs in Marshal Tito's basket, so far as Yugoslavia is concerned.

In the opinion of competent observers, the Tito movement secured its present power mainly through its own efforts, however, and now [redacted] support or of the Red Army [redacted] along Danube. For this reason, Marshal Tito probably feels relatively independent [redacted] relation to [redacted] the British.

The Communist direction of the Tito movement and his temporary government is strong and open; there is no attempt to disguise it. In the words of one expert on this subject, the result is that "officials of any great power who have illusions of detaching Yugoslavia from its developing ties with the Soviet Union or who think that arrangements can be made to share this country's attentions with the Kremlin would seem at this moment to be dreaming a fantasy."

RED STAR LINKS NAZIS TO U.S. REACTIONARIES

MOSCOW, Dec. 20 (AP)—The Russian Army newspaper Red Star said today that German agents were attempting, "through reactionary circles in the United States and other countries," to block the formation of an international peace organization and were preparing for a third world war.

The article also said the Germans were seeking to stir up controversies among the Allies over the question of German's future.

"In the past few days the Hitlerites have pointed with unconcealed pleasure at the activity of the isolationist elements in the United States who already have started agitation against participation by the United States in a world organization of international security," the article said.

"The Hitlerites resort to their favorite method to frighten public opinion with 'Bolshevist danger' and 'European chaos' in case the Allied post-war plans are realized. This is the argument of the Hearst press.

"The Hitlerites watch carefully for American reaction to European developments, especially those events that might threaten the unity of the Allies. But they are not much comforted. A majority of the American press acts ardently in behalf of the consolidation of cooperation between all the Allies ad urges realization of the Dumbarton Oaks decisions as soon as possible.

"Dumbarton Oaks took into consideration the errors made by the victorious powers after the first World War. It is very elastic and includes possibilities of further improvement.

"The Soviet Union, just as other peace-loving nations, is interested in the conversion of the future organization of peace into a real instrument of international security. The conclusion of the Soviet-French treaty occurred at the moment the German Fascist leaders began to make certain political preparation for aiding Germany for a third world war."

This is a clipping from page 8 of the New York Times for Dec. 21, 1944

Clipped at the Seat of Government.

THE ATLANTIC CHARTER

The statement of President Roosevelt that there is no such thing as a formal, signed and sealed document called the Atlantic Charter, coming on top of present political difficulties in Europe, has been a windfall for scoffers and cynics, and especially for our isolationists, who are once more pointing with alarm. They are reading implications into these facts and drawing from them conclusions which, if generally accepted, would undermine the grand alliance of the United Nations for the prosecution of the war and wreck all hope of a future world organization to maintain a decent peace.

So far as the Charter is concerned, it would indeed have been more in keeping with the importance of the occasion if the joint declaration made by President Roosevelt and Prime Minister Churchill on Aug. 14, 1941, had been incorporated in something more formal and permanent than scribbled and now partly lost notes. But the lack of such a document does not affect the objective situation itself.

The general hue and cry now being sounded is, first, that the Atlantic Charter does not exist, and second, that it is being violated by the European Powers. As to the first point, there is this to be said:

The Atlantic Charter was a joint declaration broadcast to the world by authority of Mr. Roosevelt and Mr. Churchill as the heads of their Governments, and incorporated in the communiqué of their meeting at sea, a communiqué which they signed. Its contents and exact text have never been challenged, and it is as valid as were President Wilson's Fourteen Points. Moreover, "the common program of purposes and principles embodied in * * * the Atlantic Charter" was solemnly subscribed to in a formal United Nations declaration signed by twenty-six nations in Washington on Jan. 1, 1942, and the total number of nations which have now affixed their signatures to this document is thirty-five. The Charter was further explicitly accepted as a basis of the peace settlements in the Anglo-Russian Treaty of Mutual Assistance signed in London May 26, 1942. And it was reaffirmed in the Joint Four Nation Declaration issued by the United States, Great Britain, Russia and China in Moscow on Nov. 1, 1943. All these are formal diplomatic instruments of the nations subscribing to them, and these instruments give the Charter the standing of recognized international law as valid as any in existence.

As for the second point—that the Atlantic Charter is being violated by the European Powers—that charge is unfortunately true at certain points, at least from the American point of view. Mr. Churchill has formally excepted certain areas from its application; Russia is doing the same thing by an interpretation which makes territorial enlargement a matter of dates, not principles, and other powers may feel compelled to follow suit. But it is well to keep in mind that after their bitter experiences during this and the last war, each European nation is almost automically seeking to exert its power to assure its own safety by any and all means at hand, and that the United Nations as a going world organization is still in the same amorphous state as that of the United States during the American Revolution.

Like the United States in those days, the United Nations now face many conflicting opinions, many clashes of interest, many different views, even on the morality of certain principles, and certain actions which may require sacrifices and even compromises of conscience if the larger aim is to be achieved. The same Founding Fathers who solemnly subscribed to the doctrine that all men are created equal and are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, among them the right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness, found it necessary to accept the institution of slavery, which most of them opposed, in order that the United States could be born. Compelled to choose between immediate perfection and a great achievement, they chose achievement, and the achievement fulfilled their dreams. The issues facing the United Nations are similar, and so is the choice before us. Let us be no less clear about the principles we hold sacred, but let us be no less practical about how to put these principles into effect.

This is a clipping from page 20 of the New York Times for Dec. 21, 1944

Clipped at the Seat of Government.

Moscow Passes Over Birthday of Stalin

By The United Press.

MOSCOW, Dec. 21—Today is the sixty-fifth birthday of Premier Joseph Stalin, and it passed unnoticed and unmentioned by the Soviet press.

Marshal Stalin's birthday is marked on Soviet calendars but it never has been the occasion of public celebrations. The only exception came five years ago, when Soviet newspapers devoted a special issue to the Premier's life and achievements and to tributes from close co-workers.

Following his regular daily course, Marshal Stalin was believed to plan to spend the entire day at his office in the Kremlin, working as usual.

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

Dec. 22, 1944

Clipped at the Seat of Government.

END OF LEND-LEASE IS SEEN FOR RUSSIA

Manufacturers Publication Says That Amtorg Agency Will Do All Buying and Selling

WASHINGTON, Dec. 25 (AP)—The NAM News says top Government officials expect Russia to withdraw from lend-lease at the end of pending commitments.

The organ of the National Association of Manufacturers predicts that Amtorg, Soviet trading agency, will take over all Russian buying and selling here. It adds that officials expect the Soviet Government purchasing commission, which is distinct from Amtorg, to be liquidated by next summer.

The manufacturers' weekly quotes "sources close to Russian officials in Washington" as saying the Administration will present to Congress several proposals for Government guarantee of foreign credits extended by American business. It adds:

"That the Russians expect one or more of these proposal to be passed by Congress as a prelude to a United States-Soviet commercial treaty, is evidenced by their intention to keep most of their purchasing commission officials in the United States to handle Amtorg business."

The protocol covering lend-lease for Russia expired June 30 at the end of the fiscal year, the NAM News says, and the renewal has not yet been signed.

The lack of an effective protocol, the story says, "has created some confusion among American manufacturers handling Russian lend-lease orders, and apparently some concern among State Department and FEA (Foreign Economic Administration) officials."

Proceed at Own Risk

WASHINGTON, Dec. 25 (UP)—The Nam News, a publication of the National Association of Manufacturers, asserted tonight that some essential military equipment is still being shipped to Russia but manufacturers are being told that they proceed at their own risk if they act without receiving an order from the Treasury or Army or Navy procurement divisions.

According to FEA officials, the NAM said, Russia requested large amounts of industrial equipment under the fourth protocol and the United States offered to fill a limited amount under a section of the Lend-Lease Act which permits outright sale.

A contract was sent to Moscow more than ten weeks ago, The News said, but thus far there has been no answer.

This is a clipping from page 20 of the New York Times for Dec 26 - 44

Clipped at the Seat of Government.

Entente Regime Overthrown

In 1934 the Military League and the Zveno group, the fascist party of Bulgaria, led by Colonels Gheorghieff and Veltcheff, overthrew the Malinoff-Mushanoff "Democratic Entente Government," dissolved the Bulgarian Parliament and instituted a reign of terror which eventually paved the way for Bulgaria's entry into the war on the side of Germany.

Prof. Alexander Tsankoff, the third member of the 1923 and 1934 fascist junta, is now in Germany, the head of a quisling "National Government." The Germans refer to him as "a friend of the German nation and an advocate of close and sincere cooperation between Germany and Bulgaria."

Professor Tsankoff's two partners, Colonels Gheorghieff and Veltcheff, because their Pan-Slavist aims at present fit in with Russia's plans in the Balkans, are today the heads of the Soviet-sponsored Bulgarian Government. It is they, believe it or not, who sit in judgment on the "war criminal" Nikolai Mushanoff.

Your correspondent writes from Sofia that all democratic and liberal circles are vehemently protesting, "although not publicly," that the "old-time democrats like Nikolai Mushanoff, Athanase Buroff and Dimitri Ghitcheff should be included in the same category as war criminals." They know better than to protest publicly. Those of us who lived in the Balkans since the peninsula was occupied by the Russians are only too well aware of the G. P. U. terror which has crushed every manifestation of liberalism and democracy.

Since the Bulgarian armistice terms have been worked out by the European Advisory Committee, of which the United States is a member and were also signed by a representative of the United States, it is our duty to speak out on behalf of men like Mushanoff who have been and are our friends and allies.

Like all Americans, I firmly believe that unity among the United Nations is an important weapon against the enemy. This, however, does not justify us in lending moral support to the injustice perpetrated also by our Russian ally.

LEON DENNEN.

New York, Dec. 26, 1944.

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

_____

Clipped at the Seat of
Government.

Injustice Laid to Russia

Bulgarian "War Criminal" Trials Seen as Political Machination

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NEW YORK TIMES:

According to your correspondent Joseph M. Levy, in THE NEW YORK TIMES of Dec. 25, Nikolai Mushanoff and two other outstanding Bulgarian democrats, Athanase Buroff and Dimitri Ghitcheff, are now being tried by Bulgarian courts as "war criminals."

Two weeks ago I returned from Constantinople, where for five months I worked in intimate contact with the various anti-Nazi underground and democratic resistance movements, of which Nikolai Mushanoff was one of the guides and spiritual leaders. A fearless opponent of totalitarianism, this octogenarian, even during the German domination of Bulgaria, championed courageously the cause of democracy and the principles for which the youth of America is today fighting on the far-flung battlefields of Europe and Asia. As Minister Without Portfolio he was the leading spirit in the Cabinet of Constantin Muravieff that on Sept. 2 overthrew the Government of Premier Ivan Bagrianoff, which, although fascist and pro-German, had for a long time the support of Soviet Russia.

As Mr. Levy reports, during the six days that the Muravieff-Mushanoff Government remained in office it decreed amnesty for all anti-Nazi political prisoners, ordered the disbanding of all pro-fascist organizations, denounced the anti-Comintern pact, revoked all anti-Jewish laws and declared war on Germany.

Begun and Ended Suddenly

When, on Sept. 5, Soviet Russia, which had hitherto maintained friendly and diplomatic relations with our Bulgarian enemy, suddenly declared what seemed to us living in the Balkans its phony war on Bulgaria, a peace mission of the Muravieff-Mushanoff Government, instructed to offer unconditional surrender to the Anglo-Americans, who were at that time the only Allies at war with Bulgaria, was cooling its heels first in Ankara, then in Cairo. On Sept. 9 Russia ended just as suddenly her four-day war against Bulgaria, having previously demanded, however, the overthrow of the pro-Allied democratic Government of Muravieff-Mushanoff.

Although there has been much criticism in this country of Britain's action in Greece and her attempt to suppress the Elas revolt, which, I am in position to know, is dominated and led by Russian officers and Comintern agents, not a word has ever been said here about the ruthless suppression of the democratic revolution in Bulgaria by the Russian Gen. Feodor Tolbukhin upon the entry of the Third Ukrainian Army into Sofia.

Now old Nikolai Mushanoff, who endangered his life in the Allied cause, is being tried as a war criminal. Who are his judges?

Following the Red Army's entry into Sofia, General Tolbukhin immediately appointed a Government headed by Col. Kimon Gheorghieff as Premier and Col. Damian Veltcheff as Minister of War, with Communists in the Ministries of Interior, Justice and Labor. These two men are not known in the United States, but they have a long history in the Balkans.

Russia

This is a clipping from page 18 of the New York Times for Dec. 28, 1944
Clipped at the Seat of Government.

Lehman Gets a Few Relief Ships; Russia Silent on UNRRA in Poland

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

WASHINGTON, Dec. 29—A slight amount of Allied shipping, now burdened to the maximum with military transport, has been promised to aid in sending relief to the liberated peoples of Europe, Herbert H. Lehman, director general of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration, told a press conference today on his return from a six weeks' visit to England and France.

While insisting that shipping continued the primary difficulty in getting supplies to the needy civilians of liberated Europe, the director general stated also that he had been promised ships to move supplies for Poland into Russian ports and also had been assured by the Combined Shipping Adjustment Board of "a moderate amount of tonnage" to transport supplies to Italy in January and February.

Mr. Lehman said UNRRA had supplies on hand and a mission ready to go into Poland, but Russia has not replied to requests for access to Russian ports, Russian transport of supplies and visas for the mission. Russia also has not indiated that she wants any help from UNRRA for her own relief or for assisting in relocating "displaced persons" despite otherwise "cordial" relations between Russia and UNRRA, the director general declared.

He said, moreover, that a pro-

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LEHMAN HAS SHIPS FOR RELIEF WORK

Continued From Page 1

jected UNRRA mission to Russia, on which Mr. Lehman might go to Moscow, had been postponed at Russia's request.

Mr. Lehman's statement of assurances of shipping for Poland and Italy came as somewhat of a surprise in view of the extreme shortage of United Nations shipping because of heavy military requirements in Europe and the Pacific.

Another reason for surprise was that Richard K. Law, British Minister of State, is in Washington endeavoring to persuade the Combined Boards and Chiefs of Staff that it is urgently necessary to get some shipping to help relieve the liberated peoples of Europe. Apparently Mr. Lehman obtained some commitments in advance of Mr. Law's mission.

The Director General indicated that he was backing Mr. Law's efforts. He said that while he was in Europe on his recent visit he talked with Mr. Law about the urgency of obtaining more shipping for relief.

Asked if it was true that "bickering between the countries" would prevent UNRRA from doing the job it was set up for, Mr. Lehman replied:

"I saw no indication of that. I think the Governments want UNRRA."

Sees Delay Causing Unrest

"Doesn't delay on the part of UNRRA help the Communists?" he was asked.

"I wouldn't say Communists," he replied, "but it certainly promotes unrest."

Mr. Lehman explained that one of the principal duties of UNRRA under agreements with countries paying for their relief would be in helping to resettle an estimated 9,000,000 "displaced persons" now in Germany and a probable total of such persons in all Europe, which he said was only a "guess," of 12,000,000 to 15,000,000.

This is a clipping from page 1 & 4 of the New York Times for Dec. 30, 1944
Clipped at the Seat of Government.

Communists and the Liberation Movements

WHILE CHURCHILL'S policy has found no support in reputable circles, it is being seized upon as new capital by the near-bankrupt anti-Soviet lie peddlers who find it increasingly hard to market their shoddy wares. In this country the *New Leader* had the rather unique distinction of having on this occasion beaten Hearst to the discovery that the whole thing was a plot engineered from Moscow. And as the new anti-Soviet campaign rises in volume and fury, a whole series of false issues are being raised to create suspicion of the Soviet Union. The *Army and Navy Journal* has been engaging in a shameful attempt to put the blame for the prolongation of the war on the USSR, saying that Stalin's policy was, "encouraging Communist trouble makers in Europe", and interfering with military operations. This idea was echoed in the Senate by Senator Wayland Brooks who accused both Russia and England of engaging in a race for future balance of power in Europe "while American boys are dying," conveniently forgetting the millions of Russian dead. And Mark Sullivan in the *New York Herald Tribune* (December 11) tries to show that unity among the Allies is impossible of attainment because Britain and America on the one hand want to see democratic governments everywhere, while the USSR wants "totalitarian" regimes. According to Sullivan Communists everywhere are concerned in bringing about disintegration in order to come into power.

The USSR has made clear that it has no desire to Sovietize any other country. Now it is time that the issue of what the separate and independent Communist parties in the various countries want, be faced squarely. Everywhere in Europe the Communist forces have been in the front ranks of the forces of resistance against Hitler. They have been the chief organizers of the underground movements which helped to pave the way for the Allied invasion and which since D-Day have been such valuable allies of the United Nations. In this they have not separated themselves from other groups but have merged with them, fighting for no interests apart from the interests of the people as a whole, and for their bravery and skill in doing this they have won the confidence of the people everywhere. As the various European countries have been liberated, the Communists have played a wholly constructive role in the organization of broadly representative governments. Nowhere have they claimed more places in those governments than the actual relation of forces justifies, nor forced themselves in against the will of the people. Nowhere have they made the slightest attempt to impose their ideology on other groups or to set up Soviet regimes. Nowhere are they acting as "tools of Moscow." They need no orders from Moscow to tell them that the interests of the people everywhere require first of all the total defeat of the enemy and the elimination from power of all who collaborate with the enemy and second a joining together of all progressive forces in governments which must be truly democratic and which must be stable in order to carry on the immense tasks of reconstruction which face all the liberated nations. The Communists do not engage in *coup d'etats* and *putsches*. They have demonstrated that they can be counted on everywhere to work for order and stability and the fullest possible democracy.

The outstanding fact to be reckoned with is that because of the role of the Communists in the liberation movements, they are accepted by other resistance groups without any question as an integral part of the whole liberation front when it passes over from resistance to administration. To single out the Communists for attack is thus inevitably to disunite the people's forces and so becomes an attack on the whole liberation movement.

It is not necessary to agree with Communist philosophy in order to accept this plain fact. But without accepting it no one can pretend to understand what is going on in the world today.

Pravda Assails Pope's Christmas Message

MOSCOW, Dec. 31 (UP).—The Communist Party newspaper Pravda today charged that Pope Pius XII in his Christmas message reflected a "policy to help Germany escape full responsibility for her crimes."

"In his Christmas message," the article said, "the Pope took the trouble to formulate a line of conduct of peoples and states in connection with the present international situation. It is very significant that in his message you cannot find a single word about the unprecedented monstrous crimes of Hitlerite bandits.

"The Pope did not find it necessary to devote even a few words to this problem which occupies the minds of millions of people. The Pope also did not find a single word of condemnation for the Italian fascist gang and their leader, Mussolini. This was not caused by a poor memory but by the definite policy and sympathy of the Pope.

"The Pope thinks the keystone of world security is to treat victors and vanquished as equals, which at the present time means equal treatment for peaceful nations and fascist aggressors. The Hitlerite barbarians do not find a single word of condemnation and the impact of the Pope's message is aimed against the great masses of people and their aspirations for true democracy.

"In order to clear the road for such an operation the Pope juxtaposes the masses and the people. He refuses to recognize the will of the people' and goes on to prove that in states governed by the 'will of the masses freedom becomes tyranny.'"

This is a clipping from page 3 of the Daily Worker for

Jan. 1, 1945

Clipped at the Seat of Government.

AREA WHERE KNOTTY POST-WAR ISSUES ARISE

Jan. 1, 1945

The numbers on the map are keyed in the accompanying dispatch setting forth what are understood to be the State Department's views on adjustments that it would be desirable to make in eastern Europe.

own popular government, either republican or monarchic, and to find her place in the over-all peace set-up, such as that for which blueprints were drawn up at Dumbarton Oaks.

Washington approves of the cession by Rumania to the Soviet Union of Bessarabia [10 on map] and northern Bukovina and of southern Dobruja to the Bulgarians. On the other hand, it believes that Rumania should obtain compensation in the form of the return of all northern Transylvania [No. 9 on map] ceded to Hungary under the Vienna dictate, with the exception of a minor concession to Hungary of the region around Arad. As in the case of other Hitler satellites, the State Department hopes to see them select popular governments, and then, after proving their good intentions, take part later on in the over-all peace setup, but definitely later on, and therefore not to on a parity with the small allies.

Poland is the only other smaller country usually considered in the vague area known as Eastern Europe, the question of the Baltic States having already been settled by the Soviet Union itself.

American ideas of the policy applying to Poland already have been ignored, in a de facto sense, by the recent Anglo-Russian decisions there. The State Department's basic precept has been that territorial adjustments should be made as the result of negotiation between the Governments concerned, but this had already been rendered impossible by the break between the Kremlin and the continually changing Polish émigré government.

The State Department's wish was that, as the result of direct Russo-Polish negotiation, the Curzon Line [12 on map] would be established as the frontier between the two countries, but that, if possible, Poland would be permitted to keep the Lwow and Bialystok areas. These already have been ceeded to Russia by the Anglo-Soviet agreement.

S GOALS OUTLINED OR EAST EUROPE

rritorial Shifts Envisaged for Small Allied Lands and Axis Satellites

By C. L. SULZBERGER

By Cable to The New York Times.

CAIRO, Egypt, Dec. 31—Despite basic policy of non-intervention Greece's present critical civil r, the United States Governnt has evolved in its own mind d crystallized a program for eek border rectifications, includ-

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ing cession to the unhappy Aegean land of important areas.

This is part of a recently elaborated program outlining America's official views on prospective territorial adjustments in Eastern Europe, with the ultimate objective of establishing peaceable conditions in that confused region. The plan has three parts. It provides for border rectifications on the basis of direct negotiation with the States concerned; second, it aims at sponsoring the idea of regional groupings, and, third, it wants to encourage the economic rehabilitation of those lands after their selection of a popular government.

This policy sounds more positive than it actually is. Although the State Department's views have been drawn up on a specific basis, there is apparently no inclination to implement the American ideas.

Part of Policy Nullified

Thus, on the one hand, the United States, while officially stating its intentions not to interfere in any internal problems in eastern European lands, has from time to time injected its military force into Yugoslavia, although refusing to intervene so far in Greece, despite the fact that both nations were equally embraced in the Churchill-Roosevelt Casablanca agreement.

On the other hand, American ideas for the establishment of new Polish borders already have been upset and ignored by the new Anglo-Soviet agreement delineating Poland's eastern frontier.

Confining this dispatch to America's official views on the future of that area that can properly be defined as Eastern Europe, these views can be summarized as follows:

The United States wishes the Greek people to be freely permitted to choose between a republic or a monarchy as their future governmental form. Once order under a new government is established, America wishes Greek rehabilitation to be accelerated and trade encouraged.

The State Department has definite ideas on the future domains of the Greek State, regardless of its governmental form. It approves the cession to Greece by Italy of all the Dodecanese Islands [indicated by 1 on accompanying map] except Castellorizzo, which would be granted to Turkey.

Greek Claims Studied

Furthermore, if Greece can obtain British agreement—apparently a matter of some doubt—the American Government favors the British cession of Cyprus [2 on map] to Greece.

As far as Greece's land frontiers are concerned, American views are that Greek claims are somewhat excessive. Various official Greek spokesmen have claimed a large chunk of southern Albania as well as a slice of southern Bulgaria and a small part of Yugoslav Macedonia.

The State Department's view is that only a very slight border rectification favoring Greece should be made in southern Bulgaria, and that Greek claims on Albania should be carefully examined before any decisions are reached. Any Greek talk of claims on the Bitolj [4 on map] [Monastir] region of Yugoslavia are ignored and disapproved of.

To settle the question of a traditional Slavic desire to push southward to obtain access to the Aegean Sea, the United States proposes that free port rights be granted to both Bulgania and Yugoslavia at Salonika. [1 on map].

To the east, the State Department hopes that the Montreux Convention will be continued as the basic international policy governing Turkey's Straits [3 on map] linking the Mediterranean and Black Seas.

Yugoslav Borders Outlined

In Albania the State Department favors the establishment of an independent State with a government of its own choice and the cession of a part of southern Yugoslavia [5 on map] to Albania, with compensation in the form of a cession of a part of northern Albania, possibly including Scutari—although this has not specifically been decided—to Yugoslavia.

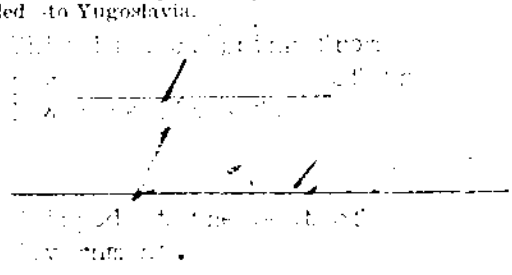
This again, it is emphasized, must result from direct negotiation between the two countries when their position is stabilized. Albania should, according to the official Washington view, obtain possession of the Island of Saseno [6 on map], previously Italian, in Valona Bay controlling Otranto Strait and the entrance to the Adriatic. Greek-Albanian frontier claims should further be explained.

The American view on Bulgaria is that after the establishment of a popular government in Sofia, her 1939 frontiers should be re-established, except that Bulgaria should retain southern Dobruja [7 on map], ceded by Rumania in 1940. This means that Bulgaria must give up every inch of territory grabbed from Greece and Yugoslavia as well as, in addition, slight concessions to Greece in the south.

Bessarabia for Russia

In the case of Yugoslavia, the State Department favors the Albanian border adjustments already mentioned and the cession to Yugoslavia by Italy of Zara as well as certain Adriatic islands lying off the Yugoslav coast previously held by Italy. Furthermore, Washington considers it wise that Yugoslavia should receive from Italy Istria and Fiume but not, as virtually all Yugoslav factions desire, either Gorizia or Trieste [area of 8 on map]. Yugoslavia's frontiers with Austria, Hungary and Rumania are to remain the same as before Hitler's redrawing of the map, according to Washington desires.

Furthermore, Yugoslavia should be encouraged, according to the State Department, to select her



Timing his entrance like a Barrymore, he stepped quickly into the room and in a deep, guttural English pronounced a sentence he had carefully learned: "What the hell's going on here, anyhow?"

Immediately after the Teheran Conference a story began making the rounds in Moscow which reflected Russian impatience over the "second front." The Shah of Persia, went the story, made a gift of an 11-year-old girl to Churchill. Roosevelt was shocked by this Oriental custom, but Stalin quieted him down. "But it's infamous," Roosevelt argued, "the girl hasn't even reached the age of puberty." To this Stalin replied, "Never mind, by the time Churchill makes up his mind to do anything, she will have long since matured."

Stalin's public utterances are very formal and full of slogans, but they do have rare flashes of the human touch. Once during a nationwide radio address, he paused to drink a glass of water. When he had finished —and the sounds of his drinking were audible over the air—he said, "Excuse me, comrade, I have eaten too much herring for breakfast."

At a party congress Stalin criticized Soviet officials who although "honest and loyal" were also "incompetent as executives, incapable of organizing anything." To emphasize his point, Stalin repeated this dialog:

Stalin: How are you getting on with the sowing?

Executive: With the sowing, Comrade Stalin? We have mobilized ourselves.

Stalin: Well, and what then?

Executive: We have put the question.

Stalin: And what next?

Executive: There is a turn, Comrade Stalin, soon there will be a turn.

Stalin: But still?

Executive: We can say there is an indication of some progress.

Stalin: But for all that, how are you getting on with the sowing?

Executive: So far, Comrade Stalin, we have made no headway with the sowing.

Although the Soviet Union is often called the "world's greatest bureaucracy," foreign diplomats say Stalin consistently battles against red tape and bungling. He makes such quick decisions himself that he cannot understand why others act so slowly. He has little sympathy with stupidity in any form. Recently someone tried to excuse an official for making a garbled report on the grounds that he was an illiterate because his parents had been simple peasants. Stalin said, "That is no excuse. Our enemies do not wait to ask about your parents."

For years Stalin has impressed upon government and party leaders the necessity of studying American methods, not only in industry but in office routine. Since long before the war, admiration for the U. S. has been one of Stalin's strong traits. Years ago he characterized the essence of Leninism as a "combination of Russian revolutionary zeal with the practical American spirit." During the war this admiration for America has grown tremendously among all sections of the people.

Stalin wants peace, not revolution

Another trait of Stalin's, a stubborn one, is his intense hatred of Russia's backwardness. He has hated Russia's backwardness more than he has hated world capitalism, and this fact has saved Russia. This hatred drove him to push through collectivization of farms at any cost, to build up the morale, to promote the Stakhanovite speed-up movement, to make peace with Hitler for enough time to plan and build for the war he knew was coming. Always Stalin has wanted his country to get over its easy-going ways. He kept reminding the people that "to slacken the tempo means to fall behind. And the backward are always beaten."

When he lashed home this thesis, he would conclude by warning that the attitude of the outside world toward the Soviet Union would be: "You are backward, you are weak, so you are wrong. Hence you can be beaten and enslaved . . . You are powerful, so you are right, hence we must look out for you."

Such nationalistic pleas caused foreigners to compare his dictatorship to that of Adolf Hitler. When Stalin read such comparisons in the American press during the Nazi-Soviet pact, he was furious. He told a British diplomat, "Russia has no intention whatsoever of expanding into Central Europe or Western Europe . . . Those who think I would ever embark on the adventurous path of conquest blatantly underestimate my sense of realities. People who make analogies between Hitler and myself show they know nothing about politics."

Many people who know things about politics are now saying that Stalin is too old to be interested in plotting and carrying through a world revolution. He wants peace. At 65 he believes that he can make his greatest contribution to the workers of the world by establishing socialism in one country, by raising the economic level of the masses in Russia to new highs, by setting up the Soviet Union as the shining example for others to follow—*if they wish to follow.*

Stalin may well be satisfied to go down in history as the man who helped drive Russia out of her backwardness, as the man who solved the national and minority problems, as the only ruler of Russia who ever defeated his nation's enemies in the west and in the east. He can die happy knowing that he has lived to see the fulfilment of this poem which he wrote about his country when he was only 16:

"Know that the one who fell like ashes to the ground,
Who long ago became [illegible],
Will rise more high than these great crags
Winged with brilliant hope."

conditions, said Paasikivi, with a worried frown, "if we brought back to Helsinki such terms as these, there would be no crowds in the streets to sing and cheer for us as there were when we left to come to Moscow." Stalin snapped back, "Don't worry about that—Molotov, Zhdanov and I will come to sing and cheer for you."

Several years ago a Moscow correspondent wrote to Stalin asking about the rumors that he was dying or about to undergo a serious operation. Back came a note from Stalin: "I know from reports of the foreign press that I long ago abandoned this sinful world and moved into the other world. As one cannot doubt such foreign press dispatches unless he wants to be expelled from the list of civilized people, I request you to believe them and don't disturb me in the calm of the other world."

He likes to say the unexpected

Stalin has talked to no reporters since 1941, but he has met many times more British and Americans during the war than he did in his previous 63 years. Although correspondents are thus far excluded from Stalin interviews, they fill his special mailbox at the Kremlin with a weekly deluge of letters. Once in a while Stalin will use one as an excuse for clarifying some important point of Soviet policy.

Correspondents now get their stories about Stalin by interviewing his constant stream of important visitors. Last August the London Poles sent a delegation to Moscow headed by ex-Premier Mikolajczyk. One of the group was Professor Grabski, the man who drew up the Treaty of Riga which Stalin has many times denounced. During the discussions at the Kremlin, Grabski moved over and sat next to Stalin. He began pounding the table and shouting about Poland's claims to Vilna and Lwów. Stalin said very little and some of the delegates felt that old Grabski had queered the act with his violence. But when they left Stalin shook Grabski's hand and said with a broad grin, "You know, you're a very good propagandist. I enjoyed it."

Stalin speaks and reads no other language but Georgian and Russian although he is at home in many of the Soviet Union's offshoot languages. In 1934 he began to learn English. But he soon gave it up, deciding he was too old. "And besides," he told a friend, "I can understand the Mickey Mouse movies without English." He does know a few words, and on one occasion he surprised some British and American guests after a Kremlin banquet by saying in English, "The lavoratory is on the left, friends."

Stalin likes to say unexpected things to his visitors. At Teheran Roosevelt and Churchill were having a chat, waiting for Stalin.

came better known as a correspondent and playwright than as a poet.

Stalin reads a lot, although he hasn't as much time for it as before the war. He has a habit of telephoning people in the middle of the night to express his opinion on their books. When Ilya Ehrenburg was writing *The Fall of France*, he had troubles with the Foreign Office censors who were reading his copy as fast as he finished it. The first half of the novel had been sent to Stalin by the author, more as a gesture than anything else. A few days later Stalin called Ehrenburg at the Moskva Hotel and said he liked the book but hoped "you will bear down harder on the Germans in the second half." Ehrenburg agreed and mentioned, in passing, that he was having censorship difficulties. Stalin made no comment, but the rest of *The Fall of France* passed the censors without a single word being changed. Ehrenburg received the Stalin Prize for this novel.

On several occasions Stalin's intervention has saved literary works from obscurity. A war story, *March-April*, by Vadim Zozhevnikov, had been turned down by the cinema committee as too flimsy for a screen play. But when word spread that Stalin had personally congratulated the author, the committee changed its mind. The movie version of *March-April* was showing on Moscow's screens last spring and an impartial observer might agree with the film committee's original decision.

Stalin himself is the world's best-selling author. His *Leninism* has been printed in every language, and the sales within the U. S. S. R. alone are close to 3,000,000 copies. Shortly after the war, his booklet "On the Great Patriotic War of the Soviet Union" was published. Within a few days 5,500,000 copies were bought. A fourth edition is now being printed, bringing the total to 15,000,000.

Although his literary style is textbook dry, Stalin occasionally has a sardonic flare. The world first heard about Stalin's crisp, edged retorts as a result of the long interview which he granted H. G. Wells many years ago. When asked if he was going to change the world, Stalin replied, "Not very much."

When the present Finnish premier, Paasikivi, visited Moscow in 1939 on a mission to learn Russia's terms for a peaceful settlement with Finland, he was gravely agitated after Stalin had named the

Two other key jobs have readied Zhdanov for dealing with future problems at home and abroad. He was at one time the chief of the party's Propaganda Bureau and for many years served as chairman of the Supreme Soviet's Committee on Foreign Affairs. He was so successful in this latter post that a prominent British statesman reported that "Zhdanov is the architect of Russian foreign policy while Molotov is only the builder." During the present war no political leader excepting Stalin has gained more military kudos than Zhdanov. For he is credited with organizing and directing the defense of Leningrad against the 29-month German and Finnish siege.

If Stalin should die before the war's conclusion, however, the reins would be taken over not by Zhdanov but by the State Defense Committee which includes (aside from Stalin) Molotov, Bulganin, Mikoyan, Malenkov, Beria, Kaganovitch and Voznesensky. Then after the war, unless Zhdanov assumes the entire burden, the Stalin part might be divided up among three lesser actors—Zhukov (military), Molotov (government) and Zhdanov (party).

After the war it is considered probable that Stalin will retire as premier in favor of Molotov and keep only one job, that of party secretary. Although his health is good he is feeling the strain of running the world's biggest army, the world's biggest country and the world's strongest single party. Often now the words "If I live . . ." creep into his conversations.

Meantime, until he dies or retires, Stalin's position is so overpowering that his merest whim becomes an edict although he often may not mean that it should be. His household and his office are run quietly and efficiently, taking into account his pet likes and dislikes. He likes chess, skittles, movies and piano music. In his youth he liked to ride and shoot, but he hasn't done either for years. His artistic tastes are simple, almost conventional. When he listens to music he prefers folk songs or the great classics of Russian opera such as Glinka's *A Life for the Czar* or Borodin's *Prince Igor*.

For a busy man Stalin manages to put his fingers into an incredible number of Moscow's intellectual pies. When he expresses displeasure with some creative work, however, it does not always mean that the offending artists are "liquidated" or even shoved into obscurity. He walked out on Shostakovitch's operatic attempt, *Lady Macbeth from Mzensk* because the music was too difficult and unmelodious—and besides he didn't care for the story. The Soviet press gave the young composer a severe critical laceration, but he has managed to survive Stalin's displeasure and to write even better music.

One of the most popular young Soviet writers is Konstantin Simonov. Before the war he courted a prominent actress by writing passionate verses to her. Some of them were printed in the newspapers and magazines. All Russia followed the romance breathlessly. The verses were collected and published together with many more intimate ones. When a publisher asked Stalin for his opinion of the poetry, Stalin scoffed, "That's the kind of book which should have been printed in *two* copies. One for him and one for her. That's all." The book was hurriedly withdrawn from the bookstalls. Nothing dire happened to Simonov except that he married the girl and be-

tive member of the Young Communists and a good linguist. After passing extremely stiff competitive examinations, she was admitted to the new International Relations school at the First Moscow University last fall. When she enrolled, next to the space left for "FATHER'S TRADE" on the printed application, Svetlana wrote, "Professional revolutionary."

Although it has never been officially verified, announced or denied, Russians think Stalin is married for the third time. His wife is Rosa, younger sister of Lazar Kaganovitch, builder of the Moscow subway and now Commissar of Railways. Rosa has never appeared in public with Stalin, but it is said that he is devoted to her and telephones her every night at midnight from his office. He rarely finishes work until three or four in the morning. But since he has averaged not more than five hours sleep a day since the war's start, he still manages to spend a few hours with Rosa in the early mornings before retiring.

Stalin is not fond of children the way a good politician should be, probably because he has never had time for such a luxury. Occasionally he sends a car for his favorite niece and nephew, children of his second wife's sister. When he thinks of it, he gives them lavish presents. He prefers their company to that of his grandchildren, who are too young for reason.

Stalin's closest friends and associates these days are Molotov, Mikoyan, Voroshilov, Malenkov, Andreyev, Zhukov and Golikov. Golikov has been Stalin's personal aide-de-camp in his role as supreme commander in chief. He is 44, egg-bald, stocky, a graduate of Frunze Academy with a first-hand knowledge of Russia's allies. In the summer of 1941 he was sent to the U. S. and England for military staff talks and conferences on supplies.

Molotov and Mikoyan are closely consulted on their specialties, foreign relations and foreign trade. Marshal Voroshilov, who now has more political than military significance, is a very close personal friend. Marshal Zhukov is considered the real brains of the General Staff, aside from Stalin, and has the title of deputy supreme commander in chief. He is the personal link between Stalin and the armies at the front. Georgiy Malenkov, 43, is Stalin's former private secretary. He and Andrey Andreyev, 49, are two of the three alternates whom Stalin has trained in his role as general secretary of the party. The third alternate is chubby, handsome Andrey Zhdanov, 48, who is secretary of the Leningrad Party, president of the Russian Republic (largest of the 16 republics in the Soviet Union) and a colonel general in the Red Army. It was he who concluded the armistice with Finland last fall and who is now responsible for making sure that the terms are satisfactorily carried out. Of the three alternates, Zhdanov is the heir apparent. If any one man should succeed to Stalin's military-governmental-party leadership, Zhdanov would be the man.

Zhdanov is built like Stalin, has a mustache like Stalin's, acts like Stalin in public. The son of a priest (some clergy can marry in the Russian Church), he is well educated, cultured, extremely serious and an inspiring mass speaker. He fought in the first World War, became a Bolshevik during the Revolution, but only achieved important stature in the party in the last 10 years. In 1934 he was transferred from his post as party secretary in the industrial city of Gorki to a similar position in Leningrad, succeeding Sergei Kirov who had been assassinated. Since that time Zhdanov has been the most carefully guarded, the most inaccessible man in all Russia. Last summer the only request of Eric Johnston's which was denied was his wish to see Zhdanov.

except when the car is crowded. Then he takes one of the folding jump seats. This custom is followed by so many Soviet big shots that Russians call the seats "politburos." Stalin spends a few hours studying reports radioed from the various fronts, then goes to his own office in the Kremlin. This large room, with its familiar portraits of Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Stalin, has had some recent additions to its *décor*. When Stalin became a marshal in 1943, paintings of Alexander Nevsky, Czarist Marshals Suvorov and Kutuzov were added, and last October U.S. Ambassador Harriman presented Stalin with a bust of Franklin Delano Roosevelt.

Stalin keeps a staff of secretaries busy taking dictation and making out reports. About three or four in the afternoon he lunches at his desk, often alone. Except for an occasional glass of cold tea this lasts him until 10 or 11 at night when he has supper in his Kremlin apartment. This meal takes from one to three hours, and over it he discusses party, governmental and military problems with members of the party's Politburo or the General Staff or both. Stalin eats heartily and drinks moderately, although at large state banquets he has been known to down as many as 30 *stakanchiki* of vodka without any apparent effects except increased jollity.

His private life is a mystery to Russians

No members of Stalin's immediate family have lived with him in the Kremlin for years. His first wife, the mother of his eldest son, Jacob, died in 1917 of pneumonia. In 1919 he married 17-year-old Nadya Alliluieva (which means Hallelujah). They had two children, Vassily and Svetlana. Nadya died on Nov. 8, 1932. Although the Trotskyists spread rumors that she had been poisoned, actually she died of peritonitis. Despite pains from an appendicitis attack, she was afraid to disturb her husband and tell him. By the time an appendectomy was performed, it was too late.

Nadya was buried in the cemetery of the Convent of the New Virgins in Moscow. This convent is now the theological school of the Russian Orthodox Church.

The oldest son, Jacob, who has always used his father's family name, Djugashvili, was backward in school. After a period at a technical institute he became an engineer's assistant. Supposedly not in his father's favor, Jacob was working in the Soviet east when the war broke out. He volunteered in the Red Army and was captured by the Germans in July 1941. The Nazis have attempted to utilize him for propaganda purposes, but according to underground reports Jacob has remained loyal to father and fatherland.

While the tall, dark Jacob is said to look like his mother, his half-brother, Vassily, resembles his father. He has much of Stalin's onetime swagger and bounce. Before the war he had a reputation as a ladies' man and a heavy drinker, but he is married now and has made Stalin twice a grandfather. He is small and handsome with a swarthy complexion, black hair and a long nose. At school he was considered bright but headstrong and vain. He often got into fights which were suddenly broken up when a plain-clothes guard appeared and whispered his identity. An air-force colonel now, he commanded a fighter squadron which distinguished itself continually in the Byelorussian campaign. Several times Vassily was cited in Stalin's Order of the Day, but no official communique has mentioned the newsworthy fact that he is the Marshal's son.

The youngest Stalin offspring, Svetlana, is more fair than her brothers and also more diligent. A close friend of Molotov's daughter, she is an ac-

papers, his portraits in every public building and office, his statue in every park. The people can tell you Stalin's approximate age, that he is quite short (5 ft., 5 in.), heavy (about 160 lb.), that his shoulders are not very broad but that his uniform makes them look that way; that his head and mustache are large and that he has a sallow, pocked complexion. They would not know that his lower teeth are rotten or that his uppers are black and brown. They know he smokes a pipe, but not that he prefers Edgeworth tobacco.

Most Russians know that Stalin has been married twice and some recall that he has three children. They know very little more than that about his family life. The kind of facts that people know are that Stalin has been jailed eight times, exiled to Siberia seven times, escaped six times; that his parents were poor Georgian peasants, that he was an only son and was educated for the priesthood. They will tell you that while Lenin and Trotsky lived abroad and planned and plotted the Revolution, Stalin stayed at home and lived the Revolution in every detail from printing newspapers to committing acts of sabotage. The Russian legend pictures him as a modest man, but there are no signs that he discourages the rabbitlike reproduction of big and little monuments in his name. The things in Stalin's name are legion; great parks, great factories, great railroads and at least five great cities (Stalingrad, Stalinabad, Stalino, Stalinsk and Stalinagorsk). Each musical season includes the premiere of some new oratorio like the *Ode to Stalin*. Last summer in the midst of a tremendous Red Army offensive, *Pravda* devoted one of its four pages to a poem from a North Caucasian in praise of Stalin. Soviet poets are constantly trying to get him down on paper in the measured pentameter of 125 different languages. The verse offerings vary in quality, but these lines by a Kazakh admirer are typical of the sentiments expressed in them all:

He is the strength of the poor
He took unto himself the tears of the ages.
He took into himself the joy of the ages,
He took into himself the wisdom of the ages,
He took into himself the strength of the ages,
He, like the morning, stands over the world.

Less eloquent Russians too like to lift their voices in praise of Stalin. Red Army men as they rush over the top to face Nazi bullets yell, "*Za Stalina!* . . . for Stalin!" Militia women, marching through Moscow's streets every night on their way to the bathhouse, sing about Stalin with towels slung over their broad shoulders.

The average Muscovite knows that Stalin lives in the Kremlin, which is not a building but a high-walled fortress containing about 40 buildings—palaces, churches, museums, barracks, gardens, meeting halls and offices. Stalin prefers to sleep at his *dacha*, which is a 40-minute drive from the Kremlin. This house once belonged to a millionaire gold-mine owner. It stands near the Moscow River and is surrounded by a red brick wall and N.K.V.D. sentries. Stalin's closest neighbor is his friend and fellow-Georgian, Lavrenty Beria, chief of the N.K.V.D., or internal police.

He eats a lot, drinks moderately

Behind the gray walls of the Kremlin and the red walls of the *dacha*, Stalin's activities are a mystery to the average Russian. All he sees or hears about are the results of these activities. Stalin rises at about 11 in the morning and after a light snack is driven in his big, black, bullet-proof Zis to Red Army staff headquarters. He sits up front with the driver (a Red Army captain)

costs. By analyzing the defects in the proposed schemes, so the story goes, he saved the state millions of rubles.

On the rare occasions when Stalin doesn't get his own way, he can supposedly accept the verdict with good grace. Last summer he had a series of conferences with plane designers on increasing the range of Soviet airships. Semyon Lavochkin, designer of the LAGG fighter, reported in *Pravda* that he listened to Stalin's ideas for some time and then told the Marshal that he could not increase the range of the LAGG. "You don't want to accept my changes for your plane?" asked Stalin. Lavochkin replied, "I can't Comrade Stalin." Stalin turned his back and consulted with other engineers for a few minutes. Then he turned to Lavochkin again and asked, "Now, what can I do with him? He doesn't want to. So we'll drop the matter there." The new model of the LAGG does *not* incorporate Stalin's ideas, and nothing dire has happened to Lavochkin. The Russians consider this an amazing demonstration of Stalin's goodness.

In military matters also Stalin has displayed an impressive fund of information, including some familiarity with U. S. military campaigns from Valley Forge to Vicksburg and St. Mihiel. This virtuosity dovetails nicely with the legend of Stalin as successor to Alexander Nevsky, Peter the Great, Suvorov and other pre-Revolutionary Russian military heroes. Soviet histories emphasize Stalin's role in the 1917 Revolution and the civil war which followed. In his book, Marshal Voroshilov gives Stalin complete credit as organizer and builder of the Red Army. The story is that Stalin saved Tsaritsyn (Stalingrad) during the civil war and then went from front to front reorganizing the Red Army and winning battles against superhuman odds. This aspect of the Stalin legend has been refurbished with dozens of anecdotes from the present war. For instance, on Nov. 25, during the first winter of the war, advance units of Guderian's tank forces had penetrated Moscow's outskirts. That night General, now Marshal, Rokossovsky, was fighting a losing battle on the road northwest of the capital. The phone rang in his dugout. Amid the roar of cannonfire he heard a calm voice. "*Govorit Stalin* . . . Stalin speaking. What's the situation?" Rokossovsky explained in detail. Then the quiet voice of Stalin said, "Hold even stronger. We will help you. That's all." Soon after that powerful reserves which had been training in the woods behind Moscow were rushed up. The German offensive was checked and then smashed.

Another part of the Stalin legend makes him out to be an infallible military prognosticator. While his record may be better than that of Major George Fielding Eliot, he is certainly not infallible. On Nov. 7, 1941 he stood atop Lenin's tomb in Red Square and assured the people that "Another few months, another half year, perhaps another brief year, and Hitlerite Germany is bound to burst beneath the weight of its crimes." A year later the Germans were at Stalingrad.

Such aberrations in Stalin's judgment do not distort the popular image of him as a symbol. The Russian "deification" process can not be shattered by minor mistakes as long as the war is won. And Americans must keep in mind that there are no opposition newspapers in the Soviet Union to remind people of the Nov. 7, 1941 speech or any other Stalin errors. Nor are there any columnists to poke into Stalin's private life.

The average Russian knows far less about Stalin, personally, than the average American. Muscovites have seen Stalin perhaps a half dozen times during his public appearances on [illegible] Square for holidays. They have seen his picture in the news-

How? First there is the legend of Stalin's wonderful storehouse of knowledge, both classical and practical. His speeches and his conversations are often studded with allusions to Greek mythology, to Aristotle, Plato, Hegel, Nietzsche and the Bible as well as Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin. He is familiar with all the great Slav writers and supposedly knows more about Shakespeare, Dickens and Fenimore Cooper than an Oxford dean. Like Roosevelt and Churchill, Stalin of course has talented assistants helping him with his speeches, digesting foreign publications for him and probably polishing his *bon mots*. But the Russians do not know this and if they did they would probably not admit it into their conscious minds.

He knows U.S. production

The Russians think of Stalin's knowledge of politics, men, machines and even foreign industrial capacities as equally incalculable. And, in fact, he does appear to be extraordinarily well informed. Last summer he argued with Eric Johnston, president of the U. S. Chamber of Commerce, about America's top prewar production of automobiles. The persuasive Johnston convinced Stalin to accept his estimate. But later Johnston found out that Stalin had been thinking of the total for both trucks and passenger cars—and that the figure he gave for this was right. Johnston willingly admitted that "Stalin knows American production figures better than 90% of American businessmen."

Perhaps one secret of "doing six things at once" is that Stalin never does them that way. He has the knack of pushing everything aside, however briefly, and concentrating on a new problem until it is solved. The Russians will tell you that when Sergei Iliushin was constructing his famous Stormovik plane, Stalin cleared all other work from his desk until he mastered the details of this ship. Then he made an important suggestion which simplified the construction and considerably reduced the building time. It is said that when Chkalov proposed his transpolar trip to America, Stalin was consulted on the type of plane. And when Papanin prepared his North Pole expedition, Stalin became an expert on Arctic meteorology and personally directed the efforts to rescue the group stranded on an ice floe. When Moscow's water system was being revised, Stalin plunged into the study of maps, blueprints and

CONTINUED ON NEXT PAGE

partisan recuperating from a serious shoulder wound, glared at his mother and then said, matter-of-factly, "I suppose the man, Stalin, may have to die someday. But Stalin, the ideal, is ours now forever."

For several years a foreign mission in Moscow has been quietly and unofficially surveying the public attitude toward Stalin. While the "poll" is hardly as exhaustive as one by Dr. Gallup or Elmo Roper, it does support the opinion of many other observers in Russia: that although there are still some anti-Stalinist Russians, they are no longer either potent or vocal. Three and a half years of what Stalin termed the "Great Patriotic War" has effectively united, as never before, most of the Soviet peoples behind the present dictatorship.

Even the acting Patriarch of the Russian Church recently addressed Stalin as "our dear supreme leader whom God has sent us." Americans may smile at this tribute, but Russians do not find it a cause for mirth, not even the Russian Communists who are still nonbelievers. Tens of millions of devout worshipers are convinced that the motherland has again been saved from destruction, as in the time of Napoleon and other invaders, by the emergence of a potent and sage leader who is able to unite the masses and vanquish the foe. Today Russians can no more imagine the Soviet Union without Stalin than Americans can imagine the U. S. without its constitution. They have built a legend around Stalin.

In it Stalin, the symbol or ideal, and Stalin, the man, are fused. His accomplishments, real and legendary, would make him a combination of Tom Paine, Horace Mann, Henry Kaiser and Jim Farley rolled together with Clifton Fadiman, George Washington, Henry Wallace and Paul Bunyan. In his latest official biography Stalin is hailed for achievements covering the fields of agriculture, education, military affairs, canal building, polar exploration and even the editing of Rules for Collective Farms. He is also referred to as the author of the 1936 Constitution. A prominent party leader once frankly admitted that "It is not easy to grasp the figure of Stalin in all its gigantic proportions." He stated that, in fact, "there has been no major development in our labors, no innovation, slogan or trend of policy of any importance of which Comrade Stalin was not the author."

That Stalin would have to perform six miracles at once to live up to this advertising does not worry the Russians. The things are done, and everything the Russian people read and hear says that Stalin did them.

STALIN AT 65

THE WORLD'S LEAST-KNOWN GREAT MAN HAS BECOME SAVIOR, SYMBOL AND LIVING LEGEND TO RUSSIANS

by RICHARD E. LAUTERBACH

The author, an associate editor of LIFE, recently returned from the Soviet Union where he spent ten months as *Time* and LIFE correspondent. During his stay in Moscow and in his travels around the country he collected the current legends and stories about Marshal Stalin. Interviewing Stalin's ever larger number of foreign visitors, he has found out details of the Marshal's life which most Americans—and most Russians do not know.

On Dec. 21 Joseph Stalin was 65 years old. The Russians realize that Stalin is not getting any younger. But they almost never discuss the possibility of his death. Once, while having a late supper at the home of a young partisan in Moscow, I broached the subject by asking, "Who will succeed Stalin?"

The reaction of this family, which had what we would call a "middle-class" background, is an interesting indication of the attitudes of different generations. The mother, a pretty but unsuccessful actress in her early 40s, replied in a tone of contempt, "He's a Georgian. *He* will *never* die. They live forever."

The aged, toothless grandmother, intensely religious and nationalistic, quickly crossed herself and mumbled, "May God will it!" Her grandson, a

whether the world will be guided or tyrannized over by the hegemonous powers, and whether, in the short run—that is to say, by the critical year 1970—there will be a war of the regional groupings.

A system of regional blocs which are merely military alliances means war: and those who support the idea should realize to what they are committing themselves. De Gaulle's old-fashioned tightrope walk, balancing between East and West, is also bound to fail.

What hope is there then for Europe? There is still time for a coördinated European policy, if the Foreign Office reflects the present feeling of Britain, and abandons its worn-out dynastic politics, together with the reactionary parties, one stage removed from the dynasties. The peoples of Europe want peace: but they will fight for liberty. Britain can't hope to lead them with bayonets. Our prestige depends on the extent to which we allow liberated Europe to copy our political democracy. It is the first step toward creating trust—the primary condition of a European organization in which, with the sympathies of the smaller powers balanced between East and West, Russia's vast resources will be a contribution, not a threat.

London MAURICE EDELMAN

Gaulle sees security by an iron restraint on Germany from both the West and the East, while his Western allies finance France's reconstruction. But he wants security against Britain and the USA, as he wants it against Russia. He no more wants France to be a vassal of British and American business men than he wants her to be a dependent of Russia. But however anxious de Gaulle is to compensate for France's weakness by making her the arbiter of the European balance of power, France will be subject to the stresses and volitions of the two great powers in the scale. If Europe falls into a Western and Eastern bloc, France won't be able to act the part of a great neutral. One or other of the powerful flanking blocs, on whom she will depend militarily or economically, will force her to take sides.

I've spoken of a Western bloc in the same way as those who advocate it; that is to say, without defining it. But the term must be clarified. Does it mean a *Zollverein*—a customs union—of Scandinavia, the Low Countries, France and Britain? Does it mean a single currency? Does it mean a coördinated economic policy? Or does it mean a military alliance? Those who imagine that it means a local economic arrangement within an international framework don't do justice to the ambition of those who are attempting to form the Western bloc. A Western bloc would have to defend as well as foster the interests of its constituent powers. It would inevitably seek to counter the influence of Russia—the nation of 251 millions in 1970.

The conception of the Western bloc is as much power politics as the conception of an Eastern bloc, now taking form in Eastern Europe, with Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, and perhaps Greece, as the clients of the USSR. We are now in the stage of diplomatic maneuver in which the high cards are military prestige, military force and food.

However friendly their intentions, Britain and Russia must dispute the mastery of Europe, if they seek security in *unrelated* blocs or spheres of influence. New methods of war—flying bombs and rockets—make it essential for Britain to have a friendly Continental seaboard. A fascist Pas de Calais is a menace to a democratic Britain, just as a fascist Warsaw or Viborg is to the USSR.

Does this then mean that Europe can only hope for a Western and Eastern bloc, with Britain dominating the politics of the West and Russia those of the East and Southeast? It is inevitable that great powers will influence their neighbors by their example and their trade. Regional groupings can serve the peace of Europe by administering matters such as customs unions, location of industry, and economic budgets, planned by an overriding European organization.

It is the nature of these groupings, and the use that is likely to be made of them, which will decide

the Economic, Financial and Transit Department of the League confirm already observed trends. Russia is going to have the greatest manpower of Europe in the critical year of 1970, when the nations, having caught their breath after World War II, will be considering whether to send the 1946-7, or '48, class into battle.

Nor will the USSR be dominant in Europe for its population alone. Despite the havoc in the Ukraine, it will emerge from this war as a mighty industrial power, far stronger than it was in 1941. When we say that Russia will need 25 years to rebuild her ruined cities and industries, we are thinking only of western Russia. The whole area east of Moscow has already multiplied its resources. Bashkiria, the "Second Baku," the Urals, duplicating the industries of the West, the thousand-mile-long Magnitogorsk-Kuznetsk industrial axis, the new and little reported Angara zone in Siberia, have enabled Russia, despite her losses, to exceed her 1941 figures of production. Russia will welcome foreign help between now and 1970, but she won't be dependent on it. Her combination of manpower and material resources will make her formidable for peace or war; and just as magnetism increases in proportion to the mass, so Russia, by attracting her smaller neighbors to her mass, will still further increase her powers to attract. That is the situation which makes the Foreign Office think of Britain's continental alliances.

Pierlot and Gerbrandy have already assented to the conception of a Western bloc. Though geography draws King Haakon to Russia, inclination makes him adhere to Britain. The kings and business men of the Low Countries and Scandinavia are disposed toward a Western bloc. It is small wonder that the Allied High Command prefers the collaboration of the Pierlot government to the collaboration of a Resistance government in Belgium: both will fight the Germans (though a government, with the people, is likely to have more success than one propped up on Allied bayonets), but after victory Pierlot will turn to the West, whereas a Communist-influenced Resistance government will look to the East.

France is a different cup of tea from the Low Countries. De Gaulle, brought to prominence by British help, now sustains his power on popular French support. As Bidault recently said, "He is a man who knows how to say 'No!'" De Gaulle does not want France to be a junior member of a Western bloc. On the contrary, he sees France as the fulcrum of a scale in which Russia and the British Empire balance each other. France alone (36 million, remember, in 1970) is materially a second-rate power. She needs the economic help of Britain and America; but to accept it might make her their political client, were it not for her own diplomatic power as a potential ally of Russia. France needs security and materials to rebuild. De-

Western Bloc or European Union?

THE OLD Foreign Office diplomacy is hard at work, establishing its alliances for postwar security, buttressing the Pierlots and the Papandreous, putting its trust in complaisant princes and using the British liberation armies to disarm the liberated. The mass of public opinion in Britain is bewildered, and the report of politically ill informed war correspondents (or perhaps the kind of editing which, in The (London) Daily Telegraph, described the Athens fighting as between the left-wing ELAS and the *democratic* EDES), has added to public confusion. The term "Reds"—respectable since Russia came into the war—is again being used with a sting by the Conservative press. What the simple British citizen can't understand is why are we supporting unpopular and reactionary governments—constitutional only in the sense that they were the government before the German attack—against the popular will. The answer is that in the absence of a general plan for security, Britain, at her end of Europe and along the imperial routes, is seeking security through her own influence with governments, just as Russia at her end is establishing her influence through her armies. For the time being, the British view of foreign policy seems twofold—the official Foreign Office policy, which wants to organize regional blocs with the support of the governments which have been nurtured in Britain during the war, and the Opposition policy, which believes that local alliances mean war, and wants a European organization as part of an even larger world organization, supported by popular governments of resistant antifascists. (There are also cross-currents of opinion in the Right and Left—the progressive Conservatives who want a strong alliance with Russia, and the rather naïve Socialists, who believe that you can have a Western bloc which won't develop a collective military interest.)

The Foreign Office's traditional fear is of a great land-power dominating Europe. Britain fought France to prevent such a hegemony; she is fighting Germany for the same purpose. Now the Foreign Office is looking ahead at Russia's growth in political and material strength. By 1970, it is estimated, according to a League of Nations report, that the population of the USSR will have risen from 174 million in 1940 to 251 million. The combined populations of Northwestern and Central Europe (that is to say, the United Kingdom and Ireland, Austria, Belgium, Czecho-Slovakia, France, Germany, Hungary, the Netherlands and Switzerland) will have fallen from 234 million to 225 million. Great Britain's population will have fallen from 50.2 million to 46.8 million; France, from 41.2 million to 36 million. If the rate of mortality and fertility doesn't change greatly, the population of Germany proper is likely to remain constant at 69 million. Even allowing for inaccuracies of several millions caused by at present unknown factors—starvation, plague and deportations—these forecasts of

for 12 billions, exceeded 22 billions; the 1944 loan exceeded 28 billions. Taken together, they produced 61.2 billion rubles. Up to the beginning of the war the total state loans totaled some 50 billions. Thus, during the war more was subscribed than in all previous loans combined. The state also sponsors lotteries, which have yielded some seven billion rubles.

Fifth, the burden of financing the war has been lightened by Lend-Lease from the United States, which has sent to the Russians roughly seven billion dollars' worth of goods—35 billion rubles at the official rate of exchange.

Naturally, since factories are working on military supplies, a shortage of consumers' goods exists. Government-rationed articles are sold at prewar prices, but on the open market prices are high. To control the open market, the government has recently opened commercial stores where articles can be purchased without coupons at high prices. These stores serve the double purpose of reducing prices on the open market and bringing back to the government the surplus funds of people. While relatively unimportant, these stores have nevertheless brought in hundreds of millions of rubles.

Russia's budget has thus been built on a sound economic structure. After the war her financial position will be strong.

Moscow (by cable) JEROME DAVIS

How Russia Finances the War

IN THE UNITED STATES the national debt is rapidly rising to astronomical proportions, and sooner or later the bulk of the bonds issued will drift into the coffers of banks and great corporations. Not long after the war the United States will have the greatest concentration of wealth in all history.

Russia has a socialistic economy. All production belongs to the state, to coöperatives or collective farms. The more that is produced, the more there is to divide. Russia doesn't worry about postwar unemployment, but rather about a labor shortage.

The Soviet Union has always had to spend huge sums on defense. It embraces one-sixth of the land surface of the earth, with frontiers stretching for 65,000 kilometers and bordering on 14 countries. After the European war broke out, the 1941 Soviet budget for defense was boosted to 70.9 billion rubles. When Germany attacked Russia in June, the amount was increased by 20.6 billions. Additional huge sums had to be spent for the evacuation of plants and the organization of new war industries.

The Germans advanced with startling speed, and a large loss of revenue from occupied regions resulted. Russia offset these losses by reducing expenditures on economic development by 21.6 billion rubles, and on cultural and welfare services by 16.5 billions. In occupying the richest part of Russia, Hitler expected to paralyze her finances. He was totally mistaken. Russia had long planned the allocation of her basic industries to prepare for just such an emergency, and had increased her agricultural yield through the collective-farm movement.

Russia fixed her 1942 war budget at 182.8 billion rubles. Of this, 108.4 billions went for war—297 millions a day. By 1943 the budget was increased to 209.7 billions, of which 124.7 billion rubles went for war. The daily expenditure increased to 340 millions. By 1943 the Red Army was smashing German defenses and recapturing territory devastated, plundered and burned by the Nazis. Enormous expenditures for reconstruction became imperative. The Soviet budget for 1944 was 249.6 billion rubles, with 128.4 billions allocated for war—roughly 350 million rubles a day.

How does Russia raise these huge sums? First, from funds accumulated by state-owned and coöperative en-

tablishments on which the government imposes a turnover tax. Everything above the cost of manufacture belongs to the state. The wholesale price is determined by three factors: the actual cost, the turnover tax and the profit. The turnover tax varies widely. On tractors needed by farmers and coal needed by industry, the tax is not more than one percent. On liquor it is enormous.

The collective farms are taxed four percent on all produce used on the farms, such as seed and food, and also on the income received from sales to the state. The farms pay eight percent on revenue distributed to members, and on products sold on the general market. The 1940 receipts from this tax on coöperatives were 800 million rubles. In the case of other state-owned services, such as the transport system, there is a tax on non-commodity operations.

From 1938 to 1940, inclusive, the total income of the Soviet state was 450 billion rubles; the turnover tax brought 283 billions, and profits donated by economic enterprises came to 48 billions. This represented three-fourths of all the income.

In 1945 it is planned to obtain 148.6 billion rubles —61 percent of all the revenue—from these sources. During the war, industry has been able to improve its production techniques and reduce costs. In 1944 alone, this saved 35 billions.

The second source of the Russian budget is taxes on the population. A special war tax enacted at the end of 1941 provided for a monthly income tax. For war purposes, an annual income of up to 1,800 rubles is taxable to the amount of 120 rubles. The amount of tax is increased progressively: income between 9,600 and 10,800 rubles is taxed 1,020; income above 24,000 is taxed 2,700 annually. The tax on farmers ranges from 150 to 500 rubles a year. Persons of military age but exempt from service pay 50 percent more. Those in military service, their families, invalids, men over 60 and women over 55 are exempt. Up to 1944 this tax had brought in 33 billion rubles. Persons without children pay an additional six-percent tax; those who have lost a child during the war are exempt.

Third, voluntary donations by Soviet citizens almost equal the total receipts from income tax. Up to the present, monetary contributions alone amounted to more than 14 billions. Additional contributions of gold, jewelry and valuables, plus four billion rubles' worth of state loan bonds, have been made. The collective farms plant extra land and contribute its yield. In Georgia alone the extra land totaled 14,000 acres. Besides all this, people donate goods for the soldiers: the Kazakh people alone gave 1,600 carloads of gifts, besides two million winter garments.

Fourth, there are war loans. Thus far the government has floated three: the 1942 loan was subscribed to the amount of 12.9 billion rubles; the 1943 loan,

PRAVDA CRITICIZES ALLIES

Says Russia Keeps Hands Off in Liberated Countries

LONDON, Jan. 1 (AP)—Ilya Ehrenburg, writing in the Communist party newspaper Pravda, declared today that the Russians had not disarmed Partisans in countries liberated by Russia because "the Red Army is a liberator and not a nurse."

The writer's thinly-veiled attack on Anglo-American policies in liberated countries, broadcast by the Moscow radio, asserted also that the Russians had not meddled in the people's affairs nor denied any factions freedom of expression in countries they had liberated.

Russia

This is a clipping from page 11 of the New York Times for

JAN. 2, 1945

Clipped at the Seat of Government.

ed economy, for instance, he said at Lille:

"There are conditions to fulfill, the first of which evidently is that the people, that is the state, take over direction of the great sources of common riches and that it control certain other activities, without obviously excluding those great motives of human life represented by initiative and legitimate profits."

Of trusts he said:

"It is no longer possible to accept those concentrations of interests that are called trusts, concentrations which no more answer the needs of a new economic life than military feudalism in the past answered the needs of defense when those needs became national rather than local."

This, of course, is not Communism or Socialism, but it does represent a revolutionary change in the thinking of a great part of the French people, which means that the old world of purely private, capitalistic enterprise is losing ground.

Over and over again, I have heard Frenchmen and Belgians and Yugoslavs talk of a "New Deal" for their countries, in American terms rather than in Russian terms. They say:

"Never again must the trusts be in a position to rule us, to threaten our political liberty by their own economic power. Never again, in the name of their own economic interests, must they be in a position to betray us to our enemies." They don't talk, however, of collectivized farms or the elimination of all private enterprise.

The best estimate of Communist strength in Europe, which I have received from all political groups, including the Communists, is that perhaps 15 or 20 per cent of the people of Europe would today vote Communist. That, of course, is very much higher than the old Communist vote of prewar days, but it is by no means high enough to take power in any of the liberated countries.

One thing, however, must not be forgotten. The Communists, without question, even though in the minority, have probably been the best organized and most clearly dynamic forces in the Resistance movements of Europe during the past three years. They still hold powerful leadership in that Resistance movement. If Europe's reactionary forces should, by one means or another, be able to prevent the putting into effect of a New Deal for Europe, then it is certain that many of the less radical members of the Resistance parties will turn to the Communists.

The great danger is that the old Rightist ruling forces in the liberated countries will take renewed courage from the reactionary policies of both the U. S. A. and Great Britain, and will seek to dam the wave of change that is certain to sweep Europe. The revolution in ideas already has taken place. What remains to be determined is whether that revolution will produce civil war.

My own feeling is that the wave of social and economic reform for which the majority of Europeans are fighting will be skilfully watered down, but that watering down cannot go too far, and it is certain that the solutions which are arrived at ultimately will be horribly Left from the viewpoint of the Union League Club and the tory back benches.

It is quite possible that what will come out is a strange mixture of what will seem Communism or National Socialism to many Americans. This ought not to be surprising, for the two states which have left the deepest mark on present-day Europe are Russia and Germany.

Russia's Power

The power of Russia in the present war must inevitably lead to a strengthening of Socialist concepts in Europe. Some of the aspects of Hitler's Nazi Europe equally have left a profound impression. For Hitler showed Europe that it was capable of being organized in a powerful economic and military unit. It is for that reason that the internal structure of some of the liberated states may still show signs of Nazi influence, although the Nazi totalitarian State will never be tolerated.

One thing is certain. Political democracy is not enough. Churchill's definition of democracy as a society in which citizens do their duty to the state and come to the polls, from time to time, to vote for a government, is oversimplified.

The democracy of the future in Europe is certain to express itself in many other forms of state activity, from worker-management committees to all sorts of plans for social insurance and participation in the life of the state itself. "Freedom from want," has become a real slogan for the people of Europe.

P. 3

By Alexander H. Uhl

New Europe Is Fighting for Freedom

Only Reactionaries Label as Communism 'New Deal' Trend

This is another in a series by PM's Foreign Editor, who has just returned from an eight-month tour of the fighting fronts and liberated areas of Europe.

By ALEXANDER H. UHL

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PM Exclusive

When Churchill gets up in the House of Commons, as he did the other day, and talks about the Greeks who don't want the king back as being bandits and gangsters and Communists, he is voicing the typical tory fear throughout all Europe of revolutionary changes that are going to destroy or modify profoundly Europe's old ruling classes. For, the one question that pops up in every dinner-table conversation, whether it be in London or Paris or Rome or Brussels, is — "Is Europe going Communist?"

I don't know enough about Eastern Europe to have any worthwhile answer. But I have traveled through all of the liberated countries of Western Europe and talked with many hundreds of people ranging from the Ministers of the old Belgian Government in Exile to hundreds of Resistance men and women, who are groping for an answer just as eagerly as we are. So far as I can see, Western Europe is not going Communist in any doctrinaire sense.

Alexander Uhl

What is likely to happen in Europe may be called Communism by the reactionaries, even Nazism by others, but it will be rather a reflection of the bitter lessons of the last five years and the needs of societies that can no longer function under old social and economic concepts.

New Meanings

Everywhere I went among the liberated people I found the vast majority, whether of the Right or of the Left, in agreement that Europe was "going toward the Left," but nowhere did I find any concrete expression of just what this meant in political terms.

What has happened is that the words Left, Right, Center, as expressions of definite political philosophies, have lost their old meanings. There is, instead, a widespread groping toward some kind of a society in terms of human values and that always had been identified with the Left rather than with the property-conscious parties of the Right.

You don't have to be in Europe very long before you realize that there has been a revolution in men's ideas. That this Fourth Freedom—"Freedom from Want" is a revolutionary concept just as Freedom of Religion, Freedom of Thought were revolutionary concepts in their day.

That may sound too much like Wallace to suit a lot of people, and it may sound fuzzy and fancy—but, at the same time it is a fact. Men are getting themselves killed for it.

There are old-line Leftists who will say: "But this is all obvious. We have been saying that for a century." The difference now is that millions and millions of people are becoming aware of what has been said for the past century, under the shock of what happened in the past five years, although they are not sure of the concrete solutions.

What is going on is a revolution, but a revolution that is one of ideas rather than one of an actual physical upheaval. It is a revolution in ideas that will inevitably bring into power new ruling groups, but it is not a revolution that necessarily will destroy all of the old fabric of Western Europe as we knew it.

This search for a solution of the problem of social and economic security and progress is not merely confined to the workers and to the old parties of the Left. It has made inroads within the more conservative parties. The result is that when you talk of Europe going to the Left, you cannot talk merely of the number of people who may vote Socialist or Communist in the coming election. You have got to talk rather of the changed social and economic ideas of great numbers of people, many of whom normally would be regarded as conservative.

Take de Gaulle, for instance. De Gaulle symbolizes to a great extent this "movement toward the Left." Here is a member of the French military hierarchy, once reputed to be a Royalist, a good churchman, and nevertheless capable of accepting the nationalization of French key industries. Speaking of direct-

PM, Jan. 3, 1945, p. 3

EUROPE WILL ROOT OUT REACTION

By A. Leontiev

IN his Report on the 27th Anniversary of the Great October Revolution, Comrade Stalin said:

"In this war the Hitlerites have sustained not only a military defeat, but also a moral and political defeat. The ideology of equality of all races and nations, which has taken firm root in our country, the ideology of friendship among the peoples has emerged completely victorious over the Hitlerite ideology of bestial nationalism and racial hatred."

Thus he formulated, simply, clearly, a conclusion of tremendous, world-wide significance. The great Patriotic War of the Soviet people against the German-Fascist invaders is the most just of all wars ever waged in the history of mankind. In this war of the freedom-loving peoples against Hitlerite Germany not only the fate of separate peoples is being decided, but also the road human society will travel in the future.

Fascism Not an "Internal Affair"

Fascism, as a social phenomenon, cannot in any way be considered an internal affair of this or that country. To-day no one can resurrect the short-sightedness of those who declared the Fascist regime in Germany to be Germany's own internal affair. The people who considered Fascism an antidote to radical tendencies, a defence against the danger of all kinds of social upheavals, have clearly miscalculated.

Moreover, they have served their own peoples extremely badly. They lulled the social conscience and stifled the threat of alarm. Their countries proved ill-prepared to repulse the Fascist attack when Hitler made his bid for world domination.

It is no accident that the ideological instrument of the German Fascists, in their struggle for world domination, should be the misanthropic race theory. The ideology of brute nationalism and racial hatred underlay Hitler's plans to seize "living space" at the expense of foreign countries and peoples. The so-called racial laws enacted before the war, and the war-time "new order" in the occupied territories meant, for the Germans, fullest licence for any crime against the representatives of another people.

To say merely that the Germans' blatant pretensions to superiority have no real basis would be quite inadequate. Of all the works of civilisation, the Germans have preserved only those that serve war and the technique of destruction. They preserved a highly developed industry only in order to put it wholly at the service of war.

Jackal Aped Tiger

The plague of Fascism, carried by Germany, infected several other countries; many of them provided very fertile soil. It is common knowledge that in pre-war Europe, wherever anti-popular regimes were dominant, there was inequality and oppression of peoples. The reactionary Governments of these countries were tireless in their efforts to stir up conflict between nationalities. The oppression of millions of Ukrainians and Byelorussians and the Jewish pogroms served the policy of pre-war Poland's ruling circles.

In pre-war Yugoslavia the reactionary "Greater Serbia" policy undermined the very foundations of Yugoslavia's strength. Ideological chauvinism was the essential characteristic of Italian Fascism and the pro-Fascist regimes of Hungary, Rumania, Bulgaria and Finland. Hitler's satellites did their best to keep up with the Germans in their bestial nationalism. The Roman jackal, yelping about his intention to dominate the Mediterranean, was aped by the operatic Marshal Antonescu, who screamed about a "Greater Rumania" stretching almost to the Volga and the Caucasus. Hitler's Finnish followers busied themselves with plans for a "Greater Finland" reaching to the Urals and including Leningrad. The Hungarian Hitlerites talked of the historic mission of "Great Hungary."

The Hitlerites fully expected that racialism would serve as a secure moral-political basis for German domination over the enslaved peoples. To their side rallied the Mikhailovichs and the Quislings. But against them rallied the peoples of the enslaved countries.

The Brother-Peoples

In liberated Polish territory the State foundations of a new, independent and democratic Poland are being successfully laid, free from the ravaging conflicts between nationalities that brought so much harm to pre-war Poland. A new Yugoslavia is arising, democratic, free and federative, strong in the unity of equal brother-peoples who have at long last thrown off all those conflicts between the Yugoslav peoples that helped only their worst enemies.

The people who have been, and are being, freed from Hitlerite domination do not want to return to the thoroughly rotten reactionary regimes whose fateful mistakes cost them so dear. The peoples who have felt on their backs the yoke of the Germans and their insidious agents are filled with a burning hatred for Fascism. This expresses the moral-political defeat of Germany.

The European peoples want to finish for ever with Fascist and pro-Fascist rulers, to end the ruinous policy of chauvinism, to cure the cancer of enmity among peoples, the cancer that eats away the national organism.

Hatred of the Enemy

The race theory and policy have bound the Germans in a bloody, common responsibility. Their fear of inevitable retribution gives their resistance a special ferocity. But it can only prolong a hopeless resistance of the doomed. It cannot be a source of strength. It cannot change the inevitable course of events.

Hatred for the Germans who have called themselves the "master race" is natural and understandable. This is a hatred for bandits, bandits who have broken into other people's houses and there perpetrated the most ghastly crimes. The blood of millions of innocents, the ashes of hundreds of thousands of towns and villages fertilise this hatred. Only when retribution, just and severe, has been exacted, will it be extinguished.

This retribution is one of the first requirements for international security. The Germans must be given a lesson that will deter them for ever from making bandit attacks on their neighbours. By their toil and sweat they must restore what they have destroyed. But it is impossible to restore the millions of human lives they have taken. The blood of these victims demands that we create such conditions as will prevent the Germans from making any more attempts at aggression.

Baltic states as being a part of Russia, proofs are lacking that such recognition had in fact ever been accorded—with the significant exception of the Axis. Great Britain refused its endorsement when "Herr Hitler bartered what was not his property—the liberties of the Baltic peoples." The United States Government on July 23, 1940, pointed to "the devious processes whereunder the political independence and integrity of the three small Baltic states—Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania—were to be deliberately annihilated by one of their more powerful neighbors."

Mr. Kerensky's final argument that "their names (Baltic republics) are not signed to the lists of German criminals, though so many German crimes were committed on Baltic soil," may be answered by pointing out that the legal representatives of the Baltic states have in due time lodged protests against German atrocities. When Lithuania will be freed from foreign occupation, her national Government, free from duress, will again function de facto, justice will be performed then in regard to criminals of war and aggression.

The Hughes Statement

Another backer of Soviet claims, Corliss Lamont, an ardent friend of Communist Russia, according to his letter in THE NEW YORK TIMES of Dec. 28, 1944, has urged the American Government to "return to Secretary Colby's reasonable statement of policy," namely, "that the territorial integrity and true boundaries of Russia shall be respected."

But, the American recognition of Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia on July 28, 1922, was, it seems, in conformity with Secretary Colby's conservative policy toward Russia. The true borders of Russia were respected. In announcing the recognition of the three Baltic states, Secretary of State Hughes said:

"The United States has consistently maintained that the disturbed condition of Russian affairs may not be made the occasion for alienation of Russian territory, and this principle is not deemed to be infringed by the recognition at this time of the Governments of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania, which have been set up and maintained by the indigenous populations."

Moreover, one should not overlook the fact that Soviet Russia on July 12, 1920, as already mentioned, "voluntarily and forever" renounced Russia's rights to Lithuanian people and territory in these terms:

"Russia, without any reservation whatsoever, recognizes Lithuania as a self-governing and independent state with all juridical consequences that follow from such a recognition and in a spirt of free and good will forever renounces all sovereignty rights of Russia concerning the Lithuanian nation and Lithuanian territory which previously belonged to her. The fact that Lithuania for some time was under Russian sovereignty does not impose on the Lithuanian people and their territory any obligations toward Russia."

This Country's Attitude

It seems quite unreasonable on the part of Mr. Lamont to expect the American Government to be more pro-Russian than the Russians themselves. There is no need of returning to Secretary Colby's statement of policy, for the American Government on July 23, 1940, indicated very clearly its attitude in the matter, and has even pointed the way to a just and practical solution, namely:

"They wish to see sovereign rights and self-government restored to those who have been forcibly deprived of them.

"They desire to see no territorial changes that do not accord with the freely expressed wishes of the peoples concerned."

The Soviets, themselves, know perfectly well, and they cannot convince the world that the so-called elections in the Baltic states in July, 1940, were anything but free.

Therefore, it seems fair to conclude that the United Nations are under obligation to see that sovereign rights and self-government are restored to the Lithuania and her neighbors, and that these nations are accorded the right not to bolshevistic but to truly free and democratic elections.

P. [redacted],
Minister of Lithuania.

Washington, Dec. 30, 1944.

Letters to The Times

Kerensky Stand a Surprise

Lithuanian Minister Finds Remarks on Baltic States at Variance With Facts

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NEW YORK TIMES:

In the Dec. 17 issue of your paper it was reported that Alexander Kerensky, head of the Russian Provisional Government in 1917, now "exiled enemy of Stalin," was applauded at the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel when, after declaring himself as being "still the implacable enemy of the totalitarian dictatorship in Moscow," he told the luncheon guests of the Foreign Policy Association that he supported the "war claims of the Reds," which include the "Soviet claims to the Baltic states and the eastern part of Poland."

It is little or no surprise that Mr. Kerensky subscribes to Stalin's policy of territorial aggrandizement, but it is rather surprising that he managed to escape due criticism of his extemporaneous arguments, and even deeper scrutiny of his contentions, by that intelligent audience, especially when he embraced Stalin as his national leader and at the same time rejected Stalin as a Communist. He virtually likened the Soviet dictator to Janus, a Roman god who simultaneously faced east and west, by declaring "I make a distinction between Stalin, the national leader, and Stalin, the leader of international communism."

Closing Remarks Applauded

With his usual forceful eloquence Mr. Kerensky thus closed his remarks: "Even strategic security for Russia is not essential if we can all concur on a great plan for international security. That plan must address itself not to the protection of national rights so much as to the essential matter of the protection of human freedom. Man must be made able to live freely under all governments."

It is believed that it was these closing remarks which drew the applause, and not the rather clumsy arguments which he used to justify the unjustifiable international crime committed against the freedom of the peaceful Baltic republics. By putting the "international security plan" and the "protection of human freedom" above the "strategic security of Russia" (the pet cry of the Moscow policy makers) Mr. Kerensky posed as a courageous liberal, but it seems hardly consistent to subscribe to all of the "war aims of my country, Russia," and at the same time to denounce "the totalitarian dictatorship in Moscow" which is the real maker of those Russian war aims inspired by Ivan the Terrible, Lenin and Stalin.

If Mr. Kerensky embraces Stalin as his national leader, why then does he stay away from his leader at so great a distance? If Mr. Kerensky despises Moscow's totalitarian dictatorship and he prefers to stay away from it, why then does he wish to put under the yoke of that dictatorship 6,000,000 Lithuanians, Latvians and Estonians? There are no legal, historic, ethnographic, economic, religious or cultural reasons to justify the destruction of the freedom of these peaceful little nations. Soviet Russia in 1920 renounced all her claims to the Baltic territories and peoples "voluntarily and forever."

Due Credit Accorded

Although Mr. Kerensky hardly fits the role of an impartial reporter in the gruesome case of the Soviet Russian attempt to annex all three Baltic states, nevertheless credit is due him for stating publicly his personal views on the subject, as well as credit is due the Foreign Policy Association for bringing this painful matter before the eyes of the public. Mr. Kerensky's attempt to justify Moscow's conquest of the Baltic republics by referring to British and American experiences in the past appears unworthy. While America is fighting to restore independence to the Philippines, the fighting aims of the U.S.S.R. include the destruction of the three sovereign Baltic republics in their entirety.

Because of the fact that "Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania did not sign the Atlantic Charter," Mr. Kerensky has implied that "they (Baltic states) did not then exist." Mr. Kerensky is wrong on this point too. He has, it seems, overlooked the fact that besides the Baltic states several other countries, such as Portugal, Spain, Denmark, Sweden, Switzerland, Turkey, Albania and others, did not sign the Atlantic Charter, or rather the Declaration by the United Nations of Jan. 1, 1942. However, the signatures of all these countries are missing not because they did not then exist but, I should think, because they were not members of the United Nations for one reason or another.

Independent de Jure

Though the Baltic nations have not formally signed the Declaration of Jan. 1, 1942, they have, undoubtedly, embraced the true democratic ideals of the United Nations. Students of the University of Kaunas defied the Gestapo to demonstrate their country's acceptance of the Atlantic Charter. Diplomatic legations and consulates of the Baltic states are functioning in the United States and other countries, European and American. Although Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia are now again temporarily occupied by the military might of the Soviet Union, the Baltic republics remain independent de jure and are awaiting their liberation de facto.

Mr. Kerensky's main contention evidently is this: Since "these territories were incorporated into Russia in 1939, it was recognized that they (the Baltic states) were a part of Russia." However, there were no "incorporations" in 1939. On the contrary, mutual assistance pacts were signed, and that meant (according to Soviet terminology) that Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania had been invited to become "strong, free and independent."

Concerning the "recognition" of the

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This is a clipping from page 14 of the New York Times for Jan. 5, 1945

Clipped at the Seat of Government.

SOVIET GOAL SEEN AS CONSERVATION

Study of Russian Economics by Dr. John F. Normano Tells of Change in Prime Spirit

By WILL LISSNER

The prime goal of Soviet economic thought now is conservation, Dr. John F. Normano, director of studies of the Research Bureau for Post-War Economics, says in a monograph published last week, "The Spirit of Russian Economics," which investigates the origins in Russian and in world developments of Soviet social and economic ideas and programs.

"The spirit of Russian economics was for one hundred years one of quest for transformation;" the economist writes in summing up his analysis of English, French and German influences and the native currents in Russian thought. He continues:

"It has changed: conservation is its prime goal at present, conservation of the conquests of the revolution, conservation of its creative work, conservation of its industrialized and to-be-industrialized territories. The Soviet Union is sacrificing human lives and accumulated assets to conserve its status quo and its work of construction."

Penrose Fund Aided in Task

Dr. Normano's study, carried on over a quarter of a century, was completed under a grant from the Penrose Fund of the American Philosophical Society, and the book which reports it is published by the John Day Company in cooperation with the Russian Economic Institute.

Professor Wesley C. Mitchell of Columbia University, an officer of the Russian Economic Institute, has pronounced the study a "pioneering sketch." Noting that the work is said to be the first scholarly study of Russian economic thought as a whole, he points out that the record "is an extraordinary series of borrowings from abroad and domestic contributions, all finally merging in a unique product—the peculiar brand of 'communism' that Stalinist Russia is fighting so heroically and successfully to conserve."

"This compound of dogma," Professor Mitchell says, "of scientific analysis and practical expediency is one of the most potent factors in the world of ideas and the world of facts. The better we understand its origins, the more intelligently we can appraise its values, and anticipate the further changes it will undergo."

Soviet Conception Defined

In developing his conclusion that Russia's prime present goal is conservation, Dr. Normano writes:

"The Soviet conception is that the USSR has solved the problem of social organization, that she has solved the problems of relations between men in the economic process, that her citizens have to work only on the conquest of nature. * * *.

"For the sake of national interests and those of mankind, for the sake of unhindered development of her natural resources and productive forces; for the sake of fulfillment of her 'historical mission' on the earth, the Soviet Union had to adopt the principle of conservation."

As for the future, noting the uncertainty of prognostication, he remarks that while "the judgment of history approved of the October Revolution," nevertheless "for a long time the Russians will still have to live in the troposhpere enwrapping the earth, in the sphere of change, winds, and storms, dreaming of the perfect calmness of the stratosphere where storms cannot penetrate."

"But the Russians will preserve their pathos of creation and their romanticism of realism, romanticism of a system which in Lenin's definition consists of 'Soviets, electricity, and accounting,'" he adds.

Seen as Distinctly Russian

In Dr. Normano's opinion, the socialism of the Soviet Union is a development peculiar to Russia, a mass phenomenon, a national phenomenon. He holds it to be a natural and logical continuation of Russian historical development which has brought about "the joining of Marxian theory with the needs and traditions of Russia."

"The bolshevism of 1917, with its strong Marxian basis, compounded in the chemical retorts of Russian history, processed in the horrors of the civil war and World War II, appears today as the Russian socialism."

After a bitter fight against the Pokrovski historical school and against extremes of Marxian formalism in economics, the Russians have turned to an eager rediscovery of the past, he finds. The article by L. A. Leontyeff and others in Under the Banner of Marxism, to which attention was called last April, "represents a new emphasis on the historical elements of economic development." This metamorphosis, accelerated by the present war, he considers a traditional Russian turn toward national history as a guide in the domain of politics.

Russia

This is a clipping from page 14 of the New York Times for Jan. 7, 1945

Clipped at the Seat of Government.

U. S. LEND-LEASE TO RUSSIA CURBED

Continued From Page 1

have suggested that the United States has held up the shipment of these heavy capital goods to Russia as a sort of economic reprisal for the Russian political moves in Eastern Europe that have been disturbing some of our high officials. It has been hinted that the United States might continue to find reasons for withholding this equipment until it is clear what role, if any, Russia would play in the war against Japan.

This deduction seems to be completely false. In the first place, the disagreement between our lend-lease officials and Russia had been going for a considerable period before the current phase of the Polish crisis became acute. While the purpose of the Lend-Lease Act is to assist in the defense of the United States by shipping supplies to our Allies, there is no available evidence to support the contention that we have sought to do any trading with Russia in this field in the hope of getting her assistance in fighting Japan.

What has happened, as far as one can gather from officials of an Administration that is extremely reluctant to discuss its problems with Moscow, is understood to be as follows:

In negotiating the fourth protocol, as in the past, the United States has put forward its "offerings"—is a long list of military items that, in the judgment of our officials, were available and would assist the Russians in their vital eastern campaign against the Germans. This list ran into tens of thousands of items, most of which were accepted by the Russians at once. However, Russia came back with another category of equipment, especially in the field of heavy industrial plant machinery, which either was not available or would have taken so long to build that it was not clear to our officials how it could be used effectively within the next few months.

In the calculation, American officials did not have to take into consideration whether the Russians intended to continue in the war as an active Ally of the United States, Great Britain and Canada in the conquest of Japan, but there seems to be little to support the contention that this was a deciding factor in holding up these particular supplies.

As evidence of the good faith of the United States in these negotiations, it should be observed, precisely the same limitation that were placed on the shipment of long-lived heavy machinery to Russia were also applied to the British some months ago. It has been made clear to the Russians that under the terms of HR 1776, which established the lend-lease act, it is not within the power of the executive branch of the Government to deliver equipment unless that equipment is primarily intended for the production of war material that will be used in the interest of the common war effort.

Almost 6 Billions' Worth Sent

The official report on lend-lease shipments shows that the United States had sent $5,900,000,000 worth of war supplies to Russia between October, 1941, and June 30, 1944, when the third protocol lapsed. Since then, almost $1,000,000,000 worth of equipment has been snt on the basis of our "offerings" and without any written agreemen. This is done in accordance with the Administration's contention that all American lend-lease goods are supplied at the discretion of the United States and in accordance with the principles that we are willing to supply goods to anybody provided that we are convinced that such shipments will aid "in the defense of the United States."

It is expected that fourth protocol will be signed within the first quarter of this year. Meanwhile, the Allies' officials are studying means of expediting the shipment of supplies to Russia. In the past, these goods have gone mainly over the northern Atlantic route to Murmansk and over the southern route from the Persian Gulf overland to Kazvin in the vicinity of the Caspian Sea. The conquest of Rumania and the surrender of Bulgaria have opened the Black Sea route. The Allies now hope to shorten the supply route and thereby help relieve the shipping shortage as soon as Odessa has been repaired sufficiently to deal with so large a quantity of material.

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

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Clipped at the Seat of Government.

U. S. Refuses Lend-Lease of Goods For Post-War Industry to Russia

By JAMES B. RESTON
Special to The New York Times.

WASHINGTON, Jan. 6—Russia has requested more than $2,000,000,000 worth of goods from the United States, Britain and Canada under the fourth lend-lease protocol but the United States has refused to meet her request for certain heavy machine tools, presses and other industrial equipment on the ground that these items would be more useful for Russia's post-war plans than in promoting her war program.

This decision has delayed the signing of the fourth protocol for the current fiscal year ending June 30, 1945, but it has not delayed the shipment of those items that Premier Stalin requested and that the United States, Britain and Canada agreed were vitally necessary for the war. It is understood that the Administration made it clear to Marshal Stalin that most heavy capital goods useful not only for the war but for the post-war period should be obtained either by cash payment or on credit and that under no circumstances could we consider placing on the lend-lease list any heavy capital goods that could not be delivered within three years.

As a consequence, the Russians have already placed orders in this country with the General Electric and Norfolk Shipbuilding companies for certain heavy power-plant equipment that they hope to use in rebuilding the great Dnieperstroy dam project, part of which was destroyed by the Russians themselves in their retreat from the Dnieper Valley, and the rest was blown up by the Germans before the victorious Russian counter-offensive.

Some quarters in Washington

Continued on Page 15, Column 5

Russia

This is a clipping from page 1 of the New York Times for Jan. 7, 1945
Clipped at the Seat of Government.

U.S. PAPERS SUSTAIN FOE, PRAVDA HOLDS

Some Dailies' Reaction to the Pope's Speech, Bulgar Trials Cited as Aid to Hitlerites

MOSCOW, Jan. 7 (AP)—Pravda denounced "the reactionary American press" today as "friends and protectors of Hitlerites." The Communist newspaper's editorial praised the Bulgarian trial of alleged war criminals and said:

"Masses of people in countries liberated from the Hitlerites clamor for retribution. The Hitlerites hope for indulgence through the protection of their friends in democratic countries, so they later may prepare their own revenge.

"They have friends and protectors indeed. Let's examine, for instance, the way some American newspapers used the Pope's Christmas message.

"The Pope's message was aimed to distract the minds of believers from the vital question of war and peace. The New York World-Telegram offered an article about 'the claims of the Pope for a fair peace' and the 'guarantee of equal rights for defeated nations and vanquishers.'

The Washington Evening Star attempted to prove 'no permanent distinction should be made between conquerors and conquered.' These newspapers as well as The New York Sun swore that Pope Pius XII is a determined protector of democracy.

"If democracy means support of a fascist regime (which is mentioned with indignation by many American and British newspapers) the Pope is a democracy.

"The reactionary American press deduced well enough what the Vatican meant by a fair peace. The Christmas message of the Pope was used by pro-fascist elements to cloak vile actions of Hitlerites under church authority."

Pravda also attacked the publisher of the English magazine Nineteenth Century for an alleged statement that the "task of Allied statesmen is to conclude a victorious peace with Germany before Europe is destroyed."

Excerpts From Editorials

The New York World-Telegram said editorially Dec. 26:

"Without joining the advocates of a soft peace, the Pope insists that the settlement be just. In this he follows the Atlantic Charter. While 'chastisement' can be inflicted on the aggressor by the society of states, 'so that war will always be subject to the stigma of proscription,' the defeated peoples should have hope of equal rights "commensurate to their effective collaboration.'"

The Washington Evening Star said editorially Dec. 27:

"The Pope sees the hope of the future in the restoration of the concept of human dignity and responsibility in both the peoples and their leaders, chosen by democratic methods. He sees the process carried onto the international plane by an association of nations. * * * That association must be universal, based upon the principle that mankind is a spiritual unity. This implies that the world must be guided by the principles of even-handed justice to all, with no permanent discriminations between the present victors and vanquished. Thus, and thus alone, can the current catastrophe be constructively terminated and the world's wounds healed."

Lee Wood, executive editor of The World-Telegram, said yesterday that "Pravda's outbursts, which are becoming more common and irresponsible of late, do not merit any comment; to take notice of them would only dignify this irresponsible thinking."

Keats Speed, executive editor of The Sun, declared:

"I think the best answer to Pravda's article is the one Brigadier General McAuliffe made" [Brig. Gen. Anthony C. McAuliffe replied "Nuts!" to a German demand that his besieged troops surrender in the Bastogne area.]

The Washington Star did not comment.

This is a clipping from page 4 of the New York Times for Jan. 8, 1945

Clipped at the Seat of Government.

RUSSIAN INFLUENCE IN MID-EAST GROWS

Moscow Said to Plan Appointing Resident Minister Like Britain's for Region

By C. L. SULZBERGER

By Wireless to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

CAIRO, Egypt, Jan. 8—Reports now current in both Cairo and Teheran says that Russia will soon appoint a Minister of State for the Middle East with functions somewhat comparable to those of Britain's Sir Edward Grigg and with headquarters in Teheran.

While these tales are neither confirmed nor denied by Russian officals here, they are of a fairly specific nature and even go so far as to suggest that Sergei I. Kavtaradzep, Vice Commissar of Foreign Affairs, will get the post. Regardless whether the reported position materializes there is no doubt that Russia's interest in this large and somewhat vaguely defined area, which in Iran touches her southern boundaries, is increasing.

The Russian Government has a distinct and direct interest in whatever occurs in Iran that antedates the 1917 revolution and that became positive after the joint Anglo-Russian military entry into Iran during the summer of 1941. Russia's concern with events in that rather under-developed country was openly expressed late last year over the question of oil concessions.

The real nub of that story was the competition for new concessions among various international petroleum interests. An American concern was trying to buy in a valuable concession in Iranian Baluchistan, while the Russian Government was seeking to acquire oil and other concessions in northwestern Iran. The subject was at least temporarily shelved when the Iranian Government decided to postpone the matter by not granting any concessions at all. There is little doubt that the population of northern Iran is demonstrating a pro-Russian attitude.

With Russia's emergence as the greatest power on the European Continent, many dissident factions in other portions of the Middle East are looking for the first time to Moscow for encouragement in some of their hopes. Thus just recently both the Arab and the Jewish factions approached official Russian circles here to inquire into their views on the subject of a Jewish national home in Palestine. The Russians, it is reported, refused to express any opinion, pointing out Russia was not one of the major powers responsible for the present administration in Palestine and was not in any direct way interested. Apparently, at this writing, both factions consider this a diplomatic victory.

The resurgence of the orthodox Church in importance within Russia has strongly re-established links with various Orthodox factions in the Levant. It is reported that some high clerical officials will soon go to Moscow to participate in ecclesiastical talks concerning the establishment of a new Russian Patriarchate.

This is a clipping from page 5 of the New York Times for

Clipped at the seat of Government.

NEW UNITY EFFORT URGED BY MOSCOW

Russian Call for Meeting of Big Three Seen—Nazis' Aim at Allied Rift Stressed

LONDON, Jan. 10 (AP)—Raising a Russian voice for the first time in an apparent call for a new conference of President Roosevelt, Premier Stalin and Prime Minister Churchill, the Moscow radio said tonight that the time had come for a "further consolidation" of unity among the United States, Britain and the Soviet Union.

Hitler's only hope now, the Russian broadcast warned, is to split the anti-German alliance.

Speaking in the English language, the Moscow commentator assailed attempts to exaggerate differences of opinion among the Allies and asserted that German propaganda "may deceive this or that Allied journalist, but it cannot change the basic alignment of forces."

"After victory is won the job will be to render new aggression and a new war impossible," the broadcast went on. "The Hitlerites may dream of a rift among the Allies. They try to utilize every difference in the anti-German camp to cause disunity among the United Nations.

"They employ reactionary Poles to further their aims. They cannot alter the fact that the vital and lasting interests of the Soviet Union, Great Britain and the United States demand a further consolidation of their unity during this concluding stage of the war and also after victory is won."

Then the Moscow broadcaster said:

"Strange as it may seem, certain publications issued on British and American territory sometimes seem to be more preoccupied with the subject of difficulties, real or imaginary, among the leaders of the anti-German coalition than the German press itself."

Red Star Hits at U. S. Paper

MOSCOW, Jan. 10 (UP)—The Russian Army newspaper RedStar charged today that the American publication, the Army and Navy Journal, was spreading Hitlerian propaganda by allegedly implying that the German counter-offensive in Belgium was made possible by the inactivity of the Red Army and a shift of German units from the Eastern to the Western fronts. Such an idea bore "the Goebbels trademark," said Red Star's article, signed by A. Yerusalimsky.

This is a clipping from page 17 of the New York Times for

JAN. 11, 1945

Clipped at the Seat of Government.

Red Army Paper Blasts Slurs Of 'Army and Navy Journal'

MOSCOW, Jan. 10 (UP). — The Soviet Army newspaper Red Star charged today that the American publication, Army and Navy Journal, a privately published magazine, was spreading Hitlerian propaganda by allegedly implying that the German counteroffensive in Belgium was made possible by inactivity of the Red Army and a shift of German units from the Eastern to the Western Fronts.

"It's easy to find the Goebbels trade mark," said Red Star's article, signed by A. Yerusalimsky, "but we sometimes find it where Gaebbels should not have any followers.

"'Strategists' who wrote for this magazine 'Army and Navy Journal' pretend that they don't notice either the terror gripping the Germans in connection with the offensive of the Red Army on the southern borders of the Third Reich or the fierce resistance which the Germans are putting up in Hungary, particularly in the region of Budapest.

"The whole world knows the Germans are sparing no means to recapture Budapest and to do it they are bringing into Hungary troops from Holland, among other points. But these inkwell strategists don't want to know about it. They say, 'If nothing is done before the capture of Budapest, Hitler will be able to give Rundstedt reinforcements and postpone our invasion of Germany.'

"The purpose of such statements is clear. The author, with the help of lies and slander, is trying to sow seeds of doubt in the Allied camp and arouse their mistrust of the Red Army."

Russia

This is a clipping from page 12 of the Daily Worker for

Jan. 11, 1945

Clipped at the Seat of Government.

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IZVESTIA DENOUNCES ARMY-NAVY JOURNAL

MOSCOW, Jan. 13 (UP)—The Government newspaper, Izvestia, charged today that the American Army and Navy Journal was slandering the Red Army in an apparent effort to misguide public opinion and to divert American interest from the Western Front.

A dispatch signed by Boris Ilyin, written in a vein similar to that appearing several days ago in the Red Star, Russian Army publication, said that, "under the guise of innocent military speculations, the small-caliber strategists of the editorial board of the Army and Navy Journal are starting to slander the Red Army."

"The Army and Navy Journal," the article said, "considers the offensive in Hungary a second-rate, unimportant operation, important only for the 'private interests' of the Soviet Union." Experts subsequently found the Hungarian offensive one of the most important operations of the war, Izvestia continued, but it said that the "sad juveniles" of the Army and Navy Journal "now come forward with a new 'idea' that, because American troops in the west now are fighting a serious counter-offensive, 'it would be useful if the Red Army advanced on the Polish front, which is the most convenient place to help the Americans and British.'

"Why the Polish sector is convenient and the Hungarian sector, where the largest German reserves have been thrown in, is not convenient remains a secret, but readers are impressed with the old idea in a new guise that the Red Army is 'inactive' or is failing to do something to help the Allies, as if the west had become the main front of the war."

This is a clipping from page 4 of the New York Times for Jan. 14, 1945

Clipped at the Seat of Government.

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JAPANESE WHISTLE IN DARK ON RUSSIA

Betray Concern Over Soviet Intentions in Far East as Treaty Option Date Nears

Japanese propagandists manifested concern last night over Soviet intentions in the Far East. An English broadcast asserted that Anglo-American diplomacy would try to create a Russo-Japanese rift in "the coming weeks" and insisted that the Soviet Union had "everything to lose and nothing to gain" by forthright action against Japan.

Tokyo's concern was disclosed in a Domei agency commentary beamed to unoccupied China by the Japanese-controlled Singapore radio. As reported by the Federal Communications Commission, the broadcast foresaw an intensification of Anglo-American diplomatic activity in view of the April deadline for termination of the Russo-Japanese non-aggression treaty.

Domei pointed out that the five-year pact, concluded in April, 1941, requires either of the contracting parties, should it desire to terminate the treaty, to give notice of its intention one year in advance of the termination date. Failure to give such notice automatically renews the treaty for another five years.

Declaring that "Premier Stalin will be compelled to show his hand in respect to the Pacific war before April next," the Domei commentary asserted:

"In the circumstances, it is to be expected that Britain and the United States will focus all their crooked diplomatic genius upon the Kremlin in the coming weeks to secure at least Russia's moral cobelligerency in respect of the Pacific war, if not her full enrollment with Japan."

The Japanese propagandists declared that Premier Stalin "probably needs" what they claimed were "more tangible concessions" in Europe before "he decides upon ruffling his correct, respectable relations with Tokyo."

In outlining [illegible] familiar "Bolshevist menace" line, the Japanese agency said that the Soviet Premier "wants an extension of Soviet Russia's western borders at the expense of Poland and consolidation of new boundaries and, secondly, much-needed oil resources in Rumania and the Near East and a free outlet into the Mediterranean. But most of all, he wants communism to be respected and given a trial in those countries he overruns."

Declaring that "all these aims, except probably the first," were "diametrically opposed to Anglo-American interests," Domei asserted:

"Indeed, thy would tend to wipe out democracy from the face of the earth."

Domei's statement that Russia had nothing to gain by action in the Far East occurred in a passage referring to the coming meeting of President Roosevelt, Prime Minister Churchill and Premier Stalin.

"Three years of hostilities in the East have convinced both Britain and America that unless the huge manpower of Russia is placed at their disposal the war may be prolonged indefinitely, to Japan's decided advantage," the propagandists said. "But at the coming conference, that is, the Roosevelt-Churchill-Stalin meeting, Stalin would like to know how his entry into the war against Japan can help Russia more than her allies."

This is a clipping from page 5 of the New York Times for Jan. 14, 1945
Clipped at the seat of government.

PRAVDA CRITICIZES IDEA OF LONG WAR

LONDON, Jan. 14 (AP)—Pravda, Russian Communist party paper, declared today that the German withdrawal from the Belgian bulge was proof to the German people that "the moral victory pretended by the German command has been converted into a moral defeat."

It scoffed at doubts that the war might be prolonged into 1946 and it reproved Hanson W. Baldwin, military editor of THE NEW YORK TIMES, whom it quoted as saying that the German thrust into Belgium had achieved a definite success and that the war would continue beyond 1945.

"It is curious that people of Baldwin's type, who aimed at delay of battle operations on the Western Front, clamored for abrupt action by the Red Army. These warriors are very brave at others' expense," the newspaper said.

Mr. Baldwin said in New York, according to The Associated Press, that he had not made any statements resembling Pravda's version of his comments and that perhaps mistakes had been made in the translation and transmission of his columns in THE NEW YORK TIMES to Moscow.

His columns, he explained, had pointed out that the German offensive might have lengthened the war but even that could not be assessed until all the returns were in. Mr. Baldwin added that he had pointed out repeatedly that an offensive was needed in the east to complement the strategy in the west.

Pravda

This is a clipping from page 3 of the New York Times for Jan. 15, 1945

Clipped at the Seat of Government.

Anglo-Russian Relations Show New Strains

Right-Wing Publications Call for New Cordon Sanitaire

By Frederick Kuh

(Copyright, 1945, by Chicago Sun and The Newspaper PM, Inc.)

PM Exclusive

LONDON, Jan. 15.—The wartime censorship of weather reports has failed to conceal the marked cooling of the atmosphere between Great Britain and Russia.

The Anglo-Soviet honeymoon appears to be over. While the British Catholic weekly, *The Tablet*, went too far last week when it touched the question "of whether we can preserve the Anglo-Soviet alliance into the peace," politicians nevertheless are beginning to wonder whether that alliance can stand new strains without cracking.

If President Roosevelt, Prime Minister Churchill and Premier Stalin confer next month, as is expected, the all-embracing question to which the world will await an answer would be whether the meeting will succeed in arresting the growth of the chasm between Russia and the West.

Polish Question

One hears little of the collision of British and Soviet power behind the screen of diplomatic secrecy. Nothing whatever has appeared in British or Russian newspapers, for instance, to reveal that while Moscow is pressing certain Allied governments to recognize the new Polish Government at Lublin, the British Foreign Office is urging the Allies to withhold such recognition.

Certain British organs of opinion are very outspoken nowadays, however, in their animosity toward Russia. *The Tablet* provides an interesting example. This is perhaps the most sophisticated Right-wing publication in this country.

The British Government seems to hold *The Tablet* in esteem. The Ministry of Information actively assisted in distribution of *The Tablet* in Spain as a vehicle of British propaganda.

In its latest article on European politics, *The Tablet* almost openly demands British backing for Central European nations against Russia. It laments what it regards as Britain's failure "to have associated our smaller allies with us and to have maintained a solid front." This reads like a bid for revival of an anti-Soviet cordon.

New 'Allies'

The Tablet furthermore hints that our most reliable allies against the Nazis inside the Reich are the German tories—reactionary German officers and politicians.

The intention of this dispatch is not to exaggerate the importance of ideas expressed in this and similar anti-Soviet British publications. But these voices are saying aloud what many influential Britons are thinking when they are in their pajamas.

Their opinions are noted uneasily in Moscow and gleefully in Berlin. They tend to strengthen inter-Allied distrust and to set booby traps against a lasting peace.

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POLICY ON MOSLEMS AIDS SOVIET UNION

Moscow's New Attitude to Religion Wins Friends in the Middle East

By C. L. SULZBERGER

By Wireless to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

CAIRO, Egypt, Jan. 14—The new attitude toward religion in the Soviet Union during the last three years has had important repercussions in the Middle East.

It is often forgotten that the Soviet Union, in addition to being the seat and heart of Christian Orthodoxy, is also one of the great Moslem powers in the world, with large Islamic communities in the Caucasus and Turkestan, which includes some of the most famous and historic mosques in Samarkand and Bokhara.

These repercussions are commencing to be felt now. This year, for the first time in Soviet history, Moslem citizens are participating in the annual pilgrimages to Mecca, facilitated by special transport arrangements made in Moscow. This indicates an increasingly important status of Islam in the Soviet Union.

The Mufti, Abdul Rahman Ibn Sheikh Zinulla Rasauli, spiritual leader of the Soviet Moslems, has said, according to the Arab News Agency, that new centers of the Islamic faith have been created in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics during the last few years. He added:

"Moslems gave more than 10,000,000 rubles to build columns of tanks and sent several trainloads of gifts to the Red Army at the front. Moslems have lost several of their spiritual leaders in the war—killed by the Nazis."

"During their occupation of the Caucasus, for example, the Germans shot Mullah Hamid Debaleff for refusing to obey an order not to wear his national costume. Wherever the Germans were they forced Moslems to hold divine service, destroyed holy books and ordered all newborn children to be given German names."

Such statements have great importance in the predominantly Islamic Middle East, where German propaganda was strongly concentrated and where such odd ideas were propounded by Propaganda Minister Joseph Goebbels and his Moslem aides, such as Jerusalem's Grand Mufti, that Adolph Hitler was a direct descendant of the prophet.

The views of the Soviet Union's Moslem citizens are spreading fairly rapidly throughout the Middle East and coincide with the apparent growth in Moscow's interest in this area, accentuated by the unconfirmed reports that the Kremlin intends to appoint a Vice Commisar for foreign for Foreign Affairs as Resident Minister in Teheran to deal with Middle Eastern affairs.

A society of Friends of the Soviet Union has been started in Nablus, Palestine, by a group of young Arabs with the aim of spreading Soviet ideas in the Arab world. Informed circles in Cairo report that the U. S. S. R. and King Ibn Saud of Saudi Arabia are considering the establishment of diplomatic relations. Twelve Soviet Moslem pilgrams en route home from Mecca passed through Egypt and spoke of the warm welcome they had received from Saudi Arabian authorities.

The U. S. S. R. already has diplomatic relations with Egypt, Syria, Lebanon, Iraq, Iran and Ethiopia. Clearly Moscow feels that in this vitally important region, which controls the Mediterranean's eastern outlet as well as key international airways and vast oil supplies and which borders on the Soviet Union through Iran, the power, importance and dynamic quality of the Soviet Union must activate its role.

Incidentally, the new trends of the Soviet religious policy have similar important effects in the Middle Eastern world of Orthodox Christianity. Three Bishops, headed by the Bishop of Antioch, have been invited to go to Moscow in a special Soviet plane to attend the installation of the new Patriarch.

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This is a clipping from page 3 of the New York Times for Jan. 15, 1945

Clipped at the Seat of Government.

The Soviet and the Pacific War

I called attention yesterday to a significant aspect of the Crimea agreements: the shift in the Soviet position on the future of the German Army.

I pointed out that on the basis of the discussions held and the understandings entered into at Yalta, Marshal Stalin obviously felt confident enough of his Western allies to relinquish a grim kind of "ace in the hole"—the possibility of using captured German generals and the "Free Germany" committee as pawns in the event of any serious conflict among the Big Three over the future of the Reich.

I have no doubt that such a maneuver would have been even more distasteful to the USSR than to Britain and America—for these captured generals are guilty of many crimes against the people of the Soviet Union.

I do believe, however, that under certain circumstances Marshal Stalin might have felt justified in using this political weapon. Fortunately, Stalin was convinced, by the meeting of minds on the German problem achieved at Yalta, that these circumstances could no longer arise.

I want to call attention today to another indication of increased Soviet confidence in its Western allies as a result of the Crimea conference.

I refer to the first overt indications to Japan that the Soviet Union might be preparing to cast its weight on our side in the Pacific war.

Marshal Stalin permitted it to be publicly announced on Feb. 12 that on Apr. 25 he would for the first time sit down with representatives of China at a United Nations conference to establish a permanent peace organization.

China is not engaged in the European war. It is engaged in fighting Japan. Japan and the Soviet Union have a nonaggression pact. For the USSR to participate with China in a world conference to establish mechanisms against renewed Axis aggression *anywhere in the world* may be regarded in Tokyo as an unfriendly act.

The date chosen, the last day on which the USSR can give notice of intent to end its nonaggression pact with Japan, may seem provocative to Tokyo.

Japan may interpret this as a 10-week notice that it may be attacked by the USSR. And we know from bitter experience that the Japanese are not the sort to wait for an attack. It would be more characteristic of them to anticipate an attack by another treacherous stab in the back without warning, as at Pearl Harbor. Our Russian ally risked such an attack by the Crimea announcement.

That Marshal Stalin should have done so seems to me an indication of:

¶ Increased confidence in the strength of the Soviet Union.

¶ Increased confidence in his Western allies.

It must be kept in mind that, despite the return to Manila, we still are a long way from the Japanese mainland. We have yet to engage any considerable portion of the Japanese Army. And we have yet to land men from the sea on Chinese soil where that army must be fought and defeated. An attack by Japan on the Soviet Union at this time would force the Soviet to bear the brunt of Japanese military strength.

The gravity of the risk is a measure of the mutual confidence established at the Crimea Conference.

The announcement from Yalta may worry Japan, but it will cheer our men in the Pacific, as the shelving of the Stalingrad generals will encourage all of us in regard to the future of the Reich and of Europe.

These are the fruits, primarily, of an agreement at Yalta on the Polish boundary. The settlement of this question made possible the settlement of the others, including the future of the Reich.

It is against the background of these observations that Sen. Vandenberg and the Republicans for whom he speaks must now decide whether to press for his original proposal to postpone settlement of Poland's eastern boundary until after the war.

To do so would be to ask for the overturn of the cornerstone of the Crimea agreements. To unsettle the Polish boundary solution would be to unsettle all else agreed on at Yalta. —I. F. STONE

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— To Tell the Truth —

A Memory of Lenin

by Robert Minor

ON MY table are page proofs of the first English translation of the 23rd volume of Lenin's Collected Works.*

About this book, so important to the world, I may be subjective because nearly every item in it touches some event personally witnessed in my first visit to Russia in April, 1918. By coincidence, the first of Lenin's speeches in this volume is the the first one I heard him make,

when, on May 14, 1918, he addressed a meeting to the All-Russian Executive Committee of the Soviet Government. Included in the book are all of his speeches and writings of the rest of the great year of the Brest Peace, of the German armies' invasions, counter-revolutionary uprisings, the greatest and most devastating civil war of all history, the military invasion of Russia by American, French, British, Romanian and Japanese armed forces, and the successful defense of the revolution. These events are reflected in that incomparable manner: words, verbatum, of the greatest leader spoken at the point of action.

The book includes of course, the speeches and articles on the counter-revolutionary attempt of the "Left Socialist-Revolutionary" Party in July, 1918, and reports of the two speeches Lenin made in factories on the night of August 30, when the would-be assassin of the "Right Socialist-Revolutionary" Party fired a shot into the back of Lenin's head. Here also is an official translation of the classic "Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautsky," which Lenin had begun writing and which was interrupted by the assassin's bullet, as well as the short resume of it that he wrote for Pravda, remarking that the important work had been delayed but neglecting to say that the reason for the delay was that he had been all but mortally wounded.

* * *

ON MY first visit to Lenin he directed the conversation to the situation in Europe and especially in Germany where there was evidence of the coming revolution. It was about the time that Ludendorff failed at the Marne and Bethmann-Hollweg resigned, unable to handle the beginnings of the German revolution. Lenin was displeased by the lack of information and turned the discussion to the importance of getting news in wartime.

A few days after this conversation, on June 29, Lenin wrote his article "Prophetic Words," dealing with the prospect in Europe. He took as his theme the prophecy made by Engels in 1887 that the coming World War would bring "the devastation of the Thirty Years War compressed into three or four years . . . general demoralization both of the armies and the mass of the people, produced by acute distress, hopeless confusion . . . bankruptcy; absolute impossibility of seeing how it will all end; and who will come out of the struggle as victor; only one result was absolutely certain: general exhaustion and the establishment of the conditions for the ultimate victory of the working class."

Quoting this, Lenin commented: "What genius is displayed in this prophecy! Some of Engels' predictions turned out differently, and one could not expect the world and capitalism not to have changed during 30 years of frenzied imperialist development. . . ."

He held to Engels' prediction as valid for the war then in its last furious year.

This article appeared in Pravda, July 2, 1918, and naturally made a profound impression upon me, showing more fully as it did what Lenin had meant at the time of the conversation. I made use of this article of Lenin's, for example, in my most recent pamphlet, where I undertake to show that a quite different outcome would result from this war, since "the world and capitalism" have undergone an incomparably greater change since Lenin wrote, and what that change is.

* * *

NEXT Sunday, Jan. 21, will be 21 years that Lenin died in what we may call his youth, at 54, after doing more than any other man had ever done for mankind's advance to a better civilization.

As we look over his words uttered in 1918, we are impressed by the fact that the work done by Lenin and his party and his people proved to be the only permanent achievement in the World War of 1914-18. Many can see this now who could not see it before. For the most decisive thing about the second World War of 1939 has turned out to be that it began at a time when the strongest state in Europe and Asia—in all of the old world—was the Socialist Republic, and this is the reason why there will be quite a different outcome to this war. So it is not solely for a subjective reason that I chose Lenin's article, "Prophetic Words," as my example of this book's content. I wanted a striking example by which to show that not a single thing in it is a dogma to serve fools with dogmatic decisions about what to do in a vastly different situation.

For it is precisely the success of the work of Lenin and of Stalin —of the great revolution in Russia with its establishment of an incomparably strong socialist democracy, headed by a socialist state stretching across the continents of Europe and Asia, its socialist economy free of crises and its population united without class divisions—that makes it possible now for world civilization to bring the great war of 1945 to its conclusion with absolute certainty of victory and to establish democratic order in Europe and Asia.

The greatness of Lenin d[illegible] end when Lenin died. It co[illegible]s in the strength and greatn[illegible] Soviet Russia and the gre[illegible] of his best disciple and su[illegible] Joseph Stalin. For the histo[illegible] significance of Lenin is inse[illegible]able from that of Stalin, u[illegible] whose leadership the Socialist [illegible]public fought and won the lar[illegible] and most fateful military [illegible]tions of all time, and brought [illegible] the war that statemanship w[illegible] makes possible the collaboration of our own democracy in the unit[illegible] of all democracies of the world t[illegible] make peace "for many gene[illegible]tions."

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of the old order resorted to arms ; the working class and its peasant ally responded in kind. The Soviet leaders in this historic "debate" were Lenin and Stalin, supported by the overwhelming majority of the people.

It is not hard to imagine what would have happened to Russia, to the Russian and other peoples of the Soviet Union in the present war, if power had been in the hands of capitalists and landowners, instead of in the hands of the workers and peasants ; if the army had been led by tsarist generals ; if Russian industry had remained in the pitiful state it was in at the time of the first World War ; if the peasantry had remained as impoverished, helpless and backward as they were then.

* * *

We know that Hitler's Germany counted on this backwardness. She had out-of-date ideas about the Soviet Union. She did not believe in its vitality. But it was in the Soviet Union that Hitler's strategic and political plans collapsed, broken by the strength of the Red Army, the might of Soviet economy and the unity of the Soviet peoples.

Lenin, together with Stalin, built up the Red Army. That army has since changed and developed in accordance with the unchanging principles of Leninism.

Stalin put into effect the plans for Soviet industry, which Lenin and he drew up during the first years of Soviet power. Stalin laid the foundation of the friendship of the peoples, which cements the Soviet Union into one united whole in accordance with the principles of the Lenin-Stalin national policy of equality and fraternal collaboration of peoples.

Lenin's foreign policy was strictly in accordance with this policy of friendship and equality of all nations. Lenin did not reply with hostility to the almost universal hostility of the bourgeois governments. He did not tell the Soviet people to shut themselves up inside their Soviet shell, to consider themselves well above the rest of the world, or to impose their views and their State forms on the world by force.

The Soviet people love their country. They have a great respect for their State, and are loyal to their social system. Nevertheless, peace and friendship between peoples was Lenin's first word in foreign policy.

Lenin was a great patriot. He loved his people, and was proud of their talents and their sense of national independence. He also had a great respect for all nations which did not encroach on the liberties of other nations.

He enjoined unrelenting struggle against all forms of chauvinism, reactionary nationalism and anti-semitism. All the peoples of the Soviet Union and millions of working people abroad call Lenin their friend and teacher.

Stalin was Lenin's greatest comrade-in-arms, and continues his work. To-day we see Lenin in all manifestations of Soviet life. He is with the Soviet people at all times and in all places. His works are an inexhaustible treasure-house of Soviet thought. He saw decades ahead of his time, and pointed out to his people the true path of struggle and victory. Stalin continues to lead the Soviet Union along this path.

TWENTY-ONE YEARS AFTER

By D. Zaslavsky

Sunday, January 21, will be the 21st Anniversary of the death of Lenin.

WHEN Mr. H. G. Wells visited Lenin in Moscow, the whole city was like one huge building site. Everything was topsy-turvy. The ground was churned up. You could scarcely find your way through the turmoil of scaffolding, temporary staircases, rickety planks and people scurrying hither and thither.

The English author found Lenin in the midst of a crowd of navvies, concrete mixers, carpenters and mechanics. Lenin was little known abroad at that time. Many fantastic stories were told about him. He was the butt of every malicious, anti-Soviet slander.

Very few people in the west believed that anything at all worthy of the attention of economists and sociologists would emerge from the Soviet "experiment." Mr. H. G. Wells had specialised in social fantasies and fascinating romances about people from other worlds, and he wanted to see this huge Soviet construction job with his own eyes. Of this mighty project Lenin was architect, chief engineer and works manager, and Stalin was his right-hand man.

Wells found Lenin immersed in his job. The "works manager" showed the writer over the site and explained what a magnificent edifice was in course of erection. Wells, however, saw only the disorder. Lenin was still the "dreamer in the Kremlin," the "Socialist visionary." When he told the story of his visit to Moscow, Wells reinforced the current view that the Bolshevik experiment was bound to fail.

* * *

Twenty-one years have passed since Lenin's death. In those 21 years many States, large and small, with constitutions drawn up according to the best bourgeois democratic ideas, have collapsed, unable to withstand the strain. Their Prime Ministers have passed into oblivion. Only one of the many States set up after the last World War proved able to withstand all trials—the Soviet State.

The strength of the Soviet Union is apparent from the fact that the statesmen who built it still stand at its head. The people of the world regard Stalin as the wisest statesman and thinker of our times. Nobody calls him a "dreamer," as Wells did Lenin. Our contemporaries see in Stalin a politician who is a realist.

Contrary to the prophecies of certain journalists and strategists, the U.S.S.R. is approaching the end of the war not in an exhausted condition, but greatly strengthened. Not everyone is able to understand how this has happened. Others are afraid to understand.

Lenin's teachings have a strictly scientific foundation in Marxism. Marxism-Leninism is a social science which teaches us to see human history as a process of constant change in the forms of society, of constant development resulting from struggle and contradictions and the constant replacement of the old by the new.

His profound study of Russia brought Lenin to the conclusion that the old Russian social and State forms had to be replaced by others. He refused to regard capitalism and parliamentary democracy as the last word in historical development; like other great thinkers, he realised that Socialism is a higher form.

He taught that it was the working class which would create the new Socialist system, and that the peasantry, the main body of the people, would follow its leader, the working class, in the struggle for a better and higher social order more in conformity with the people's needs.

The landlords, capitalists and old-type State officials were obstacles in the way, he taught. The people could do without them. The people would find among themselves leaders more capable, more gifted, and far more honest. The people must take power into their own hands—that is real democracy.

The Soviet State is a pure, highly developed democracy. That is what backward minds could not grasp, and it is what the masters of the old social order did not want to understand. They could not or would not understand it, and they said it was impossible.

It will be remembered that not all disputes on this question were strictly academic ones. The upholders

BIG THREE DIVIDED ON WAR CRIMINALS

British Oppose U. S.-Soviet Plan to Try Heads of State in International Court

By JOHN MacCORMAC

By Wireless to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

LONDON, Jan. 18—In holding that war criminals who are heads of states should be punished by the joint decision of the Allies, rather than by an international court established for the purpose, the British Government has taken a position different from that of the Russian and United States Governments and from Britain's own attitude in 1919, it was learned today. The Soviet Government, in an official note, and President Roosevelt, in a statement, are both on record as favoring the trial of major war criminals by judicial process, not by political decision. British representatives on the War Crimes Commission of World War I maintained that the heads of states could be tried.

In answer to a question in Parliament this week, Foreign Secretary Anthony Eden said he had nothing to add to the declaration on German atrocities at the Moscow Conference, under which major criminals, whose offense had no particular geographical localization, would be punished by a joint decision of the Allied Governments. In a letter to the United Nations War Crimes Commission, which had asked him last October to call a diplomatic conference to discuss the establishment of an international tribunal for such purposes, he had already replied that the British Government favored "other machinery."

Commission Seeks Clarity

The Moscow Declaration did say that major criminals should be punished by a joint decision of the Allied Governments, but members of the War Crimes Commission do not know just what this means. Against the declaration is that two of the three signatories of that declaration have gone on record in favor of trial by international tribunal.

In an official note in October, 1942, replying to a collective note from nine of the United Nations advocating punishment of war criminals "through the channels of organized justice," the Soviet Government suggested it was essential to hand over to an international tribunal without delay the "leaders of fascist Germany."

Two days earlier President Roosevelt had declared that the Nazi ringleaders and their brutal henchmen "must be tried in accordance with the judicial processes of criminal law."

The President's statement was quoted by Herbert Pell, United States representative on the War Crimes Commission, in proposing that an international tribunal be established.

Definite Policy Expected

In his letter of resignation to the commission Sir Cecil Hurst, its former chairman, suggested that, as he had been unable to induce the British Foreign Office to endorse the proposal for such a tribunal, its institution should be considered even if some Governments refused to participate.

It is believed that when it elects a new chairman shortly, the War Crimes Commission will act on this advice and make some very precise proposals for the punishment of major war criminals by judicial process, which may bring a showdown. By that time Mr. Pell will have returned to London after having consulted President Roosevelt.

In answer to another parliamentary question, Mr. Eden said that Sir Cecil had resigned from the commission for medical reasons. This puzzled those who, like the writer, had read the letter of resignation in which Sir Cecil had informed the commission of the frustration that had met all his efforts to recommend its proposals to the Foreign Office and mentioned illness only as "another complication" that had arisen to influence his decision.

This is a clipping from page 8 of the New York Times for Jan. 19, 1945

Clipped at the Seat of Government.

Russia Facilitates Polish, Czech Relief; Ports and Transit Available for UNRRA

By Cable to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

WASHINGTON, Jan. 19—Soviet Russia has informed the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration of the availability of port and inland transportation facilities needed to take relief supplies to the people of Poland and Czechoslovakia.

Director General Herbert H. Lehman announced the removal of this barrier to the movement of the supplies, long ready for shipment, and awaiting such facilities, in a terse statement tonight.

"The authorities of the U.S.S.R. have informed UNRRA of the availability of Black Sea port reception facilities and inland transport for food, clothing, medical supplies and other relief goods consigned to Poland and Czechoslovakia," he declared.

"This clears the way for the first shipments of relief supplies from UNRRA to the liberated portions of the two nations," he added.

Only this week Jan Ciechanowski, the Polish Ambassador, deplored the failure of Russia to provide the transport facilities, stating that the supplies had been held up since last October for lack of them. He added that Poles were dying because of their need for them.

An UNRRA official said the decision of the Soviet Government to make available Black Sea port facilities was evidently related to the recent clearance of the Dardanelles.

Director Lehman said on Dec. 28 on his return from an inspection trip to Europe that the supplies for the Poles and Czechs were ready, as were some shipping to transport them. His words then were:

"The headquarters office of UNRRA in Washington has just completed arrangements with the Combined Shipping Adjustment Board for the assignment of a moderate amount of shipping space to carry relief supplies for Poland and Czechoslovakia—contingent upon assurances that these supplies will be accepted in ports of the U. S. S. R. and given internal transport by U. S. S. R. facilities. These assurances have not yet been received, but it is hoped that they will be forthcoming shortly."

It is believed here that beyond the military situation in the south of Russia that delays accessability to Black Sea ports, the completion of Soviet political arrangements with the Lublin Government, only recently accomplished, may have been a factor in the delay in granting shipping facilities.

Director Lehman has explained that UNRRA maintains cordial relations with both the Polish Government in Exile (London) and the Lublin Government which Russia has recognized.

This is a clipping from page 3 of the New York Times for Jan. 20, 1945

Clipped at the Seat of Government,

care all fascist traces from the minds of European youth.

It is scarcely necessary to say how important Franco-Soviet rapprochement is in our country. Everyone realizes today that if we had been allies of the USSR in 1939, the war would not have taken place. But fascist propaganda had created a climate in which George Bonnet [Foreign Minster] could destroy the spirit of the Franco-Soviet pact and prefix Ribbentrop to Stalin. Tomorrow, our security will depend even more on our understanding with the USSR.

But what does the Soviet Union think of our country?

I found a great love for the French people in the USSR. To the Soviet Union, France is still the country of the great revolution and the Paris Commune. The deeds of our partisans and our *Francs-Tireurs* showed that our people remained true to their noblest traditions.

France and the Soviet Union

At the same time, the Soviet Union still mistrusts the influence wielded in politics by our big bourgeoisie. How could it be otherwise? From 1919 (intervention on the side of the White generals and counter-revolutionaries) up to 1939—and one might say until 1944—the majority of the French big bourgeoisie has been dominated by anti-Sovietism; it participated in all the plots, all the undertakings aimed against the Soviet Union.

Thus the attitude of the Soviet Union toward us depends on the road we take and the policy we follow. If France becomes a real democracy and not that caricature of democracy which was our political, and especially our economic regime before the war—then we can be assured of Soviet friendship. And this friendship will permit us once more to take our place in the leading group of progressive nations. The recent recognition of the Provisional Government of the French Republic by the United Nations is the first step in this direction.

I add that Franco-Soviet rapprochement is not incompatible with a policy of entente and friendship with the other countries, notably the United States. Quite the contrary.

What would harm us most in the eyes of the Soviet Union would be a policy of nationalism and chauvinism. It is to our interest to be on good terms with the two countries which tomorrow will be the most important powers of the world. It is to our interest to participate in their common fight against Hitler Germany and against the fascist mentality.

Franco-Soviet rapprochement must be one of the duties of our foreign policy. For such is the interest of France and the wish of the French people.

By PIERRE COT

PARIS.

With so many people chattering about "Soviet-established buffer states" in Europe, "spheres of influences," etcetera, this estimate of Soviet foreign policy by the noted French Radical Socialist, Pierre Cot, deserves wide attention.

It was written for the magazine, France-USSR, published in Paris last November, a copy of which has just reached us. And while it ante-dates the French-Soviet agreement, it shows how millions of Frenchmen feel toward the Soviet Union, and helps to understand European events today.

Pierre Cot, a former French air minister, and at present a member of the French Consultative Assembly, is well known in American liberal circles. He lived in this country from 1940 to the early part of 1944, and spent several months last year on a special mission for Gen. Charles de Gaulle in the Soviet Union.

WHAT will the Soviet Union do with all her power? She will surprise the world by the wisdom and moderation of her foreign policy. To fulfill the tremendous human experience she has undertaken, the Soviet Union needs only peace. She will abstain from any territorial conquest, and will be satisfied with her 1941 frontiers.

PIERRE COT

None the less, she will not surround herself with an egotistical "isolationism" and will work to the best of her ability on the construction of an international organization to guarantee to all peoples, large and small, to all races, white and black, their liberty and their basic rights.

The conditions of this policy are as follows:

First, an entente with the Anglo-Saxon countries, and especially with the United States.

The Soviet Union knows that in the near future the two greatest powers in the world will be herself and the United States. If these two great powers are in agreement, world peace is assured, the peaceful development of the world becomes possible.

If they are not in agreement, the world will divide itself into two rival blocs, and no international organization will be sufficiently strong to avert new conflicts.

An entente between the United States and the USSR is thus the best guarantee of peace. During my stay in the Soviet Union I saw this entente become stronger from week to week. It constitutes, in my opinion, the most important and beneficient fact of our time.

USSR and Germany

Secondly, the settlement of the German problem.

The Soviet Union does not intend to avenge herself. When the Red Army enters Germany, no woman will be violated, no child murdered. Red Army soldiers are men, not fascists.

But the Soviet Union will demand that justice be done. On the one hand, she will require that Hitlerite criminals and those responsible for the war be surrendered and punished; she will demand that the Hitlerite organization and the Hitlerite state be destroyed at its roots.

On the other hand, the Soviet Union believes there is not only a Hitlerite problem to eliminate but also a German problem to resolve. Because of the historical circumstances dominating their development, the German people for a century have shown a constant tendency toward imperialism; as they are now, they constitute a menace to peace.

While respecting their right to form a national state, serious precautions must be taken so that they can never more commit new aggressions. The bases and structure of the German state must be modified, so that the German people may develop under new conditions which will not endanger Europe and the world.

Democracy in Europe

Thirdly, a democratic order in Europe.

The Soviet Union is faithful to the Stalinist concept of the "construction of Socialism in a single country." She does not intend to impose her methods and her regime upon other countries. She is faithful to the doctrine of non-interference in the policies of other states.

But she is concerned in having a reign of order in Europe. She knows by experience that only democratic governments, supported by the masses of the people, are peaceful governments. She does not expect settlement of European questions to be made without her—for then it might be made against her. In other words, she does not want a return to the processes of the "Munich policy."

That is why she protested vehemently when premature, dangerous projects of a Western Federation or an Eastern Federation were thrown out to the public. The least that can be said of these is that they would have risked cutting Europe in two blocs and encouraged maneuvers of those who dream of forming a new anti-Soviet coalition.

These ideas are very wise. They coincide with French interests. Their application will permit political and economic health to return to the unhappy European peoples, oppressed and bruised by anti-democratic propaganda and the Hitlerite occupation.

The Soviet Union is convinced that many precautions and perhaps time are necessary for Europe to find a new equilibrium and a

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final retort to Americans who still keep on wishing we could leave Europe to its own devices. If the military victory of the great powers is to be followed by local quarrels about what victory means and who shall profit by it the United States cannot escape playing its part in these contests too; they are as much a part of the war as the desperate souls on the front.

THE next questions go deeper. Is the dissension springing up in the wake of liberation a real conflict between Left and Right or is it just a clamor of dissident voices, magnified because they are inclined to shout after being muzzled so long? Who goes Left and who goes Right on a circular track, where extremes are always meeting? Now the Far Left's exalt the one-party rule and the submergence of the individual in the state which radicals used to call tyranny, while the Far Rights stand for a kind of individual liberty and economic laissez-faire fought for by the revolutionists of yesterday and denounced as anarchy by the revolutionists of today.

The truth is that the terms Left and Right have no absolute meaning in the present turmoil. One thing you must not expect in the muddle of Europe is clear definitions. All that can be said with any certainty is that stand-patters are a lost minority. They have literally nothing to stand on. A good deal has been written about the aristocracy of Rome and the Faubourg St. Germain set in Paris fiddling on while their world burns. But these are faded remnants that count for nothing and know (Continued on Page 54)

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that they count for nothing.

With less certainty but with considerable evidence to support the thesis, it can be said that extreme elements on the other side do not weigh very heavily in the balance. Communists are a small but not an insignificant minority. Disciplined, organized, expert in the technique of throwing their weight about, they easily take the lead of vague and incoherent groups linked together only by a desire for change. The great strength of the Communists is that they act as if they know exactly what they want. Watching the divergence of a local party line, one sometimes wonders if they really do.

Manifestly they are more opportunistic on most issues and far to the right of the Socialists, but they move in the shadow of a great power. Whether or not its resources are behind them, its prestige is, and no one should underestimate the prestige of Russia in a Europe shattered to its roots, physically and morally.

IT is a mistake, however, to imagine that the Resistance forces are all or even predominately communist. After talking to Partisans and fighting patriots in France, Belgium and Italy, I am convinced that their general point of view is summed up by an intelligent young leader of the Maquis I met last fortnight in Marseille.

"There are all-Communist and partly Communist groups in our ranks," he said, "but there are more groups like my own, which did not include a single Communist.

"It is impossible for me to conceive of anything like the Russian system in a country as politically mature, as wedded to personal and property rights, as France. It just would not fit here. I do not think it would fit anywhere in western Europe. But we are all socialists of one sort or another. We have no such attachment to possessions or security as the pre-war generation. We are accustomed to danger, hardship and making our own rules.

"We have just two things in common. We want to kill Germans because they have done terrible things to our comrades and our families and because we are resolved to get them off our necks forever. And we want a new deal much more radical than yours. We will fight against a return to the status quo even if we have to join the Communists to do it."

THE real cleavage today is not between those who want change and those who resist change. All classes know that change is inevitable. The war wreckage alone is on so measureless a scale and it has buried homes, institutions, habits, traditions and heirlooms so deep, that life will be lived on different levels and in a different environment for a long time to come.

The face of Europe will never be the same again. The social structure will be altered. This war will complete the destruction of the old middle class which the last war carried so far, and while a new middle class like the one already appearing in France may replace it, its roots will be shallow and brittle.

The cleavage is mostly on the manner and tempo of the change. Conservatives are people desirous of peaceful change in order to save as much as possible of the framework of values, laws and conventions of political evolution. Radicals are people in a hurry. There is so much broken furniture in Europe that they are not bent on breaking more, but (Continued on Page 56)

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in a period of transition when no course is fixed and authority is weak and temporary, they see a historic opportunity to effect a lightning transformation of the social order.

MIXED with these churning cross-currents is a passion for independence. The national ego has been so bruised by German subjugation that the first reaction to liberation is an almost truculent self-assertiveness. There is no doubt that the popularity of Elas was increased in Greece by British intervention, just as General de Gaulle's position was strengthened by his refusal to knuckle down to London and Washington, and Premiers Pierlot and Papandreou were weakened because they appeared before their own people as protégés of outside powers.

This national sensitiveness is prickler than ever, because the small nations, who know themselves to be helpess in reality, cannot be ignored if the great powers expect the cooperation of the lesser states in the organization of a peaceful world.

The Resistance forces are peculiarly touchy on this point. Their militant attitude lights up the paradox that in this crisis in the life of nations the Lefts are more nationalistic than the Rights. The picture is full of such paradoxes. They are the paradoxes of confusion, for though anyone can perceive that Europe is turning left, and some profess to see in Belgium and Italy and possibly in France clear premonitions of the violence that has broken out in Greece and Yugoslavia, the moving currents are like scattered storm clouds scudding across the sky; as yet, they have no shape, no concentration, no fixed direction.

NOTHING, in short, is really crystallized in Europe. The revolutionary tendencies there are conditions of pressures, hatreds and despairs that produce revolution. But there is also a profound revulsion from violence, an intense longing for peace.

Between these active and passive forces the great powers must move gently to prevent a war within the war and war after the war. They cannot command the tides to turn back by checking internal movements of internal struggles in which nations test themselves and find their own direction. These nations will keep their own order, when they have a sense of independence and responsibility, when the people have bread enough to eat and hope enough to keep them going.

Civil war, like all war, is a failure of reason and a defeat of statesmanship and 1945 will be a year which will decide whether other means than violence will be found to effect changes in international and national society which will insure an orderly world for orderly nations to live in. It will decide, in other words, whether the war is won or not.

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'The Great Powers Must Move Gently'

An observer says the delicate balance to be kept in Europe demands statesmanship.

By ANNE O'HARE M'CORMICK

ROME *(By Wireless)*.

THE tragic sequels to liberation in Europe have pushed into the foreground a phenomenon which, though long foreseen, apparently startles the world when it appears. The present world conflict has been described over and over again as at once a war between nations and a war within nations. Nearly all minor prophets of our time—minor because the best minds are lost in the immensity and complexity of events—have predicted that the international struggle would be followed by outbreaks of civil strife.

We see now that the decisive result of the last war was not the defeat of Germany but the Russian revolution, and it has been generally expected that the latent or open contest between Left and Right, which the Soviet experiment intensified, would come to a head in many countries when the great war ended.

Yet when the expected happens—as it has been happening in Greece—there is consternation. Everybody looked for civil war in France when the German yoke was lifted and the French were free to fight out on the barricades another round of the revolutionary struggle never really decided, and therefore never finished, in the country of its origin. Large-scale violence is not yet excluded in France, because great decisions are suspended, but, at the moment, thanks to Gen. Charles de Gaulle's statesmanship and the noninterference of outside powers, the French exhibit a political sobriety and solidarity they have not shown for years.

Revolution is nascent in Belgium. Strikes, demonstrations, marches on Brussels are symptoms of rebellions, particularly among the Resistance groups and labor elements that would certainly overthrow the present Government if the Allies were not sitting on the lid. Not enough of Holland is free to present a cross-section of the nation, but in towns and villages on our side of the line even the stolid and steady Dutch are stirred by the currents of revolt against the order of the past.

IN Italy conditions are ripe for a grand explosion. The land itself is so thickly mined that in large areas desperately needed crops can be neither sown nor reaped. Equally undermined is the whole social and moral structure of the nation. Such soil nourishes seeds of disorder, already sprouting in risings in Sicily, bread riots in Rome, street fights in Pescara, Florence and dozens of dark and hungry towns.

What direction this smoldering fire will take as the battle area moves northward nobody can foretell, but unless the dull fortitude of the people proves stronger than the forces of disintegration, as it may, anarchy seems likelier in Italy than organized revolution. But this is only guesswork; we have not yet beheld the aftergrowths either of fascism or the unprecedented ruin wrought by modern war.

It remained for Greece to begin the post-war movement. Historians may find a certain pungency in the fact that the first open battle for the prize of victory in the war for Western civilization should have been waged in the cradle of Western civilization. The contest in Greece cannot be detached from its pre-war background, from the herculean act of digestion forced on a nation groggy from the blows of the 1914-18 war; above all, from the strains and brutal sufferings of the last four years.

In Greece, as in France and Belgium, Resistance forces did not fight merely to be delivered from the Germans. The determination of the young men of the underground to hang on to their arms shows that they have further use for their weapons. Even in France, where the Council of National Resistance is itself the Government, members of the FFI resist disarmament. In the Balkans, which they still rule by force of arms, they balk at joining the national armies. Everywhere they cling to the means to attain power, because everywhere they mean to take government into their own hands.

This brings us to critical questions overshadowing the whole post-war world. Is the battle to defeat Germany [illegible] to another violent struggle for domination between the forces of the Left and the Right? As usual the focal point of the unending drama of clashing human wills is Europe, and this in its [illegible]

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FRENCH SEE RUSSIA DOMINATING EAST

Expect Red Army to Settle Many Problems Before Meeting of Three Leaders

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By HAROLD CALLENDER

By Wireless to The New York Times.

PARIS, Jan. 23—The Russians' rapid advance toward the Oder River has caused some of the best informed official observers here to believe that the shape of at least eastern Europe may well be settled by the Russian armies before the "Big Three" can dicuss it.

Those who, a week or so ago, were complaining with Gen. Charles de Gaulle that the western Allies had made a huge mistake in underestimating the length of the war, argued today that their mistake now seemed to be in having overestimated its length as far as Germany's eastern front was concerned. It is believed here, on the basis of Prime Minister Churchill's remark about Premier Stalin's being ahead of time, that the Russians staged their offensive without informing the western Allies of its date. Moreover, the offensive is regarded as having a political as well as a military purpose, since it is taking place in a region where Premier Stalin has shown his determination to play a lone hand.

The fact that the Germans have transferred no important forces from the Western to the Eastern Front, and the fact that they have put up little resistance—as it is believed here—are taken to indicate that perhaps the Germans have concentrated their efforts in the west while letting the Russians come from the east in order to blackmail the Western powers into peace with the threat of bolshevism extending to the Atlantic. German propaganda on the French-Russian pact seems to suggest such a purpose.

Observers See Polish Settlement

Some observers who have been in intimate touch with Russian-French relations offered these predictions today:

The Polish question, as far as there is one, will be liquidated within a week through the liberation of Poland by Russia and the installation of the Lublin Committee of National Liberation as the Government. So this issue may already be struck off the agenda of the "Big Three."

Marshal Tito and his resistance forces in Yugoslavia will remain under a somewhat attenuated Russian influence since Yugoslavia is less important than Poland for Premier Stalin. The head of Marshal Tito's military mission here, Gen. Bogoljub Ilitch, has just told the French press that Yugoslavia's future role is to be that of pivot of the French-Russian alliance.

Russia wants good relations with the United States and American economic aid for reconstruction. She is already getting this aid in the form of masses of war and industrial material piled up in Iran. These greatly impressed the Frenchmen who passed there on the way to Moscow with General de Gaulle.

No Concessions Seen

But for this aid Russia will not make any concessions in Europe. She will pay in the form of aid against Japan, which observers here think indispensable to an American victory over Japan. They say that Premier Stalin thinks so too.

But the counterpart of this is that Russia will insist upon restoration of the Far East status quo of 1905 before the Japenese-Russian War. This means that Russia will dominate Manchuria and probably assume a protectorate over Korea.

France's security claims now seem likely to be the annexation of the Saar for its coal and permanent military occupation with a predominant part in international economic control in the Rhineland, Ruhr and Westphalian coal fields. The French would share the occupation with the Belgians and the Netherlanders. They think that the British would not care for a permanent share and they feel sure that the Americans would not.

But the United States, like Russia, should share in an international commission for the control of German industry, France having a preeminent role, the French believe. They think that cooperation with the United States is more feasible in the economic than in the military field where Germany is concerned. The Allies' authorities substantiate this view.

An article by André Siegfried in tomorrow's Figaro inquiring where Western civilization is headed, will say: "Two powers will come out of this war really victorious and consequently will influence the destiny of our civilization—the United States and Russia. They are extra-European powers. Their geographical structure, that of large spaces, predisposes them to mass standards. The maxim of Protagoras, so impressive of Europe—that man is the measure of all things—loses its significance in the Russian steppes or the American prairies.

"We may well ask whether, under the influence of such leaders, the inspiration of Western civilization does not run the risk of leaning toward the massive, the colossal, and toward organization to the detriment of individualism, measure and diversity. In becoming un-European, Western civilization may chance its character. But at least we have escaped a more serious menace."

The greater menace was a German victory, Mr. Siegfried explains.

This is a clipping from
page 5 of the
New York Times
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PRAVDA IS CHIDED BY VATICAN PAPER

Osservatore Romano Is Gently Critical of Moscow Paper Over Pope's Message

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By Wireless to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

ROME, Jan. 24.—This evening's Osservatore Romano offers a politely sarcastic but generally conciliatory rebuttal to the Moscow Pravda's comment on the Pope's Christmas message. Some quarters regard the article as close to sensational in that Premier Joseph Stalin—who is often named in the paper's news columns but rarely in its comment—is mentioned with the title of Marshal and the U.S.S.R. is referred to as a "great country."

Signed only by three cryptic asterisks, which are in effect the trade-mark of Papal Count Giuseppe Dalla Torre, the Osservatore's editor, the article says that for Pravda to criticize the pope for not condemning "monstrous Nazi and Fascist crimes" is just as if the Romano criticized Pravda for not saying a word about the pope's tireless effort sto condemn the war and aid its victims.

Moreover, the Vatican City paper continues, "it would be the same as if we reproached Marshal Stalin because of his speech of Nov. 6 at the meeting of the Soviets at Moscow, in which he hailed Soviet victories, he said nothing of "war guilt and the guilty." Actually, the Osservatore Romano adds, Premier Stalin dealt with these matters at other times, when he chose to—"exactly like the pope."

The newspaper debated Pravda's interpretations of the Pontiff's remarks on the punishment of individuals rather than entire communities, denying that Pius had asked the same treatment for the victors and vanquished. It also gravely spoofed Prvada for having misunderstood the Pope's distinctio between "the people" and "the masses," concluding:

"Although 'popolo' [people] may mean to Pravda what 'massa' [masses] meant to the Christmas message, Pravda should note that when it speaks of its great country, it does not speak of the Soviet 'masses' but of the Soviet 'people.' Therefore, the whole thing becomes embarrassing."

This is a clipping from page 3 of the New York Times for Jan. 25, 1945

Clipped at the Seat of Government.

CHURCHILL, EDEN WORK ON PARLEY

Smaller Nations Put Off Their Own Problems in Hope of Solutions by 'Big 3'

By RAYMOND DANIELL

By Cable to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

LONDON, Jan. 24—A large part of Prime Minister Churchill's and Foreign Secretary Anthony Eden's time is taken these days in the discussions preliminary to the penultimate, if not the final, conference of the leaders of the major Allies.

The difficult business of reconciling the British and American views on the kind of Europe that should emerge after the war against Germany has been won is under way. Mr. Churchill spent a large part of today discussing these problems with American representatives, and it was noted that Lord Beaverbrook and some other members of the Cabinet were absent from today's session of Parliament.

The Prime Minister is still here. He saw King George yesterday and tomorrow he will debate how the House of Commons, destroyed in the 1940-41 air war, should be rebuilt.

Postponement Feared

People here are beginning to wonder whether something has happened to cause a postponement of the meeting of Premier Stalin, Mr. Churchill and President Roosevelt, which they had been led to believe, was about to take place any minute. It now appears that it may not occur for weeks rather than days, as every one had come to expect after the recent utterances of Mr. Churchill and Mr. Roosevelt.

The small nations are watching developments closely. Many of them with urgent problems to settle are postponing decisions in the hope that the "Big Three" will evolve a formula of cooperation that will obviate the necessity of their taking sides. There is the troublesome problem whether the Lublin Committee of National Liberation or the London émigrés should be recognized as the legal or interim provisional Government of Poland—the sort of issue that most exiled Governments would rather have solved by them than have to settle for themselves.

For President Eduard Benes of Czechoslovakia it is an especially vexing problem, because, after his expressions of friendship and faith in Russia's good intentions toward his country, Moscow naturally expects him to lead other small nations toward the light as it is seen in the Kremlin. This Mr. Benes is reluctant to do while Britain and the United States continue to recognize Premier Tomasz Arciszweski's London regime as the constitutional and legitimate Government of Poland. The same attitude, in varying degrees, characterizes the attitudes of other small nations on this issue and others, from the punishment of war criminals to the immediate administration of relief in liberated countries.

Rehabilitation Discussed

One subject being discussed is the provision of food, raw materials and machines to get industry going again in the liberated countries and the conditions under which they shall be distributed. The claims of France, Belgium, the Netherlands, Yugoslavia, Greece and Italy have been weighed against one another and matched against the Allies' military requirements on the one hand and their capabilities on the other.

Only a few months ago, when it looked as if the war might end soon, military leaders held that civilian requirements must wait and that every ounce of shipping should be used to carry munitions to the fighting fronts. Now these same military leaders are not so sure that their first guess was right. Confronted by the prospect of a long, hard fight, with restive, unhappy populations among their lines of communication, they are beginning to "second-guess" and ask whether there is not some way in which they can get what they need to fight the Germans and still provide the civilian population with what it needs to live and work.

Oddly enough, it is not a matter of ships at the moment. The Allies have more tonnage in the Atlantic than they can handle in European ports. There is at least one ship laden with food for France that has been kicking around from port to port in Britain for the past two months because it has not been possible to find a berth on the Continent for her to disgorge her supplies.

German Strategy Pays Off

In holding on to Continental ports, even at the cost of the garrisons defending them, the Germans have followed a strategy that is paying dividends now, no matter how much it was scoffed at last autumn. It has not only hampered the Allies' military operations but also impaired the cordiality of the peoples toward their liberators because it cannot be gainsaid that their situation is often worse materially now than it was during the German occupation.

This is a clipping from page 5 of the New York Times for Jan. 25, 1945

Clipped at the Seat of Government.

S. ENDS SHELVING OF EUROPE'S ISSUES

ritish Also Learn We Are Now Determined to Assert Ourselves Abroad

By RAYMOND DANIELL
By Cable to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

LONDON, Jan. 25—Prime Minister Church and Foreign Minister nthony Eden have been listening or the past three days to an exosition of the nascent American olicy toward Europe. They are eing told how far President Roosevelt is prepared to support Britain nd Russia in conflicting claims nd just where the United States isagrees with its two Allies, both egarding the treatment of deeated Germany and the policy hat should be pursued in those ountries liberated from German yranny.

From these conversations that

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CHURCHILL ADVISED ON POLICIES OF U. S.

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have been proceeding far into the night two facts emerge clearly. They are that the United States has decided to assert itself in the settlement of European affairs and that the old State Department idea of relegating troublesome issues to pigeonholes for future settlement has been abandoned in favor of facing the issues now in the light of events.

The measure of the success of the current talks and the hope for unity among the United Nations after the conference of the leaders of the three major Allied powers, however, may depend to a large degree upon how far American spokesmen are permitted to go in making commitments and how definite those commitments can be. For it is a fact that, however much Britain would like to come to an understanding with the United States, she cannot afford to offend Russia in doing so and, what is more, she is determined to avoid any clash with the Russians.

However, she is prepared to stand up and fight for some principles dear to the heart of the people here and in the United States, provided she can be assured in advance that America is willing to help in bringing to reality the high purposes for which the peoples of both countries are fighting.

Seek Anglo-American Unity

It is along this line that the Anglo-American talks have been proceeding. There have been hints from the United States that the Big Three conference has begun already. That is not true, but serious efforts are under way to resolve Anglo-American differences in advance of the meeting with Premier Stalin, which probably will take place in a much warmer climate than February provides in this island or in western Europe.

Mr. Churchill went into the House of Commons today to take part in a debate on what kind of House of Commons should replace the one destroyed by the Luftwaffe looking pretty tired and distraught. The inference was drawn generally that he had been up late the night before, discussing problems of reorientation of British policy in the light of the latest information from about what the President was thinking. In the next few weeks Allied leaders probably will meet for the most important conference they have held yet and the problems before them are more difficult and more urgent than any they have faced yet.

It is important that a measure of agreement be reached between the United States and Britain and between Britain and Russia before Mr. Churchill, Mr. Stalin and Mr. Roosevelt sit down around the table, like the conferees at the Congress of Vienna, to settle Europe's fate, for that is what they are about to do.

Envoys Report to Moscow

The Anglo-American talks are not thhe only ones that are going on. Russian Ambassador Fedor T. Guseff is in Moscow reporting to Premier Stalin and Foreign Commissar Vyacheslah Molotoff on the trends of British policy, and Andrei A. Gromyko has left Washington to join these conversations. Sir Archibald Clark Kerr, British Ambassador to Moscow, who has been here some time on a leave, has not yet returned his post and it is assumed he is sitting in on the Anglo-American discussions.

It is generally understood that the Big Three will meet soon somewhere. And naturally a good deal of advice is being offered rather gratuitously to Mr. Churchill before his departure. For instance, there was a debate in the House of Lords today in which the Prime Minister was urged in effect to amplify still further his interpretation of the meaning of "unconditional surrender."

Lord van Sittart speaking at a luncheon also took the occasion to reiterate his views on how Germany should be treated after surrender. He was for decentralization, the stripping of power from Prussia and the separation of East Prussia, the Rhineland and the Ruhr from the Reich and the closer association of Britain with the democracies of western Europe.

Whether Gen. Charles de Gaulle is to sit in with Mr. Roosevelt, Mr. Churchill and Mr. Stalin at their coming talks has not been definitely decided. However, the odds definitely are against it. The probability is that the French will be "kept informed" of the developments, as the phraseology of diplomacy goes, but that General de Gaulle will not be invited to the party.

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57 FEB 0 1945

Russia Asks 6 Billions In Credits for Peacetime

By JAMES B. RESTON
Special to The New York Times.

WASHINGTON, Jan. 25—Soviet Russia has asked the United States for credits amounting to $6,000,000,000 to help reconstruct that country after the war. It is understood that Marshal Stalin is asked for these credits on a very long-term basis and at a low rate of interest and has indicated that he wishes to buy in this country a great deal of heavy industrial equipment. He has already placed orders with the Newport News Shipbuilding & Dry Dock Company and General Electric for power plant equipment to restore the famous Dnieprostroi dam.

The request, which is for a larger amount than any other ever made to the United States by a foreign Government, was proposed first to the United States Ambassador in Moscow, W. Averell Harriman, but has been under discussion here among officials of the Treasury and State Departments and the Foreign Economic Administration for some time.

No Commitment Taken

No commitment has been taken by the United States to the Soviet Union as a result of their request. No commitment for so large a sum can, in fact, be taken by the Executive branch of the Government without special legislation by Congress.

Moreover, the view has been expressed by some members of the Administration that the present time is not propitious for discussing a post-war deal of this magnitude and it is said to be unlikely that it will be acted upon for some time.

At first, Soviet officials were said to have suggested a figure beyond the $6,000,000,000 mark, and these proposals are understood to have been considered sympathetically at the Treasury, but after further discussions with Russian officials, the latter evi-

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dently decided to limit their specific request to $6,000,000,000.

No answer can be given by the United States to Russia at the present time for two reasons: the Export-Import Bank is limited to loans totaling $700,000,000, a considerable part of which is already obligated, and again under the terms of the legislation establishing the bank it is not permissible to lend money to any Government which was in default of former payments in April of 1934.

There are differences within the Federal Government itself as to whether Russia was in default at that time, some officials arguing that the Soviet Government was obligated to assume the debts acquired in this country by the Kerensky Government and others maintaining that, under law, it was not.

Total of Outstanding Debt

During the first World War, the Russian Government borrowed from this country $187,729,750 and after the armistice received an additional $4,871,547.37 worth of war and relief supplies. At various times since then, the Russians have paid $8,750,311.88 against the interest of these obligations, but as of Jan. 1 the Russian debt carried on the Treasury's books amounts to $443,152,568.89, $250,551,271.52 of which is accrued interest against the pre-Soviet debt of $192,601,297.37.

Most of these debts were acquired for the Russian provisional government by Boris Bakhmeteff before the Soviets came to power, and the latter have indicated from time to time that they were not responsible for these debts. The Soviets have, moreover, pointed to their record for repaying to the United States debts acquired directly by themselves and have made a sharp distinction between these and the debts acquired by previous Russian Governments.

In 1942 and 1943, for example, they negotiated three gold purchase agreements with the United States, the first amounting to $10,500,000, the second to $31,600,000. In these deals the United States advanced to the Soviet Union $63,200,000 in dollar assets in return for which Moscow promised to deliver and did deliver gold to the full value.

Just before they were added to the lend-lease list, the Russians made another deal with the United States under which we undertook to advance to them $100,000,000 in return for the purchase by us of strategic raw materials to this amount. To date, the Russians have kept up to schedule with their payments and when one shipment valued at several million dollars was sunk on the way to the United States, the Russians accepted the loss.

The lend lease shipments from the United States to Soviet Russia from March, 1941, through June of 1944 amounted to $5,931,944,000, $3,177,330,000 of which was in munitions of war and the rest in industrial materials and agricultural products.

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Negotiation inevitably means conciliation and compromise which goes two ways. In any over - the - counter bargaining which must ensue, each great power has its advantages and disadvantages.

RUSSIA wants speedy recovery and the United States, which has been the arsenal of the Allies during the war, can be her supply center during the first years of peace, while Britain's huge carrier service is at least as adept at bearing non-explosive cargo. Trust is the great essential, most fervently prayed for by millions of weary people in all lands. An industrialist meeting Mr. Churchill after a visit to the Soviet Union said, "I have decided to trust the Russians." The Prime Minister replied, "So have I." One can hope and presume that this attitude also goes for the Kremlin and the White House.

On reciprocated trust of Russia, the prosperity and peace of the twentieth century are likely to depend. One can almost presume upon the good intentions of the world's masses toward each other, once the immediate postwar chaos and hysteria subside. Then it will be up to diplomacy, the art which holds human fate in its hands, to solve the world's problems without recourse to Clausewitz, who thought diplomacy was war and vice versa.

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om revolution, civil war and disastrous famine to spread literacy among millions of its citizens. hile constructing tremendous eavy industries and plants such s the Dnieper Dam, this is obviously feasible. But the horrible rice in lives and destruction paid or victory is bound to slow it up.

Although strained during these ecades by the exertions of pulling itself up by its own bootstraps, the U.S.S.R. is rich in aw materials, energy, intelligence and self-confidence. It is o mere historical accident that hen the traditional great powers f the Continent atrophied Russia breezily moved in.

II—WHAT DOES RUSSIA WANT?

IN order to achieve the economic and social progress regarded by the Russians as necesary to their new system and he completion of their revolution which, unlike its French predecessor, knows no Thermidor, he Soviet Union needs peace.

This does not, however, mean peace at any price. The Soviet Union regards as her minimum security right the requirement that no other power exercise what might even be suspected as governing control in any of the states on her western border, and the time may come when the same policy is applied in the south and the east.

In this respect the Soviet Union is likely to extend its influence as far as it feels it can without serious offense to any other nation. Up to this time, the only objection raised by any other great power was when England said "no" in Greece.

In order to achieve peace, Russia has recognized the need for a world security organization. However, she is somewhat more hesitant, more suspicious of blueprints as such than other nations because of unfortunate experiences in the past.

Moscow's officially publicized policy is against imperialism—on her own part as well as anyone else's. However, she does want, and presumably intends to get, parity privileges in world markets, airways and seaways as well as better access to warm-water ports than she has ever had in her landlocked past.

SPECIFIC aims of Soviet foreign policy beyond these basic presumptives are difficult to read.

Lord Curzon, during the old and less subtle days of open imperialism, said: "Neither Russian statesmen nor generals are foolish enough to dream of conquest in India. * * * The object is not Calcutta but Constantinople; not the Ganges but the Golden Horn. To keep England quiet in Europe by keeping her employed in Asia—that, briefly put, is the aim and substance of Russian policy."

It is probable that no Foreign Minister should feel competent to analyze positively either so devious or concrete a policy in the Kremlin as then existed; accord-

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ing to Lord Curzon, in St. Petersburg.

Certain essentials are obvious. Pravda stated bluntly once: "Everyone ought to know that the borders of the Soviet Union can no more be questions for discussion than can the frontiers of the United States or the status of California."

Regarding the area contiguous to its borders, Russia obviously intends to insure its position by negotiating bipartite pacts with governments it considers suitable and which, by opposition circles in liberated eastern lands, are considered drastically left wing.

LONG-term schedules of friendship already have been drawn up between Russia, the United States, Britain and France. The fundamentals unquestionably exist for some form of solid international peace organization. Unquestionably all the victor powers will want peace. It would be foolish to dismiss the fact that great mutual distrust and suspicion still exist among many minds in all these countries vis-a-vis the Soviet Union and vice versa. But the past three years have seen much progress toward removing this nasty heritage of the past. But more must be done.

It would be ridiculous to suppose that victory will eliminate many pressing international problems which become clearer weekly, and mutual anxieties concerning the juxtaposition of these mysterious and invisible things called spheres. Firm hands and cool heads all around are necessary to solve such puzzles.

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world, including factions which can be described as either pro or anti Russian. There are surprisingly few "neutrals" on this most important subject of Russia.

WHAT Russia is can be outlined in a few very broad terms or in volumes approaching encyclopedic length. The Soviet Union is an incomparably broad land made up of an enormous mass of different peoples of different racial stocks, dominated by a huge Slav bloc and its culture.

Although Stalinist-nationalist theories grant varying autonomy rights to divers Soviet states with their own languages, culture and customs—adjudged by Moscow as compatible with a strong centralized control of basic internal and foreign policies—Russian is unquestionably the driving spirit, heart and soul.

Thus, for example, a friend of this writer descended from the Chuvash tribe of Tartars once proclaimed, "I am Chuvash by race and Russian by culture."

In eastern Europe and the Middle East, where, since biblical days, the proverb has achieved its highest and most popular form, one can often delineate people's essential characteristics best through their own sayings.

Thus from old, old Russian sayings one can learn certain obvious truths. The Russian is patriotic and chauvinistically proud. He says, "Moscow is mother to all cities." Or he says, "He who has not been to Moscow has not seen beauty." The Russian is long-suffering. He says, "The Russian is patient until challenged." The Russian is perhaps somewhat slow and does not always act with western executive alacrity, which he himself describes as "azrikanski tempo."

THE Russian is clever but the cleverness "comes from the back of his head," and he depreciates himself by saying, "The Russian is strong on three foundations: 'perhaps,' 'never mind' and 'somehow.'"

The Russian is exceedingly hospitable and he talks of being "the host in the Russian manner." The Russian is stubbornly brave and he says, "There isn't even a word in Russian for craving mercy." The Russian is resentful of foreigners and he says, "Although not even a German by birth, he is very quick to order us about."

The Russian is suspicious of his neighbors. He says, "That which is healthy for a Russian is death for a German." He says, "Stay there, Pole; this is not yours."

These are all old and instinctive popular sayings of Russian peasants. They serve to explain a great many things puzzling to present-day observers.

The Soviet system is a governmental, social, economic and intellectual effort primarily being worked out in an area which was known to the world as Russia when the Bolshevik revolution occurred, but which includes millions of non-Slavs.

Unquestionably, during the early ebullience of the revolution many of the intelligentsia hoped to see similar upheavals occur in the rest of the world, which they thought ripe for them. The policy of fostering revolt abroad, generally associated with Stalin's late bitter opponent, Trotsky, has been officially abandoned and its ghost was officially laid when Stalin dissolved the Comintern. Whether such tenets will ever officially be embraced in Moscow again is as impossible to forecast as, for example, to predict whether the President of the United States in twenty years will be a Democrat or Republican.

THE Soviet Union's own social revolution, however, is bound to continue. Winning systems are not customarily discarded—and the Russians firmly believe their system is winning. Most Muscovite intellectuals will tell you that their present strictly controlled state socialism is working toward purer Marxist communism.

Certainly neither the standard of living nor freedom of expression which exist in the United States today prevail in the Soviet Union. However, thoughtful Russians will tell you that plans are gradually being laid for both, and they cite the new Kremlin attitude toward religion as an example of the latter tendency.

Certainly the U.S.S.R. has a long way to go in many respects. There seems little doubt that its vast energies will be concentrated not only on the reconstruction of the war's ravages but on building vast new housing projects and consumer goods industries.

For a nation which was able to emerge

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Russia - Int Sec - C

What Russia Is—What Russia Wants

An inquiry into the objectives of a nation whose power has again been demonstrated.

By C. L. SULZBERGER

CAIRO *(By Wireless)*.

THE Red Army's newest offensive against the German Wehrmacht is far more than another striking chapter in the history of the war. It demonstrates again that the Soviet Union today is the most powerful country in Europe. Furthermore it is fairly obvious that, so far as this generation can view the future, it is bound to remain so.

This is a highly important fact for any charting of world events—as important a fact as was, for example, the discovery by Europe during the nineteenth century that the fledgling revolutionary country which called itself the United States of America had suddenly become a very great power. Soviet arms, Soviet diplomacy and Soviet ideology are immense dynamic forces.

In Europe it would seem apparent on the face of it that the balance of power, which has remained shifting and warped but actual since the days of Cardinal Wolsey, has been destroyed. When the war started there were three great powers on the Continent: Germany, France and the Soviet Union. The Reich as a dynamic force will unquestionably be destroyed by the present conflict. France has neither the population nor the resources to take over its ancient enemy's position and move into the political vacuum.

THEREFORE, diplomatically and militarily the U.S.S.R. is bound, when Allied victory is complete, to assume a Continental ascendancy such as was envisioned by Bonaparte and dreamed of by Hitler in his rudely shattered fantasy.

Furthermore—though this is not yet clearly recognized—the U.S.S.R. is easily the most powerful country of Continental Asia. Japan fears more than almost anything the threat that one day the Red armies may launch an assault from their Siberian strongholds. In China and India, both restless, backward and divided, the Soviet is both courted and guarded against.

Moreover, all through the tremendous area of the Middle East the Soviet Union is beginning to emerge as a new and interested power. In Iran Russian desires in potential oil developments are bucking those previously considered the domain of the British and to a lesser degree the Americans. Moslem pilgrims to Mecca from Soviet Turkestan and the Caucasus have been spreading tales of a strong U. S. S. R. among their co-religionists, and Arab friends of the Soviet Union are forming societies.

Soviet Russia combines, as never has been the case even in Napoleonic France, the dynamic force of social and economic revolution with the imperial destiny drive of a great nation. It is a historic coincidence of the most vital importance that both should develop at the very same time.

In view of these striking developments it is unfortunate for world relations and mutual understanding that less is known about the U.S.S.R. than has ever been the case with any even remotely comparable power. Americans returning from a visit to their great ally are questioned as eagerly as was Marco Polo arriving from the court of the Great Khan. Personages who have spent a fortnight in Moscow suddenly find themselves styled experts on "the Russian Question."

What is this gigantic power? What does it want? And what does that mean to the rest of the world?

I—WHAT IS RUSSIA?

FIVE years ago Winston Churchill described Soviet foreign policy as "a riddle wrapped in a mystery inside an enigma." It is obvious the man who was to become Britain's Prime Minister was not merely uttering another polished phrase; he meant it.

Marshal Smuts called Russia "the new colossus that bestrides the Continent." He uttered a truism which is apparent to the entire civilized

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nation that oppresses other nations cannot itself be free. In the Soviet State, the equality of all nations is not merely a proclamation, but all measures are taken to abolish the remnants of actual inequality and to overcome the economic and cultural backwardness of all peoples that form a part of the Soviet Union.

Soviet democracy means that all cultural achievements are at the disposal of the people. The strength and durability of the Soviet State, said Lenin, depends on the education of the people, on their consciousness, and their understanding of the tasks of foreign and internal policy. "According to our concept," he said, "the consciousness of the masses makes the state strong. It is strong when the masses know everything, when they can judge everything, and do everything consciously."

Soviet democracy is active; it is not confined to the proclamation of equality and liberty, but arouses the masses of people to the conscious building of a new way of life.

It was on these principles that Lenin built up the Soviet State. By steadfastly putting into practice the fundamentals of Soviet democracy, the Soviet State grew and became stronger. These principles underwent further brilliant development under Joseph Stalin. These principles were coordinated and given legal force in the Stalin Constitution, which at the same time summarized all the historical achievements of the Soviet people in building up the society and state, in the years that had passed since Lenin's death.

In building up the new state and in organizing its defense during the years of the Civil War and the foreign intervention in 1918-1920, Lenin relied on his faith in the people and in the strength of Soviet democracy. In this period of difficult wartime trials, Lenin produced a profound analysis of the invincibility of the Soviet people, of the vitality and indestructibility of the Soviet State, and established direct bonds between the armed might of the Soviet Union and its democracy.

"That nation can never be defeated," said Lenin, "in which the majority of the workers and peasants have learned, feel and see that they are defending their own [illegible] power of the working people, that they are defending that cause which will insure for them and their children the possibility of enjoying all the benefits of culture and all that human labor has created."

In his speech at the pre-election meeting of the electors of the Stalin District in Moscow, December 11, 1937, Stalin gave a clear picture of what a deputy should be under the conditions of Soviet democracy. Stalin said the following:

"The electors, the people, should demand that their deputies always live up to their job; that in their work they should never fall to the level of professional politicians; that they should continue at their posts as political workers of the Lenin type, that they should always be as clear and determined in their actions as Lenin was; that they should be as fearless in battle and as merciless to the enemies of the people as Lenin was; that they should be free of all forms of panic or anything like panic, when matters become difficult and there is some danger looming on the horizon, that they should be as free of anything similar to panic, as Lenin was; that they should be as wise and unhurried in deciding intricate questions, where all-around orientation and all-around consideration of the pros and cons are necessary, as Lenin was; that they should be as just and honest as Lenin, and that they should love their people as Lenin loved them."

The Soviet people's war against the German-fascist invaders has been a serious test of the correctness of the Leninist state principles. Life itself has shown the strength of Soviet democracy and its ability to withstand the evil forces of fascism and to defeat them in open battle.

History, therefore, is the best confirmation of the justness of Lenin's views on democracy, an irrefutable confirmation of the progressive nature of the Soviet democracy created by Vladimir Lenin.

Lenin and Democracy

By I. Smirnov

As a thinker, Lenin devoted a very considerable part of his literary works to democracy: an analysis of its form, its content, and the historical role it has played. As a politician, Lenin took into consideration world experience in democracy, and considered democratization, political and civil, to be the great victory gained by civilization.

Lenin had a detailed knowledge of the theory and practice of the democratic states of the entire world. Lenin's detailed study of the work of the civilized states of the West is explained by the fact that the interests of the masses were dear and comprehensible to him, a socialist whose whole life had been devoted to the service of the people.

From the very beginning of his political career, Lenin gave proof of the fact that socialism and democracy are indivisible and do not contradict each other, a principle which he always maintained. As early as 1897, in one of his first works, *The Tasks of the Russian Social-Democrats*, Lenin evolved the postulate that the consistent socialist should be a consistent democrat.

One of Lenin's distinguishing features was his realism, his historical approach to democracy. He considered democracy to be the victory that humanity had gained in the struggle against the middle ages, autocracy and reaction. Lenin, however, taught that democracy is not something constant, stagnant, and changeless. He considered a parliamentary democratic republic to be a big forward step in the development of human society.

"Naturally," he wrote, "bourgeois democracy is tremendous historical progress as compared with Tsarism, autocracy, monarchy, and all the remnants of feudalism."

Lenin believed that a democratic republic is the best form of state for the proletariat under capitalism. Democratic forms of government are, in Lenin's view, an indispensable condition for the defense of the rights of people against the dark forces of reaction, obscurantism, and plutocracy.

Being a consistent democrat, Lenin realized better than anyone that the democracy of the parliamentary system is historically limited and conventional, and he was the supporter of a democracy of a higher type, whose state form was discovered in the Republic of the Soviets.

Drawing by P. Vasiliev

V. I. Lenin speaking in Palace Square, Petrograd, 1919

Lenin worked out the theoretical principles of Soviet democracy and applied them in practice in building up the Soviet State.

Soviet democracy is expressed in the direction of the state by the whole people, in the real power of the people. The Soviets, as the expression of the interests of the working people of town and country, possess complete state power in the USSR.

How was the real power of the people achieved? How do representative bodies become genuine expressers of the will of the people? Lenin gave an exhaustive answer to this question. All elected representative bodies become a genuine expression of the people's will when the electors enjoy the unrestricted right to recall those they elect. Only under these circumstances is it possible to establish real unity between the deputies to the Soviets, between the representatives of the people in government institutions, and the people themselves.

Lenin considered that the right of recall was, in principle, the basis of Soviet democracy.

Soviet democracy really expresses the interests of the majority of the peoples and expresses the will of all those who toil. In order that this may be really effected, Soviet democracy draws into active political work, into control of the state and election of the organs of state power, sections of the population that did not enjoy full rights: the peoples liberated from national oppression, the youth, the Army, and women.

Soviet democracy guarantees complete equality of rights to all citizens, and political liberties to all working people, irrespective of their sex, nationality or religious beliefs. In so doing, Soviet democracy advances from the formal acknowledgment of equal rights and privileges, to their actual accomplishment.

Lenin said that all talk of universal suffrage, of the will of the whole people and the equality of all voters, would be a mere formality as long as economic inequality remained. There can be no real equality between the hungry and the well-fed, between the rich and the poor, between the exploiter and the exploited.

Soviet democracy knows no contradiction between the proclamation of equality and its actual existence.

Lenin said that all talk of freedom—freedom of the press and assembly, for example—are mere empty words as long as the material means of accomplishing them: printing presses, paper, the best buildings, etc., remain in the hands of a handful of rich people who use their property against the interests of the people. The Soviet system affords the people every opportunity for the enjoyment of civil and political liberties, and does not know any contradiction between the declaration of liberties and the possibility of actually enjoying those liberties.

Soviet democracy has effectively solved the national problem by granting to all peoples the right to political self-determination, including the right to form separate states. The Soviet system knows no national oppression for, as Lenin said, a

By David J. Dallin

Comments on Soviet Policy

WENDELL WILLKIE and Poland. Since efforts are being made posthumously to award Wendell Willkie the distinction of being a world-traveler, it is useful to make public the essence of a conversation which he had with General Sikorski, late Polish premier.

General Sikorski visited America early in 1943. The battle of Stalingrad had been won by the Red Army and the Soviet policy regarding Poland was becoming firm; Eastern Poland stood at the head of the list of the Soviet demands. The Polish Government knew it wanted to have this question definitely solved in its favor; it was looking for assistance from London as well as from Washington. The results, however, were not positive.

David J. Dallin

"I am not satisfied," General Sikorski said. "I am losing hope of achieving anything definite now. People do not want to take a stand against Moscow. I fear we will have to postpone decisions until the end of the war."

"Don't do that!" Willkie exclaimed, "you must win your case now!"

Witnesses of this conversation are living in this country.

* * *

YALTA Conference and Forced Labor. At the end of January, when President Roosevelt left for the meeting of the Big Three, it was generally known that the reparations problem was one of the important topics of the coming negotiations. The American point of view was, first, the recognition of Russia's right to a large German contribution (in kind); and second, a categorical denial of slave labor for the rehabilitation of any country, even of Russia. There must be and can be found, was the firm position of the Administration, other ways than slavery for reconstruction and the return of the world to normal conditions.

President Roosevelt's journey lasted two weeks. When the Crimea Conference finally started, the American delegates learned that in the meantime several hundred thousand Rumanian citizens and a certain number from Hungary had already been deported to Russia, with no previous consent of the Allies. (Later rumors had it that the total number had reached as high as 800,000.) Britain and America were confronted in Yalta with an accomplished fact.

The question was not raised by President Roosevelt, and the Yalta statement contains just a few words about future reparations "in kind" and an agreement to set up in Moscow a commission on compensations. Back in Washington President Roosevelt discussed the reparation problem in a press conference and reiterated the view that Germany will have to rebuild much of the devastated area in Russia.

There exist certain axiomatic principles, at least in our century, which cannot be violated without grave consequences; and the freedom of labor is among them. The Russian people, more than any other, are interested in the abolition of the shameful institution of forced labor. Millions of men and women have been sacrificed in the Soviet labor camps in the course of the last fifteen years. What the Russians really want is not a supply of fresh slaves, not even from abroad, but the general abolition of slavery.

Many people are afraid to take a clear stand on this question for fear of being denounced as "friends of Nazism." The psychological pressure from Moscow—everybody is a potential Nazi or "pro-Nazi," if he disagrees with the Kremlin—has achieved results.

In a few months, however, when the war in Europe is over, these same people will be surprised to see anti-German propaganda suddenly abandoned in Moscow; the Soviet Government will parade as the only real friend of the German people.

* * *

RUSSIA, Poland and East Prussia. In November, 1914, when the negotiations were going on between the Allies of the First World War, Tsar Nicholas received the French Ambassador and discussed with him the postwar settlement.

"Russia will annex a part of East Prussia," the Tsar said. The other part was to be annexed to Poland, while the whole of Poland was to constitute a part of the Russian Empire.

Even before this audience took place, the French Ambassador reported to Paris about his "friendly talk"

with the Russian Foreign Minister Sazonov (in September, 1914): "Russia will annex," Sazonov had told him, "the lower Niemen [the eastern part of East Prussia] and Eastern Galicia [the Lvov region]."

At that time Paul Miliukov, the well-known leader of the Constitutional-Democrats, was supporting the Russian Government in foreign affairs and was working in close contact with Sazonov. In 1915 he published an article entitled "The Territorial Acquisitions of Russia"; it contained the governments' territorial demands. Along with different Turkish and Austrian territories, Miliukov claimed from Germany the eastern part of East Prussia, while the rest of that province with Danzig had to be annexed to Poland; Poland itself was to constitute an "autonomous" part of Russia. "We will have to make a new [Russian] Baltic province," he wrote, "of the greater part of East Prussia with her capital, Koenigsberg." Eastern Galicia was, of course, also mentioned as a future Russian territory. Detailed maps were attached to the article, *showing a striking resemblance to the Yalta decisions!*

Strange was the fate of this far-reaching program. In the first government after the revolution of 1917, Miliukov was Minister of Foreign Affairs; he adhered, of course, to his postwar program, while the Socialists were against it. Lenin, too, at the head of the Bolshevik party, sharply attacked the Provisional Government and particularly Miliukov for his "imperialist war aims," for "annexations and indemnities." Stalin was a member of the Bolshevik Central Committee; he endorsed, naturally, and took part himself, in Lenin's violent "campaign against annexations." The popular movement against Miliukov's program ["must we die for the Dardanelles?"] became so strong that Miliukov had to quit in May 1917, and his successor in Kerensky's government informed the Allies that Russia had renounced all demands as to acquisition of foreign territories.

Eventually, this became the program of the Soviet Government; though it was not exactly a virtue, since Russia's weakness had made Russia herself an area of foreign encroachment.

Miliukov, hated and persecuted by the Soviet authorities, went into exile and died in France last year. In the war years, however, he changed his attitude to Stalin's Government. His last political statement contained much praise for the Soviet policy. Actually the main reason for his pro-Sovietism was the fact that the Soviet Government had virtually embraced the program of Miliukov, Sazonov, and Nicholas II.

Pravda Accuses German Catholics Of Trying to Preserve Imperialism

By Wireless to THE NEW YORK TIMES

MOSCOW, March 25—In Pravda, the Communist party newspaper, the well-known Russian publicist, Ilya Ehrenburg, took a sharp crack at the Catholic Church—a not uncommon subject in the Russian press these days.

He said that Catholic Centrists were now trying to save German imperialism and that former Chancellor Heinrich Bruening, who is now in the United States, and whom he called "the Fuehrer of the German Catholics," had only commenced voicing his views as the Russian and Anglo-American armies neared Berlin. "Bruening nominates himself to replace Hitler," Mr. Ehrenburg said, and he thinks "about the salvation of German imperialism.

"Catholic papers in the United States and England are now engaged mainly with the problem of rehabilitating Germany. If one ignores that these papers are published in English, one might accept them as German publications.

"This has nothing to do with religion. This is a policy, and a very open one. Bruening thinks about Ebert not because Ebert believed in Providence but because he believed in machine guns. The Vatican wants to save not German children but the German Army from the Stormoviks.

"Bruening wants the Fuehrer's vacant seat. I am afraid that all his efforts are in vain. We are not in the fifteenth century and it is not the Vatican congregations who are moving on Berlin but the troops of the Soviet Union, the United States, Britain, France and Poland.

"The Catholic religion as such is not at fault. The Catholics of France, Belgium and Poland courageously fought against the German invaders. These Catholics can be only surprised at seeing how the Vatican is attempting to whitewash the criminals. The Vatican is afraid that with the doom of fascism there will be a rebirth of light, wisdom and freedom."

"Utter Nonsense" Bruening Says

BOSTON, March 25 (AP)—"Utter Nonsense," Dr. Bruening commented tonight on Pravda's story that he had put forth his candidacy as the heir of Hitler. He read the Moscow dispatch and declared: "From beginning to end, itt is all utter nonsense."

RECORDED

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This is a clipping from page 7 of the New York Times for

March 26, 1945

Clipped at the Seat of Government.

MAR 26 1945

Soviet Papers Show What Russia Thinks

Writer Finds Key to Policy In Government Journals

By Joseph H. Baird.

The peculiar position of the Soviet press as an instrument of diplomacy has come forcibly to the attention of American officials lately, particularly in connection with the Moscow-motivated change of regimes in Romania.

An unusual importance attaches to the utterances of Soviet newspapers for, unlike those in the United States or Great Britain, they always reflect either a governmental or a Communist party point of view. The distinction is not of great importance, for the men who control the party also are the dominant figures in the government.

The most aggressively outspoken Moscow journal is Pravda, official organ of the Central Committee of the Communist party. Izvestia, mouthpiece of the presidium of the Supreme Council of the U. S. S. R., represents the official governmental view and is usually more restrained than Pravda. Red Star speaks for the Commissariat of Defense, Red Fleet for the Navy Commissariat, Trud for the Council of Trade Unions, and War and the Working Classes, a new publication, is generally regarded as presenting the Foreign Office outlook on world affairs.

There are no privately-owned newspapers in Russia. Even outside Moscow the lesser known journals are controlled either by local Soviets, Communist party units, trade unions or government factories. Hence every Russian newspaper speaks either for the central government, the Communist party or some organization directly responsible to the government.

Most of the Soviet newspapers are controlled by editorial boards, although some have individual editors in chief. These boards, naturally, include one or more members of the Communist party who can be relied upon to see that the latest curvatures in the "party line" are followed carefully. Keeping a watchful eye on the entire field of publications is the Sovinform Bureau, headed by Comrade A. S. Sheherbakov, who also is chief of the political administration of the Red Army.

It follows naturally, then, that the editorial pages of Soviet newspapers are watched carefully by foreign diplomats and correspondents in Moscow as well as by the State Department here. For what they say is not the reflection of a single editor's point of view. Rather—particularly in the case of the principal Moscow organs—it is a clear indication of what is going on in the minds of the men who run the Russian government.

* * * *

Official American ears grew suddenly sensitive recently when Pravda launched a bitter attack on the Romanian government of Premier Nichlas Radescu. He was charged with failing to purge his country of pro-Germans and "war criminals." Pravda thought it was time for a change in the Bucharest administration.

As usual, Pravda proved remarkable prescient. Shortly after its attack, Andrei Vishinsky, Russian Vice Commisar of Foreign Affairs, turned up in Bucharest, and it was announced that the Radescu regime had been replaced by one headed by Deputy Premier Peter Groza, leader of the left wing of the National Democratic Front, which takes its political cue from Moscow.

Now American officials are worried over just what may lie behind a vigorous attack by War and the Working Classes on Senator Vandenberg, Republican, of Michigan and a member of the United States delegation to the San Francisco Conference. On March 12 the Moscow radio broadcast parts of an editorial appearing in this publication in which the Michigan Senator was branded as a "hypocrite" and as one who preferred "pro-Fascist and pro-Hitler regimes in the small countries of Europe."

Referring back to a speech Senator Vandenberg delivered in the Senate January 12, the editorial recalled that he had asked for an "honest and impartial" attitude toward our enemies, and added:

"People have a good memory which will not let them forget what the motto 'impartiality' means in the mouth of an erstwhile appeaser."

About the same time Pravda opened an attack on the government of Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek, echoing a demand of the Chinese Communists for a liquidation of the Kuomintang.

Pravda, more than any other Soviet newspaper, is used as a lash on the backs of those whose words or deeds are not to Moscow's liking. There is clever reasoning behind this fact. If a foreign nation or dignitary should protest Pravda's lambasting, the Soviet Foreign Office may reply with technical truthfulness that the journal does not speak for the government of the U. S. S. R., but only for the Russian Communist party.

Izvestia, the official government organ, is much more restrained than Pravda in its editorial statements. But as Pravda has the largest circulation of any Russian newspaper (or at least it did before the war) and is regarded by the public as the most authoritative mirror of Kremlin policy, its editorials are pre-eminent in shaping the thinking of the Russian people. Therefore, it is a logical assumption that what Pravda says is what the Kremlin wants the average Russian to think.

* * * *

In recent months a number of prominent Americans, aside from Senator Vandenberg, have felt the heat of Pravda's wrath. William L. White, the son of the late William Allen White, who summarized his impressions of the U. S. S. R. in his recently-published "Report on the Russians," was accused by Pravda of having gone to the Soviet Union with "the premeditated intention of spreading calumny." Pravda added that the truth about the U. S. S. R. would be known here "irrepective of the efforts of Fascist agitators to prevent it."

"Fascist" is a favorite epithet of Pravda's writers who use it with charming catholicity. It is applied indiscriminately to any one who criticizes any aspect of Soviet policy.

Not all Moscow newspapers are as vitriolic as Pravda. Izvestia and Red Star, Red Fleet and War and the Working Classes, in their respective specialized fields, usually express themselves in more measured terms. But all are significant in that they represent some aspect of official thinking and are accurate weathervanes in the wind of Soviet policy.

NOT RECORDED
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FILE

President of Her Republic

World's only woman president of a republic was once a country school teacher in a little-known portion of czarist Russia.

By Z. N LABKOVSKY
MOSCOW.

THE Chuvash Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic, situated in the northern part of the Volga Region, in the Russian SFSR, is perhaps the only Republic in the world with a woman president. She is Zoya Andreyeva, and before her election as Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of Chuvashia (a post equivalent to president), she was a country schoolteacher.

The population of Chuvashia is about one million, although before the Soviet Revolution a similar number of people had left their native soil to search for a livelihood in neighboring regions. Some went as far as Kuibyshev, Bashkiria and distant Siberia.

Before 1917 the Chuvashi were a poverty-stricken people who had neither statehood nor national freedom. Only a quarter of a century ago they attracted attention chiefly because of the wide incidence of trachoma among the population.

Today every trace of trachoma has been eradicated, and one might say that Chuvashia's distinguishing feature at the present time is its motor-roads. In my visit to the Republic I drove over the country on highways that rank among the best in the USSR.

Zoya Andreyeva, who was elected to her present high post seven years ago, was born in Oraushi, a village of 350 miserable huts. The soil around was fertile, but the farmers lacked the most elementary implements for tilling it. They were without education. Zoya's father, the village doctor, was troubled by this mode of existence. While treating the eyes of the people for trachoma, he spoke constantly of the need for

ZOYA ANDREYEVA, chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of Chuvashia.

EX-"FIVE"

EX-41

This is a clipping from page 4 sec. 2 of THE WORKER
Date 3-25-45
Clipped at the seat of Government

education and enlightenment if their way of life was to be changed.

Zoya listened to her father and to her older sister, a schoolteacher, and resolved to become a teacher also. She attended a secondary school in the nearby town of Yadrin. The day on which she received her teacher's diploma coincided with a momentous event in the history of the country: the Soviet Revolution in Russia.

Andreyeva began her career as a teacher in Yangorchin village. She felt keenly the responsibility of her profession; in Chuvashia it imposed broader duties than ordinarily fell to the lot of a teacher.

It must teach both the children and adults," she said. "Both must be taught to read and write, and the elders to understand their life as well." She planned her campaign carefully.

In the winter evenings the peasants usually gathered in the bathhouse. The warmest place in the village, it was their only social center. Here the girls and young men would sing plaintive songs. Andreyeva came to the bathhouse with a book in her hand. She sat down quietly apart from the others and read.

Everyone's curiosity was aroused, and in a short time Andreyeva was reading aloud to the girls. Soon the young men joined the circle, and in a little while the entire village, including the old folks, was listening and learning about the earth, the stars, and man himself.

This was the beginning. Soon Andreyeva's school was the center of the village communal life. She became known as the teacher who was more interested in others than in her own welfare. News of her success reached Cheboksary, the capital. Andreyeva was invited there, and then sent to Moscow to continue her education. Later she returned to her homeland and seven years ago was elected to head its Government.

* * *

I visited Andreyeva in Cheboksary, soon after her return from a visit to the rural areas for conferences on the spring sowing. It was Saturday, her reception day, and I was struck by the large number of visitors she received, and her scrupulous care in keeping appointments.

Zoya Andreyeva is still a teacher despite her maturity as a stateswoman. A typical Chuvash woman — the face round, the cheekbones slightly prominent and the eyes almond-shaped—she welcomed me warmly and spoke eargerly of the past, present and future of Chuvashia. Education is her credo. "The Chuvashi would never have risen to their feet if they had not enjoyed the support of the Russian people, who sent us engineers and agronomists, machines for our factories, pedigreed stock for our farms — and schoolbooks for our children.

"The first thing we did was to teach our people to read and write, for we know that culture follows literacy."

I could not refrain from thinking that the very presence of a woman in this office was in itself proof of the vast cultural, social and economic progress of the Republic.

But there were other proofs. Chuvashia has not only scored great successes in agriculture, but has built up its own industry. A locomotive repair works has been added to the old Cheboksary railway car shops; there are a woodworking mill and a furniture factory, and the war years have added a boot and shoe factory, a tobacco factory, four cotton textile mills and numerous other industrial enterprises.

In commemoration of the 25th anniversary of the Chuvash Republic, the People's Commissariat of Education summed up its work. The following are some of the most striking figures: 1,030 schools, seven normal schools, a pedagogical institute and an agricultural institute — all this in a country where not long ago 98 per cent of the women were unable to read and write.

Russia-Vatican Negotiations Afoot And Progressing, Flynn Implies

By VIRGINIA LEE WARREN

By Wireless to THE NEW YORK TIMES

ROME, March 22—After an hour's audience today with Pope Pius and his closest advisers, Edward J. Flynn, former National Democratic chairman, who accompanied President Roosevelt to Yalta and went on a private mission to Moscow for him, said tonight that his visit to the Vatican was mostly the personal pilgrimage of any Catholic and that the highly moot matter of the Vatican and the Kremlin had been "just casually, very casually" discussed.

In a press conference with fifty newspaper men seeking to learn whether he had discussed with Premier Stalin any efforts toward rapprochement between Moscow and the Holy See, Mr. Flynn smiled almost constantly, said: "No comment" frequently and apologized several times for: "I really haven't anything to say." Whenever the subject of his mission was touched upon, he said: "I don't think I ought to discuss it until I get home and discuss it with him [Mr. Roosevelt], but he admitted that he considered the wealth of reports concerning a rapprochement "quite fair speculation." Apparently realizing immediately how revealing that was, he added that he meant that much

Continued on Page 3, Column 2

speculation was "in the realm of doubt."

Asked whether he considered his mission a success, he smiled so broadly as he explained again that he could not discuss the matter that a British reporter suggested that the smile be taken as a sign of satisfaction. Mr. Flynn countered:

"An Irishman smiles when he loses, as well as when he wins."

He said that he would go to Paris next week and then to London, as part of the same mission for Mr. Roosevelt. He expects to see Prime Minister Churchill, but he is sending no messages to Washington dealing with his mission. He will make a complete report when he returns home around mid-April.

Before leaving for Paris, Mr. Flynn intends to visit the Fifth Army front. He said that he would probably see some officials of the Italian Government within a day or two.

He refused to give any impressions of Premier Stalin, but he said that he had attended Father Leopold Braun's Roman Catholic Church in Moscow.

Long Talk With Pope

Describing his brief visit to Msgr. Giovanni Battista Montini and Msgr. Domenico Tardini, the Pope's closest advisers, Mr. Flynn said: "I just went in to say 'How do you do?' 'Glad to see you' and the Pope, which was held in the usual audience chamber was far longer than those granted to members of the church on the usual "personal pilgrimage."

It exceeded Harry L. Hopkins' recent visit by at least twenty minutes. He was taken by Myron C. Taylor, President Roosevelt's representative at the Vatican, to speak with Msgr. Walter Carroll, American assistant to Msgr. Montini, as well as two other monsignore.

In contrast to Mr. Flynn's guarded remarks on his conversation with the Pope, the semi-official Pucci agency declared that he "is supposed to have officially informed the Pope of his attempt and its result" in the effort to bring about an understanding between the Vatican and the Kremlin. The Catholic Action's organ, The Quotidiano, said that "American cooperation in the great work of His Holiness to repair the ruins of the war is so important * * * that there must be very serious reasons for these high and providential contacts." The Osservatore Romano, however, was as reticent as Mr. Flynn.

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This is a clipping from page 1 of the New York Times for March 23, 1945

Clipped at the Seat of Government.

MOSCOW STRESSES DESIRES FOR PEACE

Leaders Imply Rehabilitation Is Principal Aim—Health of Roosevelt Watched

By Wireless to The New York Times.

MOSCOW, March 22—Generally speaking, the Soviet Union emphasizes its desire for peace and international security during the post-war years. It is underscored, though, that this must be a joint undertaking by both large and small powers.

Within this peace framework the Soviet Union hopes to recommence its internal building and production of consumer goods in a series of long-range plans. The destruction caused by the war will be made up in part in the form of reparations in kind, including machinery.

In the liberated areas, healthy manpower and woman power already is being set vigorously to work.

The Soviet Union desires mightily to maintain excellent relations with the United States and Britain but, on the other hand, it feels that its own immediate needs and requirements must be clearly admitted and recognized.

Roosevelt's Health Watched

Many Soviet figures have expressed interest in President Roosevelt's health. Mr. Roosevelt is known as a friend of the Soviet Union and the Russians have shown concern over occasional rumors that he was suffering from strain. They are interested to know Vice-President Truman's views.

In the lands bordering the Soviet's western frontiers, the Soviet is eagerly encouraging purge movements.

Soviet observers have often shown pique with certain American elements, including conservative circles and Catholic quarters, claiming that they were working against a full and just treatment for eGrmany. Izvestia's "observer" said that Tnstances of a cordial attitude to the Germans are not isolated."

The opinion here is that in Finland the new Democratic Union Party, which includes Communists, did fine in teh recent elections to the Diet. An article in Izvestia said that the political feelings of the Finnish people are thus obivous; but the practical results of the election and the distribution of seats in the Diet do not entirely reflect this mood.

"The elections have shown that elements opposed to the progressive development of the Finnish state are still strong and a further struggle against them is imminent," the article added.

There is evident the opinion that in Rumania the Groza Government is highly popular, with a strong backing and the press has published puzzled impressions of the British and American concern over that Government.

Peasant Party Silent on Maniu

Meanwhile in Rumania the aged Dr. Juliu Maniu has been retired as chairman of the Peasant party because of "bad health" and his resignation is being accepted despite the refusal of the permanent delegation of the Peasant party to discuss it.

Relations between Bulgaria and the Soviet Union are clearly amiable.

In Yugoslavia, a new Yugoslav Society for Cultural Collaboration with the Soviet Union has just been formed.

The Soviet press has expressed satisfaction with speedy implimentation of land reform and distribution in Hungary.

Turkey is the newest subject of the Soviet Foreign Commissariat's concern. It is felt here that the 1925 mutual friendship treaty no longer is applicable under present circumstances. The Soviet Union has a special interest in the administration of the Dardanelles.

As for the Far East, it is pointed out that the Soviet Union is not at war with Japan, although their neutrality pact will automatically be renewed next month unless denounced.

This is a clipping from page 3 of the New York Times for March 23, 1945
Clipped at the Seat of Government.

SOVIET DRIVE IS ON FOR A RECORD CROP

'Boss' System and Competition Spur Collectives—Vast Plan Drawn to Erase Obstacles

By C. L. SULZBERGER

By Wireless to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

MOSCOW, March 23—The Soviet Union, entering its fourth wartime spring, commenced an enormous sowing program during the last few days to reap a record harvest, especially of grain, and raise food levels necessarily lowered by the war.

The need for maintaining and feeding its immense armies, far from agricultural centers, the loss for three years of the vast crops of the Ukraine and other rich black earth regions, the shift of tractor to tank production in many key factories in this land of industrial farming and the destruction and pillaging, especially of farm machinery, during the years of enemy occupation have presented tremendous handicaps to crop production.

Furthermore, the mobilization of millions of men into the army, as well as heavy casualties, have noticeably decreased the manpower available to farms.

Despite these handicaps, the Russians have been able to endure the worst period of the war without widespread famine and the basic diet is now being maintained. During the worst years the Allies, especially the United States, shipped huge quantities of wheat to the Soviet Union. This program is now over and this year the Russians did not ask even for seed or grain.

Proverb Is Observed

There is an old Russian proverb, "Where there is a boss, there is bread." This saying has been implemented by hundreds of thousands of collective farmers, mostly women and young people as well as old people.

Individual sowing programs and working plans to the various collective farms and machine tractor stations are part of the general state plan worked out on a national basis and then divided into regional and subregional bases at each level from the top to the smallest kolkhoz [collective farm] there is a boss.

To fulfill the exceptionally high harvest levels, various stimulants have been devised. In one typical instance in the Zaporozhye and Dniepropetrovsk district the agricultural workers have agreed to a formal competition.

The Zaporozhye farmers have promised to finish the early corn sowing within twelve days, to get eighty-five poods [a pood is forty pounds] of corn from each hectare [2.471 acres] of land and to exceed the quota of the State plan by 10 per cent. The Dniepropetrovsk farmers promise to carry out their early sowing in ten days, exceed the State program by 20 per cent and harvest eighty poods of corn from each hectare.

Individual rewards are worked out on a basis of dividing the profits of the joint enterprise among the peasants. Thus on one kolkhoz last year each worker received for each working day 2.3 kilograms of grain, 300 grams of seed oil, three rubles in cash and honey and fruit.

Complex Problems Met

Despite teh ambitious level set for this year's harvest, many difficulties are recognized. Tractor salvage from former battlefields, the repair of tractor factories, and of damaged tractors and the manufacture of required spare parts are complex problems. Complaints have been voiced that this program is lagging.

In Uzbekistan factories spare parts are not being produced in the quantities ordered. The huge Kirov plant in the Urals is acknowledged to be behind in this respect. This is exceedingly important to a nation that during the 1920's and 1930's geared its farming primarily to the gasoline engine rather than the horse.

Although, for example, the famous Stalingrad plant is now being repaired, producing dozens of machines weekly for the rich fields of the Kuban and the Ukraine, the devastation will take time to repair.

In the White Russian Soviet Republic, where only one-quarter of the horses and a few tractors were left after the Germans had been expelled, the farmers form special squads to locate and mend all tractors rusting in the woods and fields. In many sections of the Soviet Union cows have been suggested to Kolkhoz leaders as traction animals. In a recent debate on a collective farm, the provincial press reported, the head of a Kolkhoz farm dismissed arguments about the shortage of traction by saying, "All right, we will have to use cows."

Last year many State-operated machine tractor stations suffered because of the lack of fuel; new arrangements have been undertaken to avoid shortages this year.

Labor Asked for Discipline

Other steps are being taken to improve the efficiency of this year's agricultural program by the maintenance of the strictest discipline. Pravda, the Communist party newspaper, recently wrote about the "brigade and link organization of labor" on the Kolkhozes:

"There are still not a few cases of disorganization, arbitrary breaking up of brigades and links and violation of labor discipline. The vicious practice at certain kolkhozes of constituting links only on paper has not yet been eliminated."

Mass sowing has already begun in the south and is about to begin in the southeast, east and central areas. The Government has called on the wheatland whenever possible to produce 100 poods per hectare. To achieve this the Russians manure their fields at this early date. Tone of fertilizers are being laid down. The late spring has shortened the usual sowing time and a special program has been devised for the distribution of melting snow waters.

Complaints have been received that the seed distributed is sometimes in improper condition or that a local seed shortage necessitates using ordinary grain stores; that insufficient "mass political work" is being undertaken for farmers; that tractor repairs are lagging.

This is a clipping from page _____ of the New York Times for March 24-45

Clipped at the Seat of Government.

LEAGUE'S FAILURE CITED BY MOSCOW

Broadcast Warns of Danger in Giving Equal Voting Rights to Smaller Nations

Criticizing advocates of a change in the voting procedure at the coming world security conference in San Francisco, the Moscow radio declared in a broadcast reported yesterday by the Federal Communications Commission that attempts were being made under the guise of a "sincere regard for the small countries" to "return the future organization of security to the evil days of the League of Nations.

"The future international organization of security," the broadcast asserted, "can in reality insure the interests of the small countries only if it becomes an effective organization; that is, if it will be built on the same foundation on which is being the great structure of our common victory; that is, on agreement and unanimity and the close collaboration of the main great powers of the anti-German coalition."

The broadcast declared that the small countries in the League of Nations had had "formal equal rights." This made it possible," it said, "for one or another small country, on the instructions of a large assessor, to disrupt important measures intended for the insurance of peace and security."

The broadcast reminded the small nations that the League of Nations, in which they had "formal equal rights," had done "absolutely nothing to insure real security and peace and to save the first victims of the murderous Fascist aggression."

In this connection it cited the cases of Ethiopia, Austria, Czechoslovakia, Albania and Bulgaria and recalled what it said was the observation of the late Prime Minister Neville Chamberlain "that in practice it was demonstrated that the small nations could have no hope of the help of the League of Nations and that they must deal with the aggressors in any way they could.

"This is how the League of Nations defended the small countries," the broadcast declared.

RECORDED
APR 26 1945

This is a clipping from page 17 of the New York Times for March 22, 1945
Clipped at the Seat of Government.

Soviet Inheritance Law Strengthens Family Tie

By Wireless to THE NEW YORK TIMES. 2

MOSCOW, March 21—A new Soviet inheritance law has been promulgated by the Presidium of Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. It is designed to protect personal property owners' rights and at same time to strengthen family ties.

This significant development is described as being part of a "general system of measures of the Soviet State aimed at Protecting the rights of citizens."

Previous laws limited possible heirs to direct descendants or adopted descendants, husband or wife, and needy dependants. The new law broadens this to include parents, brothers and sisters and introduces new procedure for distributing willed property, giving precedence to immediate relatives.

It also permits persons to bequeath property to one or several heirs as well as to public organizations, but testator may not deprive his minor children or jobless heirs of their rightful portion.

In the absence of defined legal heirs the testator may leave his property to anyone he designs.

This is a clipping from page 2 of the New York Times for March 22, 1945

Clipped at the Seat of Government.

ALL-SLAV CONFERENCE IN SOFIA

By a Correspondent in Bulgaria

AN All-Slav Conference was held in Sofia, the capital of Bulgaria, from March 3 to 6. Bulgarian regents, members of the Bulgarian Government, members of the National Committee of the Bulgarian Fatherland Front and members of the Allied Control Commission in Bulgaria were present.

Those elected to the honorary Presidium, amid great applause from the hall, included Marshal Stalin, Georgi Dimitrov, Marshal Tito, Dr. Benes, President of Czechoslovakia, and the President of the Polish National Council, M. Bierut.

The speakers included the Bulgarian Prime Minister Kimon Georgieff; the Exarch of Bulgaria Stefan I.; the Bulgarian War Minister Demian Velcheff; the Chairman of the All-Slav Committee in Moscow, Lt.-Gen. Gundorov, Red Army; Professors Derzhavin and Zhebrak of the Soviet Academy of Sciences; the Ukrainian writer Pavlo Tychina; the President of the Slav Committee in Sofia, Naiden Nikoloff; and representatives from Czechoslovakia, Poland and Yugoslavia.

In his speech to the delegates Lt.-Gen. Gundorov said:—

"Bulgarian brothers! Sixty-seven years ago the Bulgarians received their freedom and sovereignty from the hands of the Russian people. Yet in later years, as a result of the intrigues of the German warmongers, Bulgaria was turned into a camp of her brothers' enemy, and like a mercenary dragged behind her conqueror's chariot. During all these years the Russian people and the whole Slav world looked on with alarm and pain.

"The Germans pushed the Bulgarian people into a war against progressive mankind, and made of Bulgaria a Nazi gendarme in the Balkans. Their agents and the Bulgarian Fascists destroyed tens of thousands of the best sons of Bulgaria, and hoped to cause dissension between the Bulgarian people and the Russian and other Slav peoples.

"This was a horrible and pitiful page in the history of the Bulgarian people. I am, therefore, particularly glad that here—in the Slav town of Sofia, at a meeting of progressive people of new and free Bulgaria, at which representatives of other Slav peoples are present as honoured guests—I am able to convey sincerest fraternal greetings to the Bulgarian people, which despite the enemy's efforts has returned to the mighty family of the Slav peoples.

"This is a great victory for all Slavs, and first and foremost for the Bulgarian people. The blood of our best sons who fell in battle against the Germans—the Slavs' worst enemy—has united the Slav people in indissoluble friendship. And once again, as 67 years ago, the Bulgarian people have been liberated by the blood and gallantry of the Russian people.

"I am happy that to-day, here in Sofia, I can toast the victorious Red Army, the liberator dear to us all, and the great leader of the great Soviet people, best friend of the Slav peoples, Marshal Stalin, who has helped the brother Bulgarian people to rise to new life, and to break the Hitlerite yoke.

"Bulgarian brothers! Never forget the stern lessons of history—preserve them as sacred. Guard with your very lives the freedom you have received; strengthen your friendship with the brother Slav peoples. Remember that Bulgaria's freedom was bought with the sacrifice and blood of Slav soldiers. Remember that for your freedom the heroic people of Yugoslavia and the Polish and Czechoslovak peoples fought Fascism. Remember that they contributed their share for the liberation of Bulgaria!

"In this fighting alliance of the Slav peoples against Fascism we Slavs see the guarantee of a durable peace in Europe, and the peaceful prosperity of our peoples. In the close collaboration of the Slav peoples with other freedom-loving peoples, headed by the Soviet Union, the United States of America and Great Britain, we see the guarantee that German imperialism—the worst, age-old enemy of the Slav peoples—will never rise again. After the final victory over Hitlerite Germany, a path of boundless prosperity and well-being will open before our peoples."

The Congress sent messages of greeting to Marshal Stalin, Mr. Roosevelt, Mr. Churchill, Marshal Tito and Dimitrov.

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87 APR 26 1945

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RUSSIA REBUILDING INDUSTRIES FIRST

JERUSALEM, March 4 (UP)—A British Parliamentary mission to Russia reported today that priority for reconstruction there was being given to industrial enterprises, public buildings, schools and housing in that order.

Consequently, in Stalingrad, tractor plants are up to pre-war conditions but the people are still living in holes in the ground, the mission reported.

"We were permitted to see everything we wanted," John Parker, a member of the mission, said. "We visited Moscow and Leningrad, where part of the mission went to the Don Basin to see war industry, and Stalingrad and Baku.

"We were impressed particularly by industrial development in the Urals and central Asia. The housing problem in Russia will be enormous and even very old towns are overcrowded."

The mission, which spent six weeks in Russia, described the trip as successful and said that "we hope there will be an exchange of visits."

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This is a clipping from page 5 of the New York Times for March 5, 1945
Clipped at the Seat of Government.

PRAVDA SAYS NAZIS DIG IN FOR NEW WAR

Party Cadres, Secret Funds and General Staff Provided— Moscow 'Names Names'

The Nazis have made full-dress preparations for World War III by setting up "underground terroristic organizations" and Hitler has appointed his Gestapo Chief and Interior Minister, Henrich Himmler, as "special commissioner for placing the Nazi party on an underground status," an article in the Soviet newspaper Pravda said yesterday.

Pravda added, however, that the Nazis would fail in their plans.

The article was transmitted in English to North America by the Soviet Tass Agency and reported by the Federal Communications Commission.

According to Pravda, the Nazis already have taken the following measures:

(1) Creation of a powerful financial base for extensive subsidizing of underground work.
(2) Preservation of the main cadres of the party.
(3) Preservation of the economic base of the German war machine.
(4) The political preparation of revenge.

"These activities are being carried out both within and outside Germany," Pravda said, adding that "within German the Hitlerites prepare to conduct underground work "along three lines: Organization of sabotage and terroristic bands, setting up of a widely ramified clandestine Fascist organization and sabotage of peace terms between Germany and the United Nations.

Pravda Names Personnel

The article continued:

"Presently the German General Staff feverishly prepares plans for the operations of the Fascist underground army, which must be centered chiefly in the hilly and wooded terrain in East Prussia, southern and southwestern Germany, in Tyrol and in Austria, which favor conduct of a 'little war.'

"To direct these operations, a special headquarters has been set up in Munich under Wilhelm Schepmann—one of the organizers of anti-Allied sabotage in the Ruhr in 1923. The members of Schepmann's staff are Ernst Kaltenbrunner, chief of the Gestapo and chief of the Military Intelligence Service; Hitler's personal friend, Werner von Alwensleben; senior officers of the Security Service and Obergruppen Fuehrer Schellenberg and Melle.

"The terroristic detachments will consist of picked Fascist cutthroats from SS [Elite Guard] units. At present all these units are studying future theatres of operations in the areas designed to them. Simultaneously, a ramified network of secret caches of arms, ammunition, clothing, provisions, secret signals and communication lines is being laid.

Sixth Column Established

"Along with the preparation of terroristic bands, a huge underground apparatus is being set up to conduct various underground work and Fascist propaganda—the so-called sixth column.

"The territory of Germany, divided into sectors and areas, is being covered with a dense network of clandestine Nazi party organizations, consisting o fmany thousands of secret cells."

Pravda said the Nazis had planned "a wide range of activities" for the underground organization, including preparation for a third world war.

"This clandestine organization will serve to build up cadres for the future German Army," Pravda said.

The Nazis are resorting to every device to "preserve their cadres," even placing some of them in concentration camps and prisons as "anti-Nazis," Pravda continued.

It said that leadership of underground Fascist activities in Germany would be handled from abroad by a "special secret general staff" resisting in one of the neutral countries.

"The Hitlerites thereby intend to thwart Germany's military and economic disargament and also the payment of reparations," Pravda asserted.

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Clipping from page 7 of the New York Times for Feb. 27, 1945

Clipped at the Seat of Government.

HOLY SEE AND KREMLIN DIVIDED OVER POLITICS

In Spite of Their Present Duel, They Are Drawn Toward Agreement

By HERBERT L. MATTHEWS

By Wireless to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

ROME, Feb. 24—In thinking about the Vatican and the Kremlin these days you immediately strike a paradox, for on the one hand you read mutual recriminations and on other you must realize that in general Rome and Moscow are nearer to each other than at any other time since 1917. Great forces appear to be pushing them together, willy-nilly.

But having admitted that, you must quickly make a distinction. The only basis upon which an accord can be reached is a practical, political, diplomatic one. It would be the sovereign state of Vatican City dealing with another sovereign state. It would not be Catholicism and the Communists getting together.

That is fundamental. The Catholic Church has condemned communism ever since its beginning as Marxist socialism, when Pius IX was Pope. Its most solemn recent condemnation dates from March 19, 1937, in Pius XI's "Encyclical on Atheistic Communism."

Encyclical Quoted

"Communism is intrinsically wrong and no one who would save Christian civilization will collaborate with it in any undertaking whatsoever," it concludes.

These are strong words, but they are to be interpreted in a religious sense. The fact that the Russian Government is Communist does not mean that it cannot have diplomatic relations with the Holy See. The Japanese established diplomatic relations in the midst of this war, but that indicated no sympathy toward Shintoism on the part of the Vatican. So we must keep in mind that what is being quarreled over now is a political problem and not religious welfare. The freedom of millions of Catholics will be affected by what happens. Religious freedom and respect for the religious rights of Catholics are aims of the church, but they can be achieved only through diplomatic channels and they, in turn, are reached through international politics.

On the political plane there is one outstanding problem which is enough in itself to explain why Soviet publications have been steadily attacking the Holy See in recent weeks. The Red Star, organ of the Soviet armed forces, made it quite clear. It accused the Pontiff of being "the Germans' spokesman," of "preaching a soft peace," opposing the "democratization of Italy" and (this is the key to the whole business, according to Vatican quarters) it ended by saying that the Moscow Government would resist "an intervention of Vatican policy in Germany, Austria, Hungary and Poland."

The Patriarch's View

The new Patriarch of Moscow, on behalf of the Orthodox churches of the Synod, now meeting in the Soviet capital, made a similar charge regarding the Holy See and Germany, while variations were to be found in Pravda and other Russian organs.

In other words, Premier Stalin does not intend to let the Vatican play any role in the peace settlement in central Europe if he can help it. The Holy See on its part is not taking this lying down.

It is perfectly obvious to everyone at the Vatican that as long as Premier Stalin has anything to say about it, no representative of the Holy See is going to sit in on Allied conferences, so there was no question of that. However, that does not mean that the Vatican is going to be uninterested in the fate of countries or regions with many millions of Catholics. Il Quotidiano, the organ of the Catholic Action, spoke out on behalf of the Vatican with polemic skill and fury.

It pointed out that there are 30,000,000 Catholics in Germany and Austria, another 30,000,000 in Poland and 6,000,000 in Hungary. That is without counting 18,000,000 in Czechoslovakia, Lithuania and Yugoslavia.

Catholic Action Replies

"What do the U.S.S.R. and its vassal states aim to get out of their attitude?" asked Il Quotidiano. "Is it to prevent the church from interesting herself in these faithful? Or is it to prevent Catholics from considering the Roman Pontiff as their spiritual head? It would be a new 'los von Rom' (breaking away from Rome) this time on Russia's part; a continuation on an immensely vaster scale of the attempt already begun by Hitlerite nazism since its accession to power.

"But when one speaks of Germany and nazism and responsibilities, the U.S.S.R. would have every reason to keep quiet. Men's memories are changeable, but the recollection of August, 1939, has not gone yet. The Soviet Union has the responsibility before history of having given the decisive push toward the second world conflict. The Pope, 'spokesman' of Germany, 'preacher of a soft peace,' showed his solidarity with the victims of injustice when Holland, Belgium and Luxembourg were suddenly attacked by a force that then seemed invincible and destined to triumph. Moscow favored the aggression. Russia found herself on the side of justice only because at a certain moment she herself was attacked."

Type of Problems

It isn't necessary in this article to take sides, since for present circumstances one need only realize what sort of issues are involved and from them it should be obvious that the present strained relations between the Vatican and the Kremlin are of a highly worldly, political nature, connected with the immediate problems of the peace settlement in Europe.

These problems are of such a nature that it would seem to be to the advantage of both parties ultimately to get together. Those 80,000,000 Catholics of central Europe would be more than even Stalin could handle in the long run if he tried another Reformation or "break from Rome." On the Vatican's side there is a recognition of the fact that at least the Polish, Lithuanian, Latvian, Hungarian and Croatian Catholics are going to be under Moscow's control or influence and that it would not pay to be permanently at odds with the Russian Government.

The Holy See cannot ignore the most powerful nation in Europe, nor does it want Russia as an enemy. Pius XII is a diplomat, and if there is a basis for a modus vivendi on the political plane he can be expected to find it.

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N. Y. Times
Feb. 25

LATINS ARE URGED TO ACCEPT RUSSIA

U. S. and Mexico Striving to Persuade 13 Republics to Recognize Ally Formally

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

MEXICO CITY, Feb. 24—An effort is being made behind the scenes at the Chapultepec Conference to induce thirteen Latin-American republics to establish diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union before the United Nations security meeting at San Francisco April 25.

The United States and Mexico are especially active in seeking to persuade the representatives of these Governments that it is an unfortunate paradox to be an ally of Russia and yet to reject her attempts to be recognized by them.

The Chapultepec Conference is not expected to take up this question formally. While some supporters of the Soviet case would like to see the conference pass a resolution favoring re-establishment of relations, others feel that such a recommendation will be beyond the legitimate scope of a conference on inter-American problems.

Most of the Foreign Ministers of the Hemisphere are here, however, and this provides for Secretary of State Edward R. Stettinius Jr. and Mexican Foreign Secretary Ezequiel Padilla an opportunity to discuss the subject with them.

Considerable progress is believed to have been made, and there is evidence to support the conviction of some of our officials that all or most of these missions will find it convenient to recognize the Soviet Union before the San Francisco meeting.

Perhaps the main reason most of the Latin American nations have never recognize the Soviet regime is their fear of the anti-Catholic trend in the Soviet Union. This fear has not been removed by recent statements from the Vatican, whose policy is watched closely in this part of the world, but the great and growing influence of the Soviet Union in the councils that are organizing the post-war international machinery is likely to be a deciding factor in their change.

For example, it was Russia, and not the United States or Great Britain, that insisted that a declaration of war should be made a condition of participation in the San Francisco meeting, and the force of her position is illustrated by the sudden rush by the Latin American powers to declare war on the Axis as soon as they were told of the Russian demand.

A second topic behind the scenes here concerns the future of the regime of Generalissimo Francisco Franco in Spain and Spain's relations with the nations of this Hemisphere. The division on this subject among the delegates here is too great and pinions are held so firmly that it is unlikely that the conference would wish to risk the controversy that would follow any resolution on the subject.

The question is being discussed, however, and the only point on which there is agreement is that the Franco regime is running into its last months and will make way for a new one before it is forced to do so. Consequently there is a tendency to let the question drift.

This is a clipping from page 5 of the New York Times for Feb. 25, 1945
Clipped at the Seat of Government.

PICTURES 'AIMS' OF SOVIET

Johnston Asserts Russians Think Only in Terms of Own Future

NORTHAMPTON, Mass., Feb. 23 (AP)—Eric Johnston, president of the United States Chamber of Commerce, said he was convinced that post-war cooperation with Russia was absolutely necessary, "although extremely difficult."

He spoke at the Washington Birthday exercises at Smith College, where his daughter is a freshman.

Mr. Johnston said that nationalism was "rampant" in Russia, that the Russians were thinking "entirely in terms of their own future," and that one hardly ever heard mention of other nations while in Russia.

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This is a clipping from page 13 of the New York Times for

Feb. 24, 1945

Clipped at the Seat of Government.

SEEK GLOBAL BASIS FOR RUSSIA'S TRADE

Our Experts Try to Integrate State-Controlled Economy With Free Enterprise

USSR MARKET FOR WORLD

Commerce Department Aide Puts Minimum at Half Billion in Early Post-War Years

By JOHN H. CRIDER

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

WASHINGTON, Feb. 21—After long and intensive study with little agreement by an inter-departmental committee of experts, some progress is being made on a matter generally recognized at the State Department as one of the most difficult and important post-war international problems faced by the Administration.

Informed officials confirmed today that this problem, of how to integrate the foreign commerce of State-trading nations, like Soviet Russia, into the Administration's goal of no-discriminatory multilateral world trade, was beginning to show some signs of solution, with one official suggestion now undergoing serious discussion by the men who have much to do with shaping Administration policies in this field.

This is the idea that Soviet Russia might state periodically, perhaps annually, what her global expneditures for imports will be in the ensuing period, making no mntion of either the commodities she has in mind of the countries from which she hopes to buy them. The merchants of the various exporting countries would then compete with each other to supply the things which they find Russia wants to buy.

In return for the agreement to handle her purchases in this way, all countries party to the arrangement would accord to Russia most-favored-nation treatment with regard to the exports which Russia sells to obtain foreign exchange with which to pay for her imports.

Russia as Post-War Market

Russia is expected to be one of the greatest of world markets for many years after the war. Ernest C. Ropes, Russian expert for the Commerce Department, estimates that during the first ten years after the war the minimum rate of Soviet merchandise exports will be $500,000,000 a year. He called it a "conservative" figure. Add to this half billion dollars perhaps $100,000,000 or more of gold exports, plus any foreign credits granted to Russia, which are expected to be substantial, and the possible scale of Russian imports can be surmised.

The idea of the periodic global commitment by Russia is an extension of the United States-Soviet trade agreement starting in 1935. Since the United States has no Government marketing agency and wanted to retain its private enterprise system of foreign trading, some such device was essential. Officials state that each year the guarantee of minimum purchases has been exceeded.

The trade agreement, incidentally, is still in effect and will remain so until new terms or conditions are substituted. However, it has had little meaning during the war in view of lend lease.

For Global Trading "Rules"

Officials here concede that the easiest way to meet the problem of the state-trading nations would be for the United States to adopt the same training methods for itself, but this is exactly what they want to avoid. Awareness of the contagiousness of this trading system appears to be acute, and official efforts appear to be directed toward immunizing the United States and other free trading countries from the infection.

To bolster the suggested arrangement whereby Russia would make her global commitments so as to assure the maximum degree of multilateralism and elimination of bilateralism, some officials feel that Russia and the other state-trading countries also should commit themselves to a set of "rules" which would pledge them to be guided entirely by commercial criteria in their trading transactions. This could be done at an international conference on commercial policy.

There is a strong view among some Government officials who study this problem that the Soviet Government's trade took on appearances of bilateralism during the interwar period only because of circumstances, and that had there been an adequacy of foreign credits and a lack of hostility toward Russia she would not have been forced into that type of trade. This kind of trade was largely with Germany, which even guaranteed credits to finance commerce with Russia.

Views in Recent Trade Study

This view appears to be shared by Dr. Alexander Gerschenkron, whose current study called "Economic Relations with the USSR," published by the Committee on International Economic Policy in cooperation with the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, has attracted considerable attention among government economists.

Dr. Gerschenkron, however, looks at the global commitment idea as only of "limited practical value," stating that the distribution of the commitment among the nations, rather than its aggregate size, is the real problem.

This would probably prove satisfactory for a while, he stated, but "after some time this arrangement could be abandoned and trade with Russia regulated by the simple undertaking on the part of the latter to be guided in her trade by commercial rather than political considerations."

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This is a clipping from page 16 of the New York Times for Feb. 22, 1945

Clipped at the Seat of Government.

VATICAN IN REPLY TO MOSCOW CHARGE

Officially Denies It Sought an Invitation to the Big Three Crimea Conference

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By HERBERT L. MATTHEWS

By Wireless to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

ROME, Feb. 17—The Osservatore Romano, Vatican City newspaper, took the extraordinary step this afternoon of officially denying the statement by the Moscow radio yesterday that the Vatican had tried to participate in the Crimea conference and, because of its failure to do so, was discontented with its results.

[The Vatican radio said yesterday: "We are authorized to explain that the Holy See had not the slightest thought of taking part in that conference." The German-language broadcast, reported by the Federal Communications Commission, added: "The Statement made by the station is once again a complete distortion of the truth. Radio Moscow also stated that Italy had sent an Ambassador to Spain through the mediation of the Holy See. This statement that the Holy See had in any way intervened in those affairs is untrue."]

"It is very rare for the Holy See to make such official denials and it is done only on occasions that are considered of great importance. The Osservatore Romano editorial said:

"The Moscow radio in the Italian language affirmed on the afternoon of Feb. 16 that 'the Vatican is not contented with the results of the Crimea conference because it was not invited to participate in the conference itself.' We are authorized to declare that the Holy See never had even the least thought of participating in that conference. Therefore, in this case also, it is a question of pure and simple calumny.

"The same Moscow radio has attributed to the Holy See the fact that the Italian Government has sent an ambassador to the Spanish Government. Likewise, with regard to this insinuation, we are in a position to label as equally false the charge that the Holy See has intervened in any manner whatever in this matter."

Referred to Previous Charges

It will be noted that the Osservatore says "also" and "likewise." This refers to previous charges in Pravda, Red Star and The Protestant that the Vatican was against Russia, that the Pope was seeking an easy peace for Germany and was not in accord with the Allies in that regard. Last Saturday and Tuesday the Osservatore replied to those accusations, denying them, but not, as in this case, officially.

What we have today is a statement that we know has come from the Papal Secretariat of State and it does not act without the Pope's sanction. The controversy between the Vatican and the Kremlin has reached a sharp stage although in no sense a serious one. However, there is a definite aggravation of the atmosphere.

It must be kept in mind that this controversy is essentially political, not religious, and that is why it does not touch fundamental issues or threaten irreparable harm. Behind it are grave issues concerning the religious welfare of millions of Catholics but they have not arisen yet, and far from being a source of division they may ultimately bring the Vatican and the Kremlin together on a diplomatic plane.

The Polish question has incensed the Russians and made them so aggressive, according to Vatican opinion. The Russians were extremely angry about William C. Bullitt's article in Life and they also deeply resented publication here by Polish chaplains of the Polish Corps of a pamphlet called "Bolshevism and Religion," regarding which new and highly interesting developments have just arisen.

The pamphlet was described in a dispatch to THE NEW YORK TIMES of Nov. 14. It spoke of "the enormity of the peril which is being faced at the gates of Europe" because of the Russian advance and inveighed in strongest terms against Communistic totalitarianism, atheism, aggression and the like.

Only a few copies were printed at the time and circulated privately in Vatican quarters and among important diplomatic and governmental groups. Two weeks ago a commercial edition appeared in bookshops and began to be snapped up so fast so that the publisher, Oreste M. Spinetti, told this correspondent that his first edition of 10,000 copies had gone.

Then yesterday things began to happen. Plain clothes men went to Signor Spinetti, he said, and warned him that dealers were being ordered to keep the book hidden, not to show it in their windows and to supply it only on specific demand. He said that several booksellers had telephoned him to say that plain clothes men had come to their shops yesterday, seized all available copies and left a receipt on behalf of police headquartes. No reason was given except that the orders had come from the Ministry of the Interior.

Bookstore windows, which a few days ago were displaying the pamphlets, no longer show them.

Allies Deny Part in Curb

As this was extraordinarily reminiscent of Fascist days it seemed worth investigating. It can be said positively that the Allies had nothing to do with the matter. The spokesman of the Allied Commission denied it was approached in the matter. He said that the Russians once asked the commission to suppress an Italian translation of a book by Leon Trotsky and were flatly refused. If Russians or Communists had asked this time they would have received the same answer.

The spokesman of the psychological warfare branch also denied that his organization had anything to do with it, and it was likewise ascertained that the Allied military censorship did not enter into the question. A spokesman of the Ministry of the Interior also denied any knowledge of the case.

Signor Spinetti said he would stand by his rights and publish another edition of the pamphlet since there was a great demand.

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This is a clipping from page 21 of the New York Times for

Clipped at the Seat of Government.

BULGARIAN OFFERS ALLIANCE TO TITO

Premier Seeks Accord While the Balkan Hatreds Threaten to Start Another War

By JOSEPH M. LEVY

By Wireless to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

ISTANBUL, Turkey, Feb. 17—Premier Kimon Gueorguieff of Bulgaria recently returned to Sofia from a visit to Yugoslavia, where he conferred with Marshal Tito on the proposed Bulgar-Yugoslav confederation.

Such a confederation has been urged by M. Gueorguieff. The movement for a union of Bulgaria and Yugoslavia began shortly after the close of World War I. The Macedonian problem was the main reason, because the Bulgars always considered Macedonia predominantly Bulgarian and never were reconciled to its assignment to Yugoslavia by the treaty of Neully, which the Bulgars never ratified.

It is believed here that a Bulgar-Yugoslav confederation would permit Bulgaria to have Macedonia in her sphere while recognizing the autonamous status of this province.

Balkans Threaten Troubles

Veteran observers of Balkan affairs insist that the Balkans remain one of the thorniest problems for post-war Europe. The Balkan States form a Mosaic of nationalities, religions and languages. There are Serbs, Slovenes, Croats, Hercegovinians, Bosnians, Mecedonians, Bulgars, Greeks, Albanians, Rumanians and Turks.

The church always has played an important role in the lives of these people, even determining their nationalistic sentiments. Although the Eastern Orthodox Church predominates throughout the Balkans, each state has its national church organization within this larger denomination and refuses to be merged under one head.

Besides there are Uniat Catholics, Roman Catholics and Moslems. Nationalistic feelings, augmented by separatist state churches, have for centuries been the causge of hostility.

Since the liberation of the Balkans from Ottoman rule the situation there has been virtually one of armed truce. The alliance of Balkan states against the Turks in the First Balkan War in 1912 served only to increase the enmity among these rival nationalities when they failed to compromise on territorial claims.

The present war caused outbreaks of violence. Bulgarian occupation troops committed atrocities against defenceless Serbs, Greeks and Albanians.

Hatreds in Other Areas

In Yuogsalvia, Croats murdered more than 1,000,000 Serbs during this war. The three-year-old conflict between the Tito and Mikhailovitch factions increased the animosity among the nationalties of Yugoslavia. A similar situation prevails in Greece.

If these now-restrained hatreds burst forth the Balkan States may experience the most sanguinary strife in their history.

Competing interests of great European powers fed this nationalistic rivalry. Now that the Balkan countries have been liberated from the Nazis signs of power politics again become evident. The political game is sowin gthe seeds for a new war, according to experts on Balkan affairs.

These experts believe that the United States is the only power that could be entrusted with the mission of establishing amicable relations. The peoples of the Balkans are suspicious of the great European powers' political designs on their countries, but believe the United States has no political aims in the Balkans.

The observers contend that, whatever was decided at the Crimea Conference, the United States should have a free hand in helping all Balkan States create democratic regimes.

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

Clipped at the seat of Government

POLICY OF SPHERES BELIEVED FINISHED

Crimea Agreements Viewed as Ending Great Powers' Areas of Influence

By PERTINAX
North American Newspaper Alliance

WASHINGTON, D. C., Feb. 13—The communiqué on the Crimea conference points to a distinct reaction against the whole policy of 'spheres of influence."

A complete reversal of the course of action followed hitherto by the victorious powers is in prospect. This needs to be explained.

The "spheres of influence" policy materialized in the conventions of armistice signed last year with Rumania and Bulgaria and last month with Hungary. Article XVIII in the three conventions of armistice tells the whole story. The Russian High Command received the upper hand over the three states.

Mediterranean a British Sphere

As a complement of the System, Britain and Russia agreed on having equal shares in Yugoslavia, and Greece was treated as a British appurtenance on the view that the Mediterranean was to Britain more or less what the Panama Canal was to the United States. For the same reason the British had an increasingly dominant voice in Italian affairs. Following an experiment that has lasted several months, an effort is now being made to replace by joint action what has come to be called unilateral action.

Henceforward the three great powers and France are going to cooperate in every liberated country to bring into being a political regime endorsed by popular will. In all probability a commission of Ambassadors, constituted after the pattern that, in regard to Poland, is fully defined in the communiqué, will be set to work in Bucharest, Sofia, Athens and Budapest. In some such a simple machinery cannot suit the circumstances.

Of course, it does not mean that the Russian High Command is no longer to be chiefly entrusted with the enforcement of the three armistice conventions mentioned above. It does not mean even that British leadership will be done away with in Athens and in Rome. But the enforcement of the armistice conventions is not likely to be so all-embracing a task as it has been until now. By the side of the Russian commander, for instance, British, American and, in the future, French representatives will be competent to deal, on a footing of equality, with every matter related to internal affairs as far as they can be distinguished from the special obligations incurred into under the head of the armistice. It is enough to make for a great change.

Churchill, Eden Accepted

The adoption of that new method, in striking contrast with the practice of the recent past, is ascribed to the initiatives of Prime Minister Churchill and Foreign Secretary Anthony Eden. Both were deeply disturbed last December by the repercussions on American public opinion caused by British actions in Greese and Italy.

They have insisted that the United States must assume direct responsibility and come into the open. Apparently, they have convinced Premier Stalin that, in the interests of Russia as well as Britain, some fairly drastic step had to be taken to prevent the United States from drifting far away from the grand alliance. In all essentials, Premier Stalin had scored on the Polish problem and on the "veto" problem, which the conferences at Dumbarton Oaks had left in suspense. The main claims of Russia were accepted.

Premier Stalin fell in with the British thesis. Such was the great turning point in the Crimea Conference. It remains to be seen, of course, what will be the practical outcome of the innovation.

The "spheres of influence" policy had it been rigidly upheld, might have included Germany and, on that account, there would have been a real danger that the British, American, Russian and French zones of occupation would assume a very sinister significance. Obviously, in the absence of a central commission of control to wield authority over the four zones, the treaty of unconditional surrender to be imposed on Germany was almost sure to receive a different application at the hands of every power concerned. Each would be led to play football with German politics. The four would counteract on another and all semblance of a united front would pass away from the picture.

With a free rein the policy of "spheres of influence" was bound to herald inter-Allied disputes in German affairs. The fear of what might ensue conveyed a warning that was taken to heed.

The central commission of control to be erected in Berlin or elsewhere promises to be unlike the commissions of control in charge of Bulgaria, Rumania and Hungary. No permanent chairman will be appointed. The chair will be taken in rotation by each of the four Commanders-in-Chief, American, British, Russian and French, and later by each of the four high commissioners who are expected to succeed the Commanders in Chief.

A similar arrangement is already the rule in the European Advisory Commission and the commission of control intended to govern Austria coforms to that model. The same formula will be reproduced in the case of Germany. To understand this it must be borne in mind that the supreme outhority with which Gen. Dwight D. Eisenhower has been invested comes to an end on the day of the armistice.

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NOT RECORDED
87 APR 26 1945

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This is a clipping from page 13 of the New York Times for Feb. 14, 1945
Clipped at the Seat of Government.

MOSCOW JUBILANT OVER BIG 3 ACCORD

Soviet Press Sees Assurance of 'Victorious Today' and a 'Great Tomorrow'

LEADERS' UNITY HAILED

Stalin's Frankness Reported a Feature of Conversations—Workers Applaud Feat

MOSCOW, Feb. 13. (AP)—The Soviet Union's official press described the Crimea conference in glowing terms today and the impression in Moscow was that President Roosevelt, Prime Minister Churchill and Premier Stalin all were highly pleased with its results.

Pravda, the official Communist party organ, set the keynote of Soviet reaction with the declaration that the parley "has proved that the alliance of the three big powers possesses not only a historic yesterday and a victorious today but also a great tomorrow."

The Government newspaper Izvestia hailed the conference as "the biggest political event of current times—an event that will enter in history as a new example of coördinated solutions of complicated questions in the interest of peace and democracy."

Blow From North Awaited

Russians will expect a considerable increase in the blows against Germany from the west, south and north as a result of the parley. This is what they have been clamoring for since the start of their winter offensive a month ago.

The Russian people remember that Marshal Stalin came back from the Teheran conference with assurance that there would be blows on Germany from the east, west and south—and there were. Of considerable interest to the Russians is the fact that the Crimea announcement added the north to the three earlier directions.

The conference again proved 'the stability of the Allies' military alliance," Izvestia declared, and added:

"Hitlerite Germany is doomed. The hour of its collapse has arrived. Its resistance is hopeless. Such was the first and happiest conclusion of the conference."

A deep and firm impression prevails in Moscow that Mr. Roosevelt, Mr. Churchill and Marshal Stalin left better friends this time than ever before and that, although much was left to the future, they accomplished great things at Yalta and are themselves highly pleased with their work.

Stalin Especially Frank

Some persons in the Allied camps were described as "elated" over the results. Not the slightest sign of friction developed at any time during the meetings, it was said, and the three men saw things through by talking frankly. Marshal Stalin especially was said to have talked more frankly than ever before.

Pravda, which ordinarily does not publish on Tuesdays, came out today in honor of the Big Three meeting.

"The conference will go down in history as an example of real democratic cooperation," the newspaper said, adding that plans were adopted for the defeat of Germany "on a closer and more intimate basis of cooperation than ever before."

The editorial sought to assure the Russian people that the conference not only decided Adolf Hitler's defeat, but "elaborate conditions that will make it impossible for a repetition of German military aggression."

Izvestia said the Big Three had "deliberated and discussed a large number of questions, any one of which could be regarded as a test of the political wisdom and farsightedness of a statesman." The conference provided a "unanimous solution" of many questions, the newspaper said.

The unity that forms the basis of the military friendship of the three nations will permit the Allies "to solve problems tremendous in scope and significance for the future of all mankind," Izvestia declared, adding that strengthening this unity during peacetime has been accepted as "a holy pledge" by the Governments concerned.

Workers Hold Meetings

Soviet factory workers and miners held spontaneous meetings after announcement of the conference over the radio in triumphant terms with the playing of martial music. Impromptu speakers made such comments as "We'll be in Berlin soon," "This means the end of Hitler" and "The hour of retribution has arrived."

The Polish question appeared to have been brought closer to a solution than at any time since it became acute. Mr. Roosevelt, Mr. Churchill and Marshal Stalin are understood to have agreed that the Polish problem would not interfere and would not be allowed to interfere with unity in winning the war or in winning the peace.

To put it frankly, they are going to see that a provisional government of national unity is formed—but along the democratic lines they want. The field apparently is wide open to all Poles except those regarded as anti-democratic, principally the "Sanacja" clique—followers of the late Marshal Pilsudski and the late Col. Josef Beck.

It is expected that the present recognition of the London Polish Government by the United States and Great Britain will be withdrawn quickly when a provisional government of national unity—one that satsfies each of the Big Three—is formed.

The section of the Big Three communiqué dealing with the occupation of Germany was of immense satisfaction to the Russian people, who have never objected to the three powers occupying separate zones in Germany. The Russians look favorably upon France's joining in the occupation.

No one could be more pleased than the Russians over the Crimea communiqué's article dealing with the Untied Nations organization to maintain peace and security. The Russians have stumped for such a thing for years and the Soviet press and speakers have never quit this theme. The Russian view long has been that the lack of such an organization contributed largely to war.

Stettinius a Sightseer

Secretary of State Edward R. Stettinius Jr. indicated that his visit to Moscow was not so much for business as to gratify his long-held desire to see Russia and obtain first-hand information on the wartime character of the country.

Mr. Stettinius arrived yesterday with United States Ambassador W. Averell Harriman, who, he said, had noe much to persuade him to make the quick trip through the Soviet Union on the invitation of Foreign Commissar Vyacheslaff M. Molotoff.

The Secretary and his party are staying with Mr. Harriman at the Ambassador's Moscow residence, Spasso House. He said he hoped to call at the Kremlin before his visit ends.

The Soviet news agency Tass quited Mr. Stettinius as saying on his arrival:

"I am delighted to be in Moscow. I have always looked forward to this moment. One of the proud accomplishments of my life has been to have served the Soviet Union through lend-lease in association with Ambassador Harriman during the past three or four years. I am very proud to be your guest."

New York Times for
Feb. 14, 1945 p. 14
Clipped at the Seat of Government.

Text of Big Three

WASHINGTON, Feb. 12 (AP)—The text of the report on the Big Three conference in the Crimea, released at the White House today, follows:

Report of Crimea Conference

For the past eight days, Winston S. Churchill, Prime Minister of Great Britain; Franklin D. Roosevelt, President of the United States of America, and Marshal J. V. Stalin, Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, have met with the Foreign Secretaries, Chiefs of Staff and other advisers in the Crimea.

In addition to the three heads of Government, the following took part in the conference:

For the United States of America:

Edward R. Stettinius Jr., Secretary of State;
Fleet Admiral William D. Leahy, USN, Chief of Staff to the President;
Harry L. Hopkins, Special Assistant to the President;
Justice James F. Byrnes, Director, Office of War Mobilization and Reconversion;
General of the Army George C. Marshall, USA, Chief of Staff, United States Army;
Fleet Admiral Ernest J. King, USN, Chief of Naval Operations and Commander in Chief, United States Fleet;
Lieut. Gen. Brehon B. Somervell, Commanding General, Army Service Forces;
Vice Admiral Emory S. Land, War Shipping Administrator;
Maj. Gen. L. S. Kuter, USA, Staff of Commanding General, United States Army Air Forces;
W. Averell Harriman, Ambassador to the U.S.S.R.;
H. Freeman Matthews, Director of European Affairs, State Department;
Alger Hiss, deputy director, Office of Special Political Affairs, Department of State;
Charles E. Bohlen, assistant to the Secretary of State, together with political, military and technical advisers.

For the United Kingdom:

Anthony Eden, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs;
Lord Leathers, Minister of War Transport;
Sir A. Clark Kerr, H. M. Ambassador at Moscow;
Sir Alexander Cadogan, Permanent Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs;
Sir Edward Bridges, Secretary of the War Cabinet;
Field Marshal Sir Alan Brooke, Chief of the Imperial General Staff;
Marshal of the Royal Air Force Sir Charles Portal, Chief of the Air Staff;
Admiral of the Fleet Sir Andrew Cunningham, First Sea Lord;
Gen. Sir Hastings Ismay, Chief of Staff to the Minister of Defense,

Together with

Field Marshal Alexander, Supreme Allied Commander, Mediterranean theatre;
Field Marshal Wilson, head of the British Joint Staff Mission at Washington;
Admiral Somerville, Joint Staff Mission at Washington, together with military and diplomatic advisers.

For the Soviet Union:

V. M. Molotoff, People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs of the U.S.S.R.;
Admiral Kuznetsoff, People's Commissar for the Navy;
Army General Antonoff, Deputy Chief of the General Staff of the Red Army;
A. Y. Vyshinski, Deputy People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs of the U.S.S.R.;
I. M. Maisky, Deputy People's Commissar of Foreign Affairs of the U.S.S.R.;
Marshal of Aviation Khudyakoff;
F. T. Guseff, Ambassador in Great Britain;
A. A. Gromyko, Ambassador in the United States.

The following statement is made by the Prime Minister of Great Britain, the President of the United States of America and the Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics on the results of the Crimean conference:

The Defeat of Germany

We have considered and determined the military plans of the three Allied powers for the final defeat of the common enemy. The military staffs of the three Allied nations have met in daily meetings throughout the conference. These meetings have been most satisfactory from every point of view and have resulted in closer coordination of the military effort of the three Allies than ever before. The fullest information has been interchanged. The timing, scope and coordination of new and even more powerful blows to be launched by our armies and air forces into the heart of Germany from the east, west, north and south have been fully agreed and planned in detail.

Our combined military plans will be made known only as we execute them, but we believe that the very close-working partnership among the three staffs attained at this conference will result in shortening the war. Meetings of the three staffs will be continued in the future whenever the need arises.

Nazi Germany is doomed. The German people will only make the cost of their defeat heavier to themselves by attempting to continue a hopeless resistance.

The Occupation and Control of Germany

We have agreed on common policies and plans for enforcing the unconditional surrender terms which we shall impose together on Nazi Germany after German armed resistance has been finally crushed. These terms will not be made known until the final defeat of Germany has been accomplished. Under the agreed plan, the forces of the three powers will each occupy a separate zone of Germany. Coordinated administration and control have been provided for under the plan through a central control commission consisting of the Supreme Commanders of the three powers with headquarters in Berlin. It has been agreed that France should be invited by the three powers, if she should so desire, to take over a zone of occupation and to participate as a fourth member of the control commission. The limits of the French zone will be agreed by the four Governments concerned through their representatives on the European Advisory Commission.

It is our inflexible purpose to destroy German militarism and nazism and to insure that Germany will never again be able to disturb the peace of the world. We are determined to disarm and disband all German armed forces; break up for all time the German General Staff that has repeatedly contrived the resurgence of German militarism; remove or destroy all German military equipment; eliminate or control all German industry that could be used for military production; bring all war criminals to just and swift punishment and exact reparation in kind for the destruction wrought by the Germans; wipe out the Nazi party, Nazi laws, organizations and institutions, remove all Nazi and militarist influences from public office and from the cultural and economic life of the German people; and take in harmony such other measures in Germany as may be necessary to the future peace and safety of the world. It is not our purpose to destroy the people of Germany, but only when nazism and militarism have been extirpated will there be hope for a decent life for Germans, and a place for them in the comity of nations.

Reparation by Germany

We have considered the question of the damage caused by Germany to the Allied Nations in this war and recognized it as just that Germany be obliged to make compensation for this damage in kind to the greatest extent possible. A commission for the compensation of damage will be established. The commission will be instructed to consider the question of the extent and methods for compensating damage caused by Germany to the Allied countries. The commission will work in Moscow.

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This is a clipping from page 4 of the New York Times for FEB. 13, 1945

Clipped at the Seat of Government.

United Nations Conference

We are resolved upon the earliest possible establishment with our allies of a general international organization to maintain peace and security. We believe that this is essential, both to prevent aggression and to remove the political, economic and social causes of war through the close and continuing collaboration of all peace-loving peoples.

The foundations were laid at Dumbarton Oaks. On the important question of voting procedure, however, agreement was not there reached. The present conference has been able to resolve this difficulty.

We have agreed that a conference of the United Nations should be called to meet at San Francisco, in the United States, on April 25, 1945, to prepare the charter of such an organization, along the lines proposed in the informal conversations at Dumbarton Oaks.

The Government of China and the Provisional Government of France will be immediately consulted and invited to sponsor invitations to the conference jointly with the Governments of the United States, Great Britain and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. As soon as the consultation with China and France has been completed, the text of the proposals on voting procedure will be made public.

Declaration on Liberated Europe

The Premier of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom and the President of the United States of America have consulted with each other in the common interests of the peoples of their countries and those of liberated Europe. They jointly declare their mutual agreement to concert during the temporary period of instability in liberated Europe the policies of their three Governments in assisting the peoples liberated from the domination of Nazi Germany and the peoples of the former Axis satellite states of Europe to solve by democratic means their pressing political and economic problems.

The establishment of order in Europe and the rebuilding of national economic life must be achieved by processes which will enable the liberated peoples to destroy the last vestiges of nazism and fascism and to create democratic institutions of their own choice. This is a principle of the Atlantic Charter—the right of all peoples to choose the form of government under which they will live—the restoration of sovereign rights and self-government to those peoples who have been forcibly deprived of them by the aggressor nations.

To foster the conditions in which the liberated peoples may exercise these rights, the three Governments will jointly assist the people in any European liberated state or former Axis satellite state in Europe where in their judgment conditions require (A) to establish conditions of internal peace; (B) to carry out emergency measures for the relief of distressed peoples; (C) to form interim governmental authorities broadly representative of all democratic elements in the population and pledged to the earliest possible establishment through free elections of governments responsive to the will of the people; and (D) to facilitate where necessary the holding of such elections.

The three Governments will consult the other United Nations and provisional authorities or other governments in Europe when matters of direct interest to them are under consideration.

When, in the opinion of the three Governments, conditions in any European liberated state or any former Axis satellite state in Europe make such action necessary, they will immediately consult together on the measures necessary to discharge the joint responsibilities set forth in this declaration.

By this declaration we reaffirm our faith in the principles of the Atlantic Charter, our pledge in the Declaration by the United Nations and our determination to build, in cooperation with other peace-loving nations, world order under law, dedicated to peace, security, freedom and the general well-being of all mankind.

In issuing this declaration, the three powers express the hope that the Provisional Government of the French Republic may be associated with them in the procedure suggested.

Poland

A new situation has been created in Poland as a result of her complete liberation by the Red Army. This calls for the establishment of a Polish Provisional Government which can be more broadly based than was possible before the recent liberation of western Poland. The Provisional Government which is now functioning in Poland should therefore be reorganized on a broader democratic basis with the inclusion of democratic leaders from Poland itself and from Poles abroad. This new government should then be called the Polish Provisional Government of National Unity.

with members of the present Provisional Government and with other Polish democratic leaders from within Poland and from abroad, with a view to the reorganization of the present Government along the above lines. This Polish Provisional Government of National Unity shall be pledged to the holding of free and unfettered elections as soon as possible on the basis of universal suffrage and secret ballot. In these elections all democratic and anti-Nazi parties shall have the right to take part and to put forward candidates.

When a Polish Provisional Government of National Unity has been properly formed in conformity with the above the Government of the U.S.S.R., which now maintains diplomatic relations with the present Provisional Government of Poland, and the Government of the United Kingdom and the Government of the United States of America will establish diplomatic relations with the new Polish Provisional Government of National Unity and will exchange Ambassadors, by whose reports the respective Governments will be kept informed about the situation in Poland.

The three heads of Government consider that the eastern frontier of Poland should follow the Curzon Line, with digressions from it in some regions of five to eight kilometers in favor of Poland. They recognize that Poland must receive substantial accessions of territory in the north and west. They feel that the opinion of the new Polish Provisional Government of National Unity should be sought in due course on the extent of these accessions and that the final delimitation of the western frontier of Poland should thereafter await the peace conference.

Page
New York Times for

Clipped at the Seat of
Government.

"The eastern frontier of Poland should follow the Curzon Line"

Yugoslavia

We have agreed to recommend to Marshal Tito and Dr. Subasitch that the agreement between them should be put into effect immediately and that a new Government should be formed on the basis of that agreement. We also recommend that as soon as the new Government has been formed it should declare that:

(1) The anti-Fascist Assembly of National Liberation [AVNOJ] should be extended to include members of the last Yugoslav Parliament [Skupschina] who have not compromised themselves by collaboration with the enemy, thus forming a body to be known as a temporary Parliament; and,

(2) Legislative acts passed by the anti-Fascist Assembly of National Liberation will be subject to subsequent ratification by a Constituent Assembly.

Tito

Subasitch

There was also a general review of other Balkan questions.

Meetings of Foreign Secretaries

Throughout the conference, besides the daily meetings of the heads of Governments and the Foreign Secretaries, separate meetings of the three Foreign Secretaries and their advisers have also been held daily.

These meetings have proved of the utmost value and the conference agreed that permanent machinery should be set up for regular consultation between the three Foreign Secretaries. They will, therefore, meet as often as may be necessary, probably about every three or four months. These meetings will be held in rotation in the three capitals, the first meeting being held in London, after the United Nations' conference on world organization.

Unity for Peace as for War

Our meeting here in the Crimea has reaffirmed our common determination to maintain and strengthen in the peace to come that unity of purpose and of action which has made victory possible and certain for the United Nations in this war. We believe that this is a sacred obligation which our Governments owe to our peoples and to all the peoples of the world.

Only with the continuing and growing cooperation and understanding among our three countries and among all the peace-loving nations can the highest aspiration of humanity be realized—a secure and lasting peace which will, in the words of the Atlantic Charter, "afford assurance that all the men in all the lands may live out their lives in freedom from fear and want."

Victory in this war and the establishment of the proposed international organization will provide the greatest opportunity in all history to create in the years to come the essential conditions of such a peace.

WINSTON S. CHURCHILL
FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT
J. STALIN

February, 11, 1945.

Supplemental Report on Freed Prisoners

The text of an agreement reached at the Big Three conference concerning prisoners liberated by the Allies' forces invading Germany follows:

A comprehensive agreement was reached at the Crimea conference providing detailed arrangements for the protection, maintenance and repatriation of prisoners of war and civilians of the British Commonwealth, Soviet Union and United States liberated by the Allied forces now invading Germany.

Under these arrangements each Ally will provide food, clothing, medical attention and other needs for the nationals of the others until transport is available for their repatriation. In caring for British subjects and American citizens, the Soviet Government will be assisted by British and American officers. Soviet officers will assist British and American authorities in their task of caring for Soviet citizens liberated by the British and American forces during such time as they are on the Continent of Europe or in the United Kingdom, awaiting transport to take them home.

We are pledged to give every assistance consistent with operational requirements to help to insure that all these prisoners of war and civilians are speedily repatriated.

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

Clipped at the Seat of
Government.

STALIN'S HAND SEEN IN VATICAN ATTACK

Rome Paper, Chiding Patriarch, Sees Move to Use Orthodox Church for Imperial Aims

By HERBERT L. MATTHEWS

By Wireless to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

ROME, Feb. 12—The attacks being made by Moscow against the Vatican are evidence of the political structure of the Russian Orthodox Church and they are being made because the Catholic Church stands for liberty against dictatorship, the newspaper Quotidiano, organ of Catholic Action, said today.

This was the first reply to the charge made two days ago by the Patriarch of Moscow on behalf of the Orthodox Churches of the Synod that the Vatican is "trying to absolve Germany of the responsibility incumbent upon her for all her war crimes and to ask mercy for the Hitlerites."

The fact that this attack came from the Patriarch and was addressed to the peoples of the world gives it a more serious aspect than the recent accusations in the Russian newspapers Pravda and Protestant.

As stated frequently in these dispatches, the Vatican is watching Orthodox developments most closely for it is feared that Premier Joseph Stalin is planning to make all the Orthodox Churches into political instruments at the service of international communism and, above all, that he may be working to widen the centuries-old schism between Rome and the Orthodox world.

Prof. Igino Giordani, who wrote today's editorial in Quotidiano, develops the theme that the Russian Church was always subjected to its political rulers, first the Czars and now Premier Stalin.

"In the light of the centuries of experience of the Catholic Church," Professor Giordani wrote, "the new attacks unexpectedly launched by the Russian press and newspapers at the service of the Russians in America and Europe immediately show their meaning.

"The Church of Rome in Poland, Czechoslovakia and the Balkans represents freedom of the spirit. It represents an obstacle to dictatorship. Hence it must be fought. Moscow intends to make use of 'her' church for gigantic imperialistic aims."

It should be emphasized, however, that no bridges are being burned here in Rome and that despite obvious incompatibilities it is generally agreed that diplomatic relations between the Vatican and the Kremlin remain well within the range of possibilities.

This is a clipping from page 11 of the New York Times for Feb. 13, 1945

Clipped at the Seat of Government.

Vatican Paper Rebukes Russians For Criticism of Foreign Policy

Charges Made in Moscow Called False and Dangerous—Former Soviet Envoy to Rome Sees Church Menacing World Peace

By Wireless to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

ROME, Feb. 10—A serious if indirect reproach to Russia was contained in tonight's Osservatore Romano, which called the attacks in the Russian press against the Vatican "explicit anti-religious hatred" and warned that such "sacrifice of truth to sectarian passions" would not provide a basis for a lasting peace.

Although the Osservatore is not an official Vatican organ, the publication of such an important pronouncement could not be made without the knowledge and consent of the Secretaria of State and very likely of the Pope himself. Consequently, for practical purposes, it represents what might be called a Vatican statement and it deserves a high place in the charting of the relations between the Holy See and the Kremlin. The Quotidiano, organ of the Catholic Action, printed the same declaration today.

The statement began by listing some of the accusations made recently in the Red Star and a periodical called the Protestant. It labeled them "false and calumnious" and by negation it indicated a definite line of Vatican policy.

The Red Star had called the Pope "a preacher of a mild peace" and charged the Vatican with the intention of intervening in relations with Germany, Austria, Hungary and Poland. The Pope also, according to the Red Star, is preparing a "new message that would be contrary to the Allies' program for the post-war systematization of Europe."

The Protestant spoke of the "well known Vatican control of Argentine economy" and of collaboration with German and Fascist agents in that country. It also mentioned supposed financial operations in a grand style. The Vatican, which was alleged to be carrying on a campaign in Argentine against "the anti-Fascist movement."

"All these above-mentioned 'revelations' which are presented to the public of the world as sensational scoops, simply belong among the number of frequent arbitrary, false and calumnious attacks to which certain propaganda has been abandoning itself for some time," the Osservatore said.

"There is no element of foundation in what has been referred to, however tenuous or imperceptible, nor is there any fact or attitude that could give a pretext for any induction of the kind made by these journalists. One could have hoped, after the numerous and probative testimonies of many solicitudes and incessant charities aimed at attenuating the horrors of war and softening incalculable sufferings that the Holy See has offered with material resources that have been ever more circumscribed, that at least certain methods of explicit anti-religious hatred would be abandoned. Instead, here is a system of inventing by means of fantastic arguments, of vilifying and wounding, is still at its apex. Certainly an efficacious enduring order cannot be built if there are those who persist in sacrificing truth to sectarian passions."

By coincidence, the Roman weekly Cosmopolita, issued today, carried a long article by Don Luigi Sturzo on the Vatican's foreign policy. The noted Catholic leader, who is now in New York, stated his conviction that diplomatic relations between the Vatican and the Kremlin were possible. "If Moscow desires to exchange diplomatic representatives with the Vatican despite divergencies and hesitations, as China and Japan did recently, the Vatican would not refuse, nor would it impose unacceptable conditions,' he said. "Even if Moscow does not intend to join in diplomatic relations, the Vatican could remain in the line of tradition and send a religious envoy."

Vatican Called Threat to Peace

MOSCOW, Feb. 10 (U.P.)—Boris Stein, former Russian Ambassador to Rome, said last night that the Vatican, with its powerful international institutions, enormous wealth and astute diplomatic practice, was a tremendous danger to world peace and post-war security.

Mr. Stein urged a thorough study of the Vatican's history and methods in order to avert danger. He said that the Vatican had built the center of a movement for a compromise peace with Germany since Archbishop Francis J. Spellman, whom he termed a known advocate of a negotiated peace, visited Rome in 1943.

Charging that the Vatican had never been a purely religious institution, Mr. Stein said that though it observed formal neutrality, it usually favored the winning side, yet never burned the bridges connecting it with the losers. This was true during the First World War, Mr. Stein said, when Pope Benedict tried to put over a compromise peace with Germany at the expense of Russia.

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This is a clipping from page 17 of the New York Times for Feb. 11, 1945
Clipped at the Seat of Government.

Russian Church Speaks With Stronger Voice

By Ralph Parker
Staff Correspondent

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MOSCOW, Feb. 10. — The solemn events that have taken place in the Russian Orthodox Church during the past few days have left so profound an impression on the participants and others, both Russian and foreign, that an important new phase has opened in the religious life of the people of the Soviet Union.

The Church Council that assembled in Moscow's Church of the Resurrection, from whose recently-repaired walls Russia's holiest ikon of the Iversky Madonna stares with august tenderness, had two principal tasks: to elect a successor to His Beatitude, the late Patriarch of Moscow and all Russia, Sergie, and to speak, with all the authority its new stature gives it, to Russia's Christians.

The cockle-shaped patriarchal crown submitted by the golden cross that had been taken reverently from the head of the dead Patriarch, after he had lain in state last Summer in the Church of the Feast of Epiphany, was placed with solemn ceremony on the grizzled head of his successor, Alexis.

Two days later the columns of the government newspaper *Izvestia* carried the Church's messages to believers in Russia and to the Christians of the world, and for those who prefer to take their news from the *Pravda* the messages were reprinted there on the following day.

In its appeal to world Christianity the Church Council, consisting of four metropolitans, 41 archbishops and over 100 parochial representatives, called on the Christian soldiers of the United Nations to march steadfastly to victory in the knowledge that the Lord had blessed their arms to destroy fascism remorselessly, and for the sake of lasting peace, in which freedom, truth and goodness could flourish, to close their ears to those who, even though claiming to speak in the name of Christianity, are pleading that the settlement with Germany should be merciful.

To the domestic believers the Church spoke in tones no less stern and severe. It rejoiced at the abnegation and spiritual firmness manifested by all sons of the land at grips with the German fascism, at the growth of the religious spirit, at the way believers had grouped themselves solidly around their pastors, at the progressive and now almost complete cessation of internal quarrels and, finally, at the tendency of all to bend their efforts for the defense of the motherland.

But then the Church went on to condemn roundly the neglect by

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both clergy and their flocks of its canonical and moral laws. It asked for exactitude in ritual, for an end to be put to the neglect of fixed fasts, for the rejection of usurpers and for the termination of the practice of some believers to fail to have their marriages sanctioned by the Church as well as the State. And it called for a great effort of disciplined faith to build a kingdim of Heaven on earth in the land of the Soviet Union.

Few present at the Church Council could have listened to this call for unity and orthodoxy in the Russian Church with more sympathy than Benjamin, Metropolitan of North America and the Aleutians. He was thinking, no doubt, of the 200 city congregations of Orthodox believers of Russian origin in his diocese, who withhold their allegiance, giving it to Metropolitan Theophilus.

Metropolitan Benjamin leaves his native land again for work among emigrants with the conviction that the Russian people are the salt of the earth, whether they are believers or not. Rarely have I seen a man more moved than he when, with tears streaming down his full-bearded face, he spoke of his admiration for his fellow-countrymen, of their steadfastness in trial, their patience in suffering. All, from the Soviet Government's official representative for church affairs to the humblest member of the congregation he addressed last week, impressed on him the earnestness and the deep natural goodness of Russian nature.

On the way to Moscow to confer with the Patriarchate are delegates from Theophilus. But for the bad weather, they would have reached the capital in time to attend the induction of the new Patriarch.

Many of the higher clergy with whom I have spoken this week, have assured me that, as a result of the experience of the past 18 months, they are convinced that the Soviet Government is genuinely interested that freedom of conscience, promised in the Soviet constitution, should not be a dead letter. And though they do not believe that Soviet youth can be wooed away from the conception of life inculcated by the influential Pioneer League and the League of Communist Youth, they feel they have much to offer the older folk, to whom death and sorrow mean more than they do to exuberant youth. To mothers who, as many I know, have lost three or four children in this war, to women widowed in middle age by enemy action the Church may well provide consolation.

FILE

Ex-Envoy of Reds Brands Vatican Danger to Peace

MOSCOW, Feb. 10 (U.P.).—Bosin Stein, former Russian Ambassador to Rome, said last night that the Vatican, with its powerful international institutions, enormous wealth and astute diplomatic practice, is a tremendous danger to world peace and postwar security.

In an address a Trade Union Hall, Stein urged that people make a thorough study of the Vatican's history and methods in order to avert danger.

He said the Vatican was the center of a movement for a compromise peace with Germany since Archbishop Spellman, a known advocate of a negotiated peace, visited Rome in 1943.

"Usually Favors Winner"

Charging that the Vatican never had been a purely religious institution, Stein said though it observes formal neutrality, it usually favors the winning side, but yet never burns its bridges connecting it with the losers.

This was true during the last war, Stein said, when Pope Benedict tried to put over a compromise peace with Germany at the expense of Russia.

Meanwhile, leaders of foreign orthodox churches who attended the recent council of bishops of the Russian Church, joined the appeal of Russian ecclesiastics to all world nations to ignore those forces, "particularly the Vatican, which try to save Nazi Germany from responsibility for war crimes . . ."

Vatican Paper Denies Pope Seeks Soft Peace

VATICAN CITY, Feb. 10 (U.P.). Osservatore Romano, official Vatican newspaper, tonight published a denial of a Soviet dispatch charging that Pope Pius XII was the "preacher of a soft peace."

The Soviet dispatch appeared this week in the Russian Army newspaper Red Star. It left the impression that the Soviets would resist any Vatican policy of intervention in regards to Germany, Austria, Hungary and Poland.

Osservatore Romano also denied a report, attributed to Red Star, that the Pope is about to prepare a new message which will be contrary to the Allied program for postwar Europe.

These reports, Osservatore Romano said, are part of "frequent," arbitrary, false and calumnious attacks which unfortunately have been used for some time by a certain propaganda."

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ALLIES' NEGLECT SEEN AIDING SOVIET POWER

By Wireless to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

PARIS, Feb. 8—Two anti-fascist leaders here, one Spaniard and one German, today independently made the same charge—that if the United States, Great Britain and France do not support their causes, the Soviet Union will do so and that Russian influence will ultimately be predominant in their countries.

Julio Just, president in France of the Spanish Left-Wing Republican party, which is numerically the strongest in the Cortes, declared that only external pressure by the Allies could overthrow Generalissimo Francisco Franco, for the Spanish people are still too exhausted by the civil war to stage a successful popular revolt alone.

He contrasted dispatches from Washington outlining plans for imports into Spain during 1945 and describing General Franco as "more and more useful" with the consistent demands for General Franco's overthrow in the Moscow press and the strong anti-Franco stand reported taken by the Russian delegates to the current Trade Union Congress in London.

Florian Niebergall, president of the Committee of Free Germans for Western Europe, meanwhile complained that since Field Marshal Gen. Friedrich von Paulus has emerged as the leading personality among free Germans in Russia, the work of the free Germans here has become increasingly difficult. The radio broadcasts that they were allowed to make from the Paris radio last month, he said, have been discontinued and the free German representative who had been active in Luxembourg has been arrested.

"We are not Communists," he explained, "but we must look for help where we can find it." Herr Niebergall maintained that free Germans here, like those in Russia, want to establish a coalition government combining all German anti-Nazi elements and excluding the military caste. Marshal von Paulus, he said, is being used for radio broadcasts for reasons of expediency because his name carries weight with officers of the German Army.

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This is a clipping from page 4 of the New York Times for Feb. 9, 1945

Clipped at the Seat of Government.

RUSSIA'S POSITION IN THE NORTH

ARNOŠT KRÁSA

THE RUSSIAN POSITION in Norway and Finland is definitely good; this is true both of the Soviet-Norwegian relations in liberated Finnmark and of the co-operation of the Allied (Russian) Armistice Commission under the leadership of General Zhadanov with the Paasikivi cabinet at Helsinki.

In liberated northern Norway the Russians have done everything imaginable to help the population who have been robbed of everything by the Germans and left homeless in the pitiless arctic winter. In a country which never believed in the Red bogey and where Quislings do not amount to even 1 per cent of the total population, mistrust of the Russians was in any case out of the question. "Strength through fear" propaganda met with no success. The fact that in spite of threats of the death penalty 20,000 inhabitants of eastern Finnmark evaded the German evacuation measures is a proof of this.

I learn from M. Wold, the Norwegian Minister of Justice who has returned to London from Finnmark, that the Red army is welcomed and regarded everywhere as a liberator. M. Wold emphasised the willingness of the Russians to give active help, but pointed out how necessary it is that the Western Powers, which have suffered materially far less than the Soviet Union, should also come to the help of the Norwegians who are exposed to the danger of starvation, epidemics, and freezing to death. The devastation which he had seen was an orgy of wanton damage combined with Germany's mastery of the science and technique of destruction.

Norwegian circles in London fear that the rest of northern Norway, if not their whole country with all that Norwegians have built up in the course of centuries, is threatened with the same destruction. If the Germans were left to evacuate the country slowly, according to plan, this tragic fate of a nation would be probable.

Excellent co-operation, which functions without friction, has been established between Stalin's army and the Norwegian civilian population. A Norwegian government commission is supervising the re-organisation of the administrative machinery. In practice it has reinstated the old mayors and deputy mayors who were in office before Quisling, in so far as these have not fallen victims to German deportation. The Fascist police have been replaced by new and reliable men.

The whole liberated area is under a Provincial Governor, appointed by the Norwegian Government. His first reports indicate that the Russians are not intervening at all in the internal administration, and are careful to avoid even the appearance of

The Swedish Press describes the Finno-Russian relations as "Friendship without Sovietisation." We note with interest that even at the present stage of realistic politics personal contacts and relationships play a considerable part. Since the grey-haired M. Paasikivi, Helsinki's former Minister in Moscow, became Prime Minister, old conflicts have tended more and more to be smoothed over and cold correctness has been transformed to an almost friendly basis of confidence. Juho Paasikivi is the man to whom Josef Stalin once said: "If we two had known each other before, the war between our two nations could have been avoided." Marshal Stalin appreciated the Finnish ex-banker with whom he often had long private discussions as a man of sincere liberal opinions and an authority on all socialist economic theories, not only Ricardo's.

M. Castren, Paasikivi's predecessor, tried to sabotage the fulfilment of the armistice conditions, since he wanted to deliver timber, which his country has in abundance, instead of the machinery which was the only thing wanted by the Soviet Union.

Paasikivi overcame this crisis; he succeeded in procuring from abroad the necessary raw materials for the machine industry, and even in persuading Sweden, who is poor herself in coal but is vitally interested in Finland's independence, to furnish her with coal.

The Moscow Press gave prominence to M. Paasikivi's statement: "For a nation which began a war and has lost it, an armistice is a punishment and not a holiday trip."

Izvestia and *Pravda*, which have hitherto been rather stingy in their recognition of Helsinki, emphasise the fact that mutual relations are developing in a friendly manner and recognise Finland's new willingness to fulfil all the armistice conditions. The Helsinki Press remarks with relief that Russia's demands are now being stated in detail, and if they are hard in part it is at last possible to make plans.

Certain circles have not yet given up their nefarious practices and even venture into Marshal Mannerheim's neighbourhood. Even Anthony, the pro-Fascist ex-chief of police to whom Sweden refused the right of asylum, has returned to Helsinki and is still at

liberty there. It is said that members of the Karelian Academic Society—forerunner of the Great Karelia movement—meet unhindered. Russia has, however, made no official *démarche*. She trusts Paasikivi, one of whose colleagues in the cabinet is the Communist, Helo, and is convinced that by degrees he will get rid of all the elements which might hinder Soviet-Finnish friendship.

In Finland the Stockholm revelations about Inspector Paulson have made a sensation. This man, who until recently was chief of the Aliens Commission, gave Finnish Nazis preference over Norwegian anti-Fascists. He gave the Germans information about refugees out of confidential files. He is now to stand his trial for espionage and is, it appears, a National Socialist. This connection between treason and National Socialism in Sweden has made a strong impression and been a warning to the Finnish people, who are threatened by the same dangers. The extent to which fear of Russia is lessening, on the other hand, can be seen from the fact that 47,000 inhabitants of Ingermanland have been sent back to Soviet territory at their own request, and fresh proposals are expected in the next few weeks.

After the demobilisation has been carried out in a smooth and disciplined manner, elections will be held in liberated Finland.

On the left, division seems unavoidable, since the influence of Tanner's policy in the Social Democratic party has not vanished with his departure. It is possible that the Six-Man Group will draw up a list of candidates of its own and will join with the rest of the socialist and trade unionist opposition. In this case the Social Democratic party, which stands more to the right, would be in a difficult position. The conservative Swedish People's Party, which has always been anti-German, has had an influx of young blood and is expecting to attract increasing numbers.

Swedish trade unionists do not judge the communist chances very favourably.

The communists are very active in Finland, and Hertta Kuusinen, daughter of the former "President of Soviet Karelia," is successful in her activities. She publishes articles, conducts evening classes, gives lectures and instructs young members in practical action. Her battle cry is "For a democratic Finland!" and she avoids the adjective *bolshevist*.

Middle-class circles are afraid that the communists will put forward their candidates within the framework of the Finnish Democratic League, and win non-marxist votes under this disguise.

The greatest chance of the Finnish communists lies in the excellent behaviour of the Soviet Commission, which is conceded even by the right. Its members avoid frequent visits to restaurants and cafés, and bring their own provisions when they are invited to Finnish houses.

In many cases the Control Commission has even declared its willingness to make concessions. For example, the price of Finnish reparations goods has been calculated at 10–15 per cent above the agreed level of 1938. Moreover, several high Finnish officers who had been demanded as war criminals have been set free and no objection has been made to their re-employment in the Finnish peace-time army.

The Finland-Soviet Society, in which the most prominent men in the country and from all parties are represented, publishes an answering telegram from Stalin which concludes with the assurance of "heartiest friendship and trust."

STALIN BIG 3 ROLE CALLED POWERFUL

Selection of Black Sea Site for Talks at His Insistence Termed Sign of Influence

By C. L. SULZBERGER

By Wireless to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

CAIRO, Egypt, Feb. 8 — The selection of the Black Sea as the scene of the present Big Three conference geographically reflects the amazingly powerful role Premier Stalin plays in meeting his colleagues, President Roosevelt and Prime Minister Churchill.

It is known that last autumn, when the idea of a meeting was first bruited, the Soviet Premier suggested that area as the locale.

Continued on Page 5, Column 2

Continued From Page 1

Mr. Churchill, it is believed, had no opposition to the idea but it is understood that Mr. Roosevelt, who journeyed to Mr. Stalin's doorstep for the last conference at Teheran, did not wish to travel so far this time.

According to diplomatic sources Mr. Roosevelt countered with an offer to travel as far east as Khartoum in the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, which would more or less have served as a halfway point between the White House and the Kremlin. Geographically the site of a conference has a certain amount of psychological importance, or at least is so interpreted by many.

Say Stalin Objected

However, Mr. Stalin, it is understood, indicated that he did not feel ready to go so far away from his country. It was an event of great importance when the Soviet Premier crossed his frontier to go to Teheran in November, 1943. Thus, because of the difficulty in agreeing on the meeting place, the projected conference did not get together as originally planned last autumn. Further delays were occasioned by the United States elections and Mr. Roosevelt's necessitated presence at his fourth term inauguration last month in Washington.

When it was finally possible to arrange the meeting Mr. Stalin had an excellent reason in insisting that it should be held close to direct communications lines to Moscow because, during the phase of the preliminary arrangements, he already knew his Red Army offensive would be launched in January.

Mr. Stalin's link to the operational direction of military strategy in the U. S. S. R. is certainly closer than Mr. Roosevelt's or Mr. Churchill's connection with the immediate conduct of the war by American and British military forces.

The Black Sea, furthermore, has several advantages as a meeting place that cannot be disputed

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87 APR 26 1945

This is a clipping from page 1 of the New York Times for Feb. 9, 1945

Clipped at the Seat of Government.

First, it is accessible enough to Europe so that should organized German resistance cave in during the conference any delegates seeking surrender terms could approach the Allies' highest command.

In fact, hardly a week ago the entire eastern Mediterranean area was full of rumors that this already had been done. These tales were never confirmed and as reported at the time it looked as if they, at best, were premature. But it is not totally excluded that some such event might occur if the meeting continues for a long time. It is possible that the conference may last longer than some foresee because of the extensive series of problems, mostly of a diplomatic nature, that it is believed the Big Three are determined to thrash out at this time.

Furthermore, the Black Sea itself borders on many of those areas that diplomatically must be under discussion if the Big Three are really setting their shoulders to the wheel in an effort to solve many of the main diplomatic stumbling blocks that lie in the path of peaceful Allied relationships after this war.

Region Linked to Problems

This region includes the Balkans and eastern Europe, in which general area are included both Yugoslavia and Poland, which comprise perhaps the main present diplomatic knots that must be unraveled by the three great Allied statesmen.

Furthermore, Soviet aspirations for increased access to warm water ports affect both Turkey, with her Dardanelles Straits leading from the Black Sea to the Mediterranean, and Iran, which borders on Turkey. The United States policy favors the continuation of the Montreux Convention governing the present control of the Dardanelles and there is no indication so far that the U.S.S.R. intends to request any drastic change in this agreement. It is, however, believed possible that the U.S.S.R. might insure its position in the Black Sea by obtaining special rights for bases along the western Balkan shores of that sea.

One would think that the question of Iran had been entirely settled by the Teheran declaration following the last Big Three meeting. However, that backward land's wealth in undeveloped oil deposits precipitated international friction last summer.

American interests sought to obtain a concession in southern Iran while the Soviet was bargaining for petroleum and other concessions in the northwestern and western portions. The Iranian Government finally ended that phase of the difficulty by announcing that no new concessions would be granted for the present.

Iran has long been a bone of contention between Britain and Russia. Under the Teheran declaration both countries, as well as the United States, agree to withdraw their troops after this war. Should Iran later vote to change her form of government and ally herself more closely to the Soviet Union, there would be nothing to stop her, and this would facilitate the Soviet Union's access to the Indian Ocean.

President Roosevelt, who it is thought in some senses serves as a mediator between his two friends and allies at these meetings, is in a stronger position in some senses at the Black Sea conference than he was at Teheran, despite the fact that Mr. Stalin invited him once again to his threshold, if not over it.

American armies are now strongly established in Europe and are hammering on Hitler's front door, as contrasted with fifteen months ago. In the Pacific—which is bound to enter these talks—America has gone a long way toward smashing Japan's bid for an empire.

It is hoped by many that these facts will more or less maintain an even balance to the tenor of the conversations.

Say Stalin Arrived Last

CAIRO, Egypt, Feb. 8 (U.P.)—President Roosevelt, Prime Minister Churchill and Premier Stalin opened their conference Monday at a town somewhere in the Black Sea area that earlier in the war teemed with German troops, it was reported today.

Mr. Roosevelt and Mr. Churchill reached the rendezvous first. Mr. Stalin arrived some time Sunday afternoon, according to reliable reports here.

Five-star American generals, British Field Marshals and Soviet Military leaders were believed to have started their conferences six days ago as a prelude to the second meeting of Mr. Roosevelt, Mr. Churchill and Mr. Stalin.

The first phase of the conference was entirely military. Later diplomats joined in the talks. Some of the greatest military figures of the war got together and spent long hours in discussions carried out in a cordial atmosphere, according to the reports.

One of the most striking features of the conference was said to have been the way the Russians were taking no chances with the security of the Allied leaders. Troops guarded a wide area surrounding the scene of the conference, allowing none but authorized persons within the perimeter of security.

Mr. Roosevelt and Mr. Churchill were reported to have conferred often while waiting for Mr. Stalin's arrival. They sat at each other's table for meals.

Most of the Soviet conferees arrived before Mr. Stalin, and were on hand when the Americans and British arrived, acting as their hosts.

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

Clipped at the Seat of Government.

POPE IS CAUTIONED BY SOVIET WRITER

Vatican, Accused of Preaching Soft Peace, Warned Against Interference in Europe

MOSCOW, Feb. 7 (AP)—K. Gofman, writing in Red Star today, called Pope Pius the mouthpiece of Germany and the preacher of a soft peace" and apparently served notice that the Soviet Union would resist any Vatican interference in Germany, Austria, Hungary and Poland.

Mr. Gofman's sharply worded international review, without referring to the meeting of the Big Three, said the time was ripe for the Allied powers to settle the post-war fate of Hitler's Reich.

The author singled out Dorothy Thompson, New York columnist, as an example of elements in the United States and Britain that he declared try to break down Allied unity in the last stage of the European war, accusing the Soviet Union and Britain of unilateral actions."

Expose by Hopkins Cited

Using quotations attributed to Harry L. Hopkins, President Roosevelt's associate, and editorials in The Kansas City Star and The New York Herald Tribune, the author gave arguments supporting the Russian policy in behalf of the security system of Europe and against the Allied political record in Italy.

Mr. Hopkins, the writer said, exposed the presence of Fascists in Italy's Government and army.

But against the Pope the author mounted his strongest attack. He began with the charge that the Vatican's wartime policy had been pro-Nazi and had included attempts to save Mussolini and prevent the democratization of Italy."

Mr. Gofman cited a French news agency report that the Pope was preparing a new message that would run contrary to the Allied program for post-war Europe.

Sees Vatican Tie to Poles

"The Vatican's anti-Soviet campaign on the Polish question is being carried on by the Catholic press in England and the United States," he declared. "The Vatican's policy in Italy has been taken as a precedent for expanding it in Germany, Austria and farther east over Hungary and Poland.

"The Vatican is the last political shelter for London Polish bankrupts such Raczkiewicz, Sosnkowski and Arciszewski [Wladyslaw Raczkiewicz, president; Gen. Kazimierz Sosnkowski, former commander in chief of the armed forces, and Tomasz Arciszewski, Premier of the London Polish Government].

"The Vatican is trying to turn back history, revive Russian-Polish hostility. Under the slogan, 'Back to Catholic fascism,' terror bands are being organized to fight against democratic Poland."

In New York, Miss Thompson's secretary said she was out of town and not available for comment on the Red Star article.

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This is a clipping from page 4 of the New York Times for Feb. 8, 1945
Clipped at the Seat of Government.

WORLD LABOR BODY SPLITS ON EX-FOES

Citrine Bars Bids to Italy, Bulgaria and Rumania—Lublin Poles Also Opposed

By LOUIS STARK
By Wireless to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

LONDON, Feb. 7—A grave crisis developed today at the World Trade Union Conference when the British Trades Union Congress delegation opposed a committee report that recommended that invitations to the conference be forwarded at once to the Warsaw-Lublin unions and to the unions of former enemy countries, Bulgaria, Rumania, Italy and Finland.

On behalf of the British TUC, of which he is general secretary, Sir Walter Citrine demanded that the committee report be referred back for further consideration. Debate on this demand will take place tomorrow.

Sir Walter made it plain that, as the convenors of the world labor meeting the IUC had indicated, the delegations must be limited to unions from nations where substantial agreement on the war objectives exists.

The report that precipitated the crisis was made by Ernest Thornton of Australia on behalf of the standing orders committee. He said he felt that the former enemy country unions should be asked to come to London, even if they were unable at this late date to accept the invitation. The idea, he said, was to strengthen the morale of these unions.

As to the Warsaw-Lublin unions, his committee had decided to propose their inclusion, he said, for the same reason. He explained, however, that his committee did not wish to criticize the original decision not to invite unions from former enemy nations and from the Warsaw-Lublin group. The London Polish union group is represented at the conference.

Citrine Launches Attack

Sir Walter arose directly the report was concluded and not only attacked the plan to include the former enemy nations' union movements in the conference, but he also dealt with other proposals of the committee that displeased the British delegation.

The British Labor leader asserted that at the preparatory meetings in which his group and the delegations from the Soviet Union and the Congress of Industrial Organization had participated, a carefully selected list of nations to be invited had been prepared an dthere had been no objection from anyone.

To invite the former enemy countries officially at this time would be "premature," argued Sir Walter. While Mr. Thornton had implied that "new facts" had arisen causing a change in plan, he said that no such facts had been supplied. In any event, his delegation had had no instructions from the TUC to change the original plan and he doubted if any of the national union organizations represented on the standing orders committee had any mandate to invite unions from former enemy countries.

He inquired whether there was "the slightest evidence that in nations which had been under dictatorships for years now have democratic trade unions."

"It is expecting too much of our credulity," he declared, "to be expected to believe that with the exception of Finland these former enemy nations have democratic unions."

Doubts Lublin's Democracy

Regarding the Warsaw-Lublin unions, he pointed out that most of the United Nations had not recognized the government there, adding:

"And yet we are asked to recognize a trade union movement which was built in a few weeks and to call it a democratic movement.

Asserting that the only information that has come from the Polish unions has come by way of Moscow, Sir Walter suggested that the Warsaw-Lublin group must prove its stability before it can be recognized."

Sir Walter also attacked the committee proposal that decisions be made by a two-thirds vote. He held that at the preparatory committee meetings it had been decided that there were to be no votes taken and that "general consent" was to determine policy.

How trade union unity could be obtained by a majority vote he was unable to say. In this connection he noted that the Soviet unions claiming 27,000,000 members would have more than half the popular vote of the conference if voting were done in this way and he added that "the Soviet unions would not claim that they were equal in importance to the rest of the conference.

Finally, Sir Walter, who is also president of the International Federation of Trade Unions, asserted that the International Federation of Trade Unions had been excluded from the post-war committee although it had taken two years to formulate a report on that subject.

"Is this an accident?" he inquired. "It is inequitable, unfair and a slight to the IFTU and he will not be a party to it," he asserted emphatically.

Sir Walter's outburst embarrassed particularly the delegates from the Soviet Union and the Congress of Indsutrial Organizations.

The Russians had urged the credentials committee to invite the Lubin Polish unions, but the committee decided to turn this matter over to the Standings Orders Committee.

Albert J. Fitzgerald, the Committee for Industrial Organization member on the latter committee, voted to invite the Warsaw-Lublin unions, but the sentiment of his associates of this subject is understood to be divided.

Clement R. Attlee, Deputy Prime Minister, greeted the conference in place of Prime Minister Churchill.

Pledges Aid to Wallace

LONDON, Feb. 7 (AP)—Reid Robinson, a CIO vice president, speaking in the absence of Sidney Hillman, told the conference of "our successful campaign in returning to the Presidency of the United States Franklin Delano Roosevelt." Mr. Robinson added that the CIO would not rest until Henry Wallace "fits securely in the office to which President Roosevelt has appointed him—and as Secretary of Commerce helps to realize the goal of 60,000,000 jobs in the United States and world-wide good neighborly relations."

This is a clipping from page 7 of the New York Times for Feb. 8, 1945
Clipped at the Seat of Government.

ROME COMMUNISTS BACK TITO'S CLAIM

Urge That at Least Slovene Part of Venezia Giulia Be Ceded to Yugoslavia

By HERBERT L. MATTHEWS

By Wireless to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

ROME, Feb. 7—The Italian Communist newspaper, l'Unità, proposed today that at least the whole Slovene part of Venezia Giulia be returned to Yugoslavia and it called for immediate negotiations with Marshal Tito in this regard.

The article threw the whole delicate question of Trieste on the table with a startling bang, for it aligned Italy's most powerful single party, with its important connections with Moscow, with Marshal Tito. It is also significant as representing a change in what has been the consistently nationalistic policy of the Italian Communist party. The article was probably written by Palmiro Togliatti, the party's leader, but in any case it must represent his and his party's views, since it could not otherwise appear in l'Unità.

It began by chiding Italians "who forget that the Italian frontiers, fixed after the victorious war of 1915-1918, included non-Italian populations that did not want to come with us and that were not asked about it in the slightest. Alongside places with Italian majorities like Trieste, Fiume, Gorizia and Zara, Italy received rural populations, prevalently Slovene, in the interior of Venezia Giulia.

"That these populations have the right today to unite themselves finally to their motherland and become part of the new Yugoslavia," the article continued, "seems to us to be beyond question, and any attempts to reaffirm Italy's rights to land that does not belong to her is absolutely out of place and anachronistic. The Slovene territories should be restored, without hesitation and without recriminations, to the Slovene republic, which is already an integral part of the great Yugoslav federative republic."

Of the predominantly Italian territories of Venezia, Giulia l' Unità said merely that the problem "should be solved by the common accord of the two peoples, taking into account both the will of the populations and the necessities of the new Yugoslav state."

"L'Unità added that "the Italian domination of Venezia Giulia [under the Fascist regime] was a series of violences and excesses tending toward the forced denaturalization of Slavic territories." It described some of the things that the Fascists did.

It pointed out that thousands of Italians were now fighting under Marshal Tito and that that, among other things, would entitle Italy to fair play. This was followed by a plea for a "Philo-Yugoslav policy" on the part of the new Italy because a "strong, friendly Yugoslavia would always help us to stand guard against any resurgence of Germanism and would be an important factor for peace in Europe."

The article concluded by asking the Italian Government and the Committee of National Liberation "to start negotiations as soon as possible with Marshal Tito's Government."

The Liberal organ, the Risorgimento Liberale, had a leading article today on the Yugoslavs' demands that Italy should withdraw across the Isonzo River to her old frontiers, giving up Trieste, Fiume and the whole hinterland including Gorizia. The Liberals, like most moderate elements here, express willingness to come to some kind of agreements, but definitely without sacrificing Trieste.

This is a clipping from page 1 of the New York Times for Feb. 8, 1945
Clipped at the Seat of Govern...

Europe's Regime's

Liberated Nations Must Enjoy Democracy, Says Soviet Journal

With indirect reference to Greece and Belgium, the Soviet labor journal War and the Working Class in a recent issue emphasized that only broad, popular governments in the liberated countries can insure postwar democracy in Europe.

In an extended review of 1944 and discussion of perspectives for '45, the editorial stressed that liberated countries must be allowed to base their governments on a "broad democratic foundation;" and also sharply attacked the soft-peace-for-Germany advocates.

The vital interests of mankind demand, said War and the Working Class, "that German imperialism shall not survive this war; that after the military defeat of Germany she shall be really disarmed, economically as well as militarily and politically."

Tying up the question of Germany's treatment with the whole issue of governments in liberated countries, the Soviet Journal reminded that "the political crises and difficulties that arose in some of the liberated countries of Europe at the end of 1944 testify to the fact that the peoples who have endured the horrors of German occupation cannot be satisfied with, or resign themselves to the return of the regimes and statesmen whose bankruptcy was proved during the years of severe trials to which Hitler subjected Europe."

Obviously referring to the recent events in Greece and Belgium, War and the Working Class continued:

"Men and women who have paid for the liberation of their countries with heir blood naturally do not wish the destinies of their respective countries to again become playthings in the hands of political cliques which have remained mere onlookers during these bloody battles; which have alienated themselves from their people and virtually bear a considerable part of the responsibility for the catastrophe that has occurred."

Then dealing with the need for a powerful postwar organization, "to avert aggression or nip it in the bud," War and the Working Class said it would be "fatal" if such an organization were not founded.

Communist Party

EXHIBIT EX-16

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87 APR 26 1945

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People's World
Feb. 7, 1945
p. 2

War Sidelights

Russian Bishops Ask Firm Peace

Moscow, Feb. 6 (U.P.)—The council of bishops of the Russian Orthodox Church, now convening in Moscow, issued an appeal to world Christendom today urging prayers for a speedy victory over fascism and condemning advocates of a soft peace.

The appeal, printed in the government newspaper Izvestia, said "Brothers and Christians of the whole world, it is now clear whose arms the Lord Jesus Christ blessed and whose arms he did not bless. Our Red army is bringing and has already brought liberation to many neighboring countries from their merciless enslavers. We believe that the one and only Ruler of heaven and earth who quieted the wind of the Sea of Galilee will soon quiet this world storm. We will see the intervention of divine justice when the blessed hand of the victors will write on the pages of history a stern sentence against Fascist criminals."

Russian

Wash. Post.
Feb. 7, 145

RELIGION IN RUSSIA

Twenty-five years ago, or even ten years ago, the attendance of Soviet officials at the crowning of a patriarch of the Russian Church would have been unthinkable. They did, however, attend the induction on Sunday, in the Bogoyavlensk Cathedral in Moscow, of the Patriarch Alexei, former Metropolitan of Novgorod and Leningrad. Their presence could not have meant that they had been converted to a belief in the Christian religion. It must have meant that Alexei had made promises of what the Communists would regard as good conduct, and particularly that he had given assurances that there would be no teaching in the churches against the Communist régime. But it must have meant, also, that after more than a quarter of a century of atheistic education, in the midst of a war which has cost millions of Russian lives, a great many Russians crave the comforts of religion. These years must have brought a realization that religion cannot be killed out of the human heart, and that attempts at suppression will merely make the religious more religious.

The old Russian Church was the State Church of Russia. The new can hardly be that. It is a tolerated not an established institution. But if one form of religion can be tolerated in Russia, perhaps others will be. In time, the Communist Government may discover that the things of the spirit and the things of this world, freedom of the individual conscience and the stability of economic and political institutions, can exist side by side without harm to either. In its present majestic material strength, the Soviet Union may make concessions that it dared not make in its former relative weakness. And from the concessions, from the recognition of the human longing for more than human reassurance, it may even take greater strength.

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161-16-A

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87 APR 26 1945

This is a clipping from page 18 of the New York Times for Feb. 6, 1945

Clipped at the Seat of Government.

2 MAY 3 1945

EXPERTS DISAGREE ON SOVIET ECONOMY

Joseph S. Lawrence Calls Its Recent Revision a 'Break With Original Doctrine'

HE TERMS IT 'BOMBSHELL'

Dr. Paul A. Baran, However, Views Changes as an Attempt to Correct Mistakes

By WILL LISSNER

Diffreing on whether the revision in Soviet economic theory reported in THE NEW YORK TIMES last April represents an abandonment of orthodox Marxism, two leading American economists, in studies released last week, agree that the changes in the official doctrine are designed to sustain the internal situation of the Russian economy and society.

The discussion of the significance of Joseph Stalin's revision of Marxist theory as it had been taught in the Soviet Union, a revision that was announced by Prof. L. A. Leontieff and others in the Soviet journal, Under the Banner of Marxism, is carried on by Joseph Stagg Lawrence, economist and vice president of the Empire Trust Company, New York, and by Dr. Paul A. Baran of Washington.

Mr. Lawrence, writing in the Empire Trust Letter on "Is Russia Turning Right?" finds the revision a "break with original doctrine," a revision "from the ground up of the whole dogma of communism." He declares:

"In the field of ideology this material is as muchd a bombshell as the Stalin-Hitler Pact in the field of international power politics."

A Justification of Oligarchy

Emphasizing "the armission 'that under socialism, too, the law of value functions,'" Mr. Lawrence says that "the new dogma was designed not only to restate the advantages which the organization of Russian society enjoys over capitalism, to get away from the ideological handicaps of 'primitive communism' but also to justify the privileges which the ruling oligarchy enjoys."

Dr. Baran, who is the author of the 1943 study, "Cost Accounting and Price Determination in the Soviet Union," presents his analysis in an article, "New Trends in Russian Economic Thinking?" in the current issue of The American Economic Review, the journal of the American Economic Association.

One of the aims of the Soviet document, Dr. Baran thinks, is to correct what the Russian economists consider grave mistakes in the interpretation and evaluation of the subject-matter of economic theory. He goes on:

"These mistakes, although listed in an almost random fashion, seem to have something in common. They all represent 'ultra-left' aberrations and all tend to promte an attitude which does not conform to the present tenets of Soviet policies and thinking."

Russian economists, according to the Leontieff article, have tended to regard the entire non-Russian world as an undifferentiated reactionary camp, Dr. Baran continues, saying:

"Such an attitude is condemned as erroneous and as barring the proper understanding of current events. * * * How could it be reconciled with the view that Russia still draws heavily upon the technical and scientific achievements of capitalist countries, that Russia still regards as its most ambitious aim reaching (and surpassing) the levels of output and welfare attained in the United States and Great Britain?

"And — most important — how could it be explained on the basis of such a doctrine that, in its desperate struggle for survival, the Soviet Union is aided by such undeniably capitalist societies as the American and British?

"It is easy to understand that under present political conditions all attempts to propagandize such views—even in a disguised way—have to be sharply rebuffed by the official ideologists of the Soviet Government."

An Important "Aberration"

The most important "aberration" that the Soviet article strives to correct is "ultra-left" overoptimism about the possibilities of Russia's economic and social efforts, Dr. Baran believes. Here, he says, in their endeavor to underscore the similarities between capitalism and socialism, the Soviet economists "go to the other extreme and fail to formulate adequately the all-important differences between these two systems."

The actual business that the Soviet authors had to attend to, however, the American economist says, is the following:

"They set out to explain why, under the present conditions in Russia (or rather under conditions immediately preceding the war and most likely to prevail in the early years after the war), communism has not yet been fully realized.

"Faced with the fact of low and unequal remuneration of labor, confronted with the dire necessity for an extremely severe husbandry of resources, Messrs. Leontieff et al. regard it as desirable to invoke the authority of Marx to justify this difficult state of affairs."

He concludes, "It is old wine and the bottles are not new either."

Dr. Charles Prince of the Federal Communications Commission has analyzed legal and economic factors affecting Russia's foreign policy in recent issues of The American Political Science Review. He believes the trend of thought in the Soviet Union indicates that Russia will need a firm peace in order to restore its wrecked economy, and that she will not be interested in a bolshevization of Europe.

Reviews - Int Lit - C

Communist Party Press

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This is a clipping from page 9 of the New York Times for Feb. 4, 1945

Clipped at the Seat of Government.

ALEXEI IS ELECTED RUSSIAN PATRIARCH

Vote Is Unanimous at Meeting of the Council of Bishops in Cathedral in Moscow

MOSCOW, Feb. 2 (UR)—Acting Patriarch Alexei, Metropolitan of Leningrad, was unanimously elected Patriarch of the Russian Orthodox Church to succeed the late Patriarch Sergei whe nthe Council of Bishops convened today in Sokolniki Cathedral.

In the most impressive assembly of Russian and foreign ecclesiastics since the revolution, and in the presence of Government and diplomatic officials, Alexei praised the patriotic activity of the Orthodox Church and stressed the great strides it has made during the war.

Alexei was born in Moscow in 1877, was graduated from the Moscow University Law School and later from the Theological Seminary. He taught theology until 1911, when he became rector of the Novgorod Seminary and abbey of the Novgorod Monastery.

In 926 he became an Archbishop and in 1943 a member of the Holy Synod. He received a medal for participating in the defense of Leningrad. He remained in the city during the siege to organize the church in support of the Red Army.

Took High Post Last Year

When Patriarch Sergei died in May, 1944, Metropolitan Alexei became acting partiarch under instructions from his predecessor.

Patriarch Alexei was born Serge Vladimirovitch Simansky, on Oct. 27, 1877, and is the oldest Bishop now in the Russian Church. Ae attended the University of Moscow and finished the study of law there in 1899. He received a Doctor of Theology degree from the Moscow Theological Seminary in 1904. In 1902 he became a Monk and took the name Alexei. He became a priest-monk in 1903.

In 1913 he was ordained a bishop, was made an archbishop in 1926 and in 1933 became Metropolitan of Leningrad. In 1943 he was Metropolitan of Leningrad and Novgorod. He is the thirteenth Russian Patriarch.

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87 APR 26 1945

This is a clipping from page 9 of the New York Times for Feb. 3, 1945

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COMMUNIST

MAR 3 1945

This is a clipping from page 6 of the DAILY WORKER

Date 2-3-45

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FILE

— Between the Lines

More Notes of the Week

by Joseph Starobin

"The time will come when the peoples will pronounce their weighty judgment on that mission of liberator which the Soviet Union, under the guidance of its great leader, Stalin, now performs—not only in the interests of the emancipation of the peoples of Europe, but in the interests of the peoples of the whole world . . ." Molotov, at the first lend-lease conference with Beaverbrook and Harriman, October, 1941.

THE time has come. And how can we grasp the full significance of what has happened from minute to minute in these last two weeks? It needs perspective, and it needs humility. Less than 100 years ago Marx and Engels were preparing a manifesto for a league of German workingmen in the Rhineland . . . 40 years to the month, Russian workers fought in the wintry streets of Moscow and St. Petersberg. . . . Only six years ago, the question of whether a Red Army man could step across the borders of Latvia so agitated and flustered the men of power in London and Paris that they were ready to gamble with the fate of their nations, and by saying No, they opened the gates of Europe to the vandals.

For more than 40 years, dyspeptic professors have written books to bury Marxism. . . . Balkan princes have gone skiing in the Carinthian Alps while Slovene workers were tortured in Ljubliana for listening to broadcasts from Moscow. . . . Millions of dollars, tons of paper, centuries of accumulated time have been devoted to exposing Russia, debunking her, disproving, disavowing, betraying, slandering, smearing, confusing, insinuating, insulting.

How many solid citizens have spent how many countless Sunday mornings listening to how many sermons excommunicating Russia? And how many are the Americans journalists who began promising careers with book reviews in New Masses, and ended up in the carpeted offices of Time, Life, and Fortune or the charitable obscurity of watering their gardens in the Berkshires—all because of miscalculations about the humble people of the Soviet Union?

Shoulder Burdens
Like a Modern Atlas

Humility—for what these people have done with their bare hands, not only for themselves, but for Europe, and by liberating Europe have changed the balance of forces on a world scale and are now shouldering, like a modern Atlas, the burdens and destinies of humanity.

Humility—in the face of such leadership, leadership of men whom the Czar hunted less than 40 years ago, and have in so many complicated moments guided their nations through every pitfall to the present grandeur of power.

Humility toward them, and contempt for all the intellectual locusts, the tsetse flies who monopolize the Town Meetings of the Air, the political earthworms who breathe best only when it is raining, and the whole breed—of whom there are so many, and who will be with us for a long time to come. Contempt for them, contempt for them in the light of John Reed's memory, or Lincoln Steffens', or Maj. Gen. William S. Graves'. . . .

And what shall we say of Germany, today? This is not only the end of an army, the end of the Nazi Party, but the end of a system and the end of an era.

A workingclass divided through the illusions of men who called themselves Socialists proved unable to stem the conquest of the nation by its most medieval elements. And this nation became the instrument for a monstrous attempt to enslave Europe and the world, carrying on its banners of skull and bones the hopes of schemers, traitors, bankers and cowards from Neville Chamberlain to Martin Dies—and now where is it ending?

The 20-year plan to drown the Soviet people in its own blood, the desperate ambition to prevent democracy in eastern and western Europe from reviving—is ending in the cowardly retreat of millions of human sheep from the Warthegau and Danzig. . . .

Haughty Nazis captured in the west still cling to the idea of a war between America and Russia, but our boys are "welcoming Ivan" around the campfires in Alsace-Lorraine.

Miss Dorothy Thompson, who was so worried about resettling Germans from East Prussia and west of the Oder, must now admit that her concern was somewhat foolish; the Nazis have taken her own fear of the Soviet Union and used it to stampede the cattle. . . . A clear field is left to the people of Poland. . . .

No Stalingrads
For Hitlerism

There will be no Stalingrads for Hitlerism. The bloody game is finished. New beginnings will mature more quickly, I believe, than many people think. No one can deny that the German anti-Nazis were unsuccessful, for which they must not be scorned, either, for their failure has already been recorded in hundreds of thousands of sacrifices.

No one denies that for years to come, every German will be held responsible for what happened in Europe, and the evolution of democracy will be complex and difficult, especially since Germany will remain both a focus for antagonisms among the United Nations, as well as the object lesson which makes their unity imperative.

But neither should we fail to appreciate that in such moments of disintegration and defeat for everyone else—except the defiant handful—it is this handful which becomes more important than ever and can help shape events. And this is true even though the blow which broke the back of the Nazi horror had to be induced from the outside. . . . "One can safely say that the explosion from within Germany, when it comes, will make the revolution of 1918 look like a tea party," says the Times editorial on Thursday.

CZECHS RECOGNIZE 2 POLISH REGIMES

Accept Warsaw Group de Facto but Keep Relations With London Government

LONDON, Jan. 31 (AP)—The Czechoslovak Government in exile formally recognized the Polish Provisional Government formerly of Lublin today but did not break off diplomatic relations with the exiled Polish Government in London.

"We simply recognize the legal and political fact of a provisional Government sitting in the ruins of Warsaw," a Czechoslovak spokesman said. "We have nothing against the London Polish Government."

The step was believed to have been prompted by the impending departure of President Eduard Benes and members of his Cabinet to take over the liberated parts of Czechoslovakia. A spokesman for the London Polish Government said that the Poles had not been officially informed of the Czechoslovak move but expressed surprise at "the apparent Czech view that they can recognize two Governments at the same time. It seems strange that the Czechs would do this, since we were the first Government abroad to recognize Benes' regime in 1940."

Mr. Benes' Government was the first, except Russia, to recognize the Warsaw regime, but the Yugoslav Government is understood to have given assurances that it would follow the Czechoslovak example. The Czechoslovak spokesman said that his Government had decided to recognize the Warsaw Poles "Because of Czechoslovakia's legal and political position, which has been brought to the fore by the rapidly developing military situation."

"Poland is almost liberated," he said, "and that part of Czechoslovakia which has a common frontier with Poland is also almost liberated. We realized we must have some de facto relations with the civil power governing Poland in order to look out for our own interests."

The spokesman said that there had been no pressure from any side to persuade his Government to recognize the Warsaw regime. He said that hundreds of thousands of Czechs had been deported to Poland by the Germans to work in Polish industrial areas.

"The Czech Government," he said, "naturally is concerned for the repatriation of its nationals and feels this can best be expedited by negotiations with the authority on the spot—the Provisional Government in Warsaw—rather than with the Government in London."

The Russian-Czechoslovak treaty of alliance and mutual aid signed on Dec. 12, 1943, has a protocol that provides for the adherence of Poland.

The Czechs and Slovaks hope to regain the rich coal area of Teschen handed by Germany to Poland at the time of the Munich agreement. The Polish Government in London still regards Teschen as Polish territory, although the Munich agreement has been repudiated by Britain and was never recognized by Russia. The Warsaw Poles, it is believed, are prepared to see that Teschen reverts to Czechoslovakia.

Mr. Benes is expected to appoint a Minister Plenipotntiary to the Warsaw Government in a few days. Josef Hejret, former member of the Czechoslovak Embassy in Warsaw and now the editor in chief of Czechoslovak in London, has been mentioned for the post.

Britain Has No Criticism

LONDON, Jan. 31 (U.P.)—A British Foreign Office spokesman said that the Czechoslovak recognition of the Warsaw regime would not be regarded as an unfriendly act even though Britain continued to recognize the London Polish Government. He said that the action had been expected inasmuch as the "Czech-Russian agreement always envisaged a Czech-Polish agreement."

This is a clipping from page 4 of the New York Times for Feb. 1, 1945

Clipped at the Seat of Government.

RUSSIAN PRELATES HAIL STALIN'S AID

First Church General Assembly Since Revolution Opens to Elect a Patriarch

MOSCOW, Jan. 31 (AP)—The first General Episcopal Assembly of the Russian Orthodox Church since the revolution opened today amid prayers for peace and victory and praise for Premier Joseph Stalin as bearded ecclesiastics from all over the world gathered in Moscow's Church of the Resurrection to name a new Patriarch.

Hundreds of spectators jammed the church in a mixed atmosphere of ancient clerical gowns and caps and symbols of modern times, including floodlights and movie cameras as the Acting Patriarch, Metropolitan Alexei of Leningrad and Novgorod, opened the assembly with a prayer for the health and longevity of all the guests.

The Acting Patriarch of all Russia rose to the leadership of the church last May with an announcement that the Holy Synod of the Russian Orthodox Church had "accepted and fulfilled the last will and testament of the late holy Patriarch Sergei."

Sergei, Acting Patriarch for eighteen years, became Patriarch in the autumn of 1943 and died in May of 1944. Alexei's formal election at Patriarch appears virtually certain.

Prelate From American Leads

More than 160 delegates attended today's session. The first one to enter the church was Metropolitan Benjamin Fedchenkoff, spiritual leader of the Orthodox Church in North America and the Aleutian Islands. He was followed by Patriarch Alexander off Antioch.

At this point a chorus of more than 100 voices sang a psalm of welcome as invisible bells rang through the church. The Patriarchs walked slowly forward, then kissed each other and sat down.

Alexie rose and said:

"I make a special point in greeting our dear delegates from Serbia, who are representing the Patriarch of Serbia, who still is languishing in German enslavement."

Then he looked down the table at Metropolitan Benjamin

"I take pleasure in welcoming the highly honored Benjamin of America who inspires the hearts of our brothers in such a distant country as the United States."

Georgi Karpoff, chairman of the State Council of Church Affairs, then rose, bowed and commenced speaking.

"All through the period of war," he said. "The orthodox church has continuously taken part in the defense of the country. The church has made many sacrifices for the motherland. In the testament of the late Sergei, Alexei was mentioned as the one to assume his duties as Patriarch. He has proved himself a good citizen and patriot."

Tells of Prayers for Stalin

Alexei thanked Mr. Karpoff, then thanked the Russian Government for "all its help," and added that "we are praying for the Government and for him who is leading our country to victory and happiness."

Metropolitan Imann of Kursk read the message from the Assembly to the Soviet Government. It said, in part:

"We send our first greetings to the Government and to the highly honored Joseph Vissarionovitch Stalin and our thanks to the Government for its aid to the Church. The Russian Orthodox Church has always lived the life of its people and always sacrificed itself to the people and the country. It is happy to find it could contribute to the cause of victory.

"The Church sends its blessings to the heroic fighters at the front. The Church expresses its deepest gratitude to the Government for expelling the enemy from our country.

"The Church prays for the speediest victory of the U.S.S.R. and the Allied countries over the enemy and the successes of the Red Army, which is led and inspired by the great leader, Marshal Joseph Vissarionovitch Stalin."

This is a clipping from page 3 of the New York Times for Feb. 1, 1945

Clipped at the Seat of Government.

AUSTRIA CREATES INTERIM REGIME

Moscow Announces Renner Is Premier—Britain and U. S. Not Consulted

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

MOSCOW, April 29—An Austrian Provisional Government, the first independent authority in that German-speaking country since the Nazi annexation of more than seven years ago, has been created in Vienna under the leadership of Dr. Karl Renner, 74, a Social Democrat.

His Cabinet of thirteen men includes three non-party representatives, three Social Democrats, four Christian Socialists and three Communists. The Communists hold the key posts of the Interior and Education Ministries as well as one of the three seats on the political council that will assist Dr. Renner.

This news, which reached Moscow today in a Tass agency dispatch, said that a short time ago Social Democrat, Christian Socialist and Communist leaders met in Vienna with Bundist and other Austrian leaders and drew up a

Continued on Page 4, Column 7

Continued From Page 1

list for a provisional government. The regime was formed with the agreement of anti-Fascist parties under the provisions of the Moscow declaration of 1943, which aimed at restoring Austrian independence.

Announcement of the new Austrian administration was officially made in Vienna yesterday, and Tass stated that it represented "the will of the majority of Austrian people."

Dr. Renner will also serve as Minister for Foreign Affairs. He had held that post in 1920.

Dr. Renner also was a deputy in the Austrian National Assembly, whose last President he was in 1933, during the chaotic pre-annexation days. In those days Dr. Renner certainly was not a revolutionary along Marxist lines, but was more or less the type represented in the British Labor party nowadays. He was interested in consumers' enterprises and the Workers' Bank. The 1941 Soviet encyclopedia says that he was known mostly for his connections with "the national question, the foundation of which was prepared by the petty bourgeoisie with the idea of a national cultural autonomy."

This encyclopedia describes him as "an extreme revisionist" and "liquidator of Marxism," who wrote as a "social chauvinist" during World War I under the pseudonym of Springer. It describes his book, "The Theory of Capitalist Society," as developing "a counter-revolutionary theory inimical to the Marxism of economic democracy, a 'world maturing into Socialism and socialization through evolution * * * The destruction of capitalist property comes, says Renner, not by way of expropriation * * * but by way of the peaceful transferral of the means of production from the hands of a group of capitalists to another group.".

One cannot tell with any exactness what Dr. Renner's views are these days, aside from the fact that he must clearly be regarded as a pro-Allied Austrian patriot and an aged Left-Wing Liberal.

Dr. Renner is assisted at the helm by a three-man council representing each participating party. The Catholic party is absent from the Government, and it may be recalled that the Catholics, and notably Theodor Cardinal Innitzer, Archbishop of Vienna, have recently been attacked in the Soviet press as supporting the Nazis.

The council members are Ministers Without Portfolio. They are Dr. Rudolph Schere, Social Democrat; Leopold Kunshak, Christian Socialist, and Johann Koplenem, Communist.

Composition of Cabinet

Members of the Cabinet are:

National Defense—Lieut. Col. Franz Winterer.

Interior—Franz Khonner, Communist.

Justice—Dr. Joseph Goere, non-party.

Finance—Dr. George Zimmermann, non-party.

Agriculture—Rudolph Buchinger, Christian Socialist.

Industry, Trade and Transport—Edward Heini, Christian Socialist.

Public Instruction and Religion—Ernst Fischer, Communist.

Food Supplies—Andreas Horst, Social Democrat.

Public Welfare—Johann Boehm, Social Democrat.

Building and Reconstruction—Rudolph Raab, Christian Socialist.

Communists are in the Ministry of the Interior, and curiously enough, that of Education and Religion in Catholic Austria, as well as holding one non-portfolio post.

Clearly, the first task of Dr. Renner's Provisional Government will be to facilitate the final war objectives of clearing Austrian soil of the Germans. The tone has already been set in Soviet propaganda, which emphasizes that it's foreigners, Germans and Prussians, who are responsible for Austria's plight, and pointing out that the rank and file Nazis who cooperate with the authorities need not fear.

Dr. Renner will be expected to work with the Allied Control Commission. Marshal Tito of Yugoslavia has applied to the three big powers for permission to occupy a part of Austria.

Austrians in London Approve

LONDON, April 29 (U.P.)—There were no consultations between the Soviet and British Governments on the formation of a provisional government, and so far as is known here, there were no consultations between the Soviet and the United States Governments. Hence authoritative British sources withheld comment.

Austrian circles in London were believed to be generally satisfied with the line-up, but they believed the duties of the Prime Minister would bear heavily upon Dr. Renner. The "Free Austria" movement here issued a statement saying it was sure that all members of all parties everywhere would pledge full loyalty.

HEADS AUSTRIA REGIME

Karl Renner
The New York Times, 1934

This is a clipping from page 1 of the New York Times for April 30, 1945
Clipped at the Seat of Government.

SOVIET-LATIN DEAL ON VOTING LOOMS

Seating of Republics and Bid to Argentina Linked With Lublin Issue in Trading

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

SAN FRANCISCO, April 29—The three votes of the Latin-American Republics on the Conference Executive Committee, those of Brazil, Mexico and Chile, are playing a large role in the decisions of the conference.

The best evidence of this is the pressure which Soviet Russia is putting upon the Latin Americans to trade votes in a manner favorable to its interest.

A manifestation is expected tomorrow when the committee considers the Soviet's demand for immediate seating of the Ukrainian and White Russian Republics and the Latin suggestion to invite Argentina to the conference.

The Latin Americans will probably vote to seat the Soviet Republics because they have already voted to make them "initial members" of the world security organization. But, in return, they want Russia to join in the invitation to Argentina and to back their proposal to fit the Act of Chapultepec into the world organization.

Lublin as a Trading Point

Although some of the Russian delegates have been talking privately of protecting the Communist minority in Argentina as a condition of their joining in an invitation to Argentina, the Latin Americans say that the real trading point of the Russians is on the question of recognition of the Lublin Government of Poland.

A parallel exists in the situations of these two countries. A resolution adopted at the Mexico City Conference set forth that Argentina should be invited to San Francisco if it took certain courses, including declaration of war upon the Axis. Likewise, under the Anglo-American interpretation of the Yalta agreement, Poland was to be invited only after its government was democratically broadened ~~fully~~ to represent Polish interests.

The Russians argue that Argentina is not democratic ~~and the Latin Americans~~ reply that neither is the present Polish Government. But the latter are embarrassed over the revival of censorship and other undemocratic measures at Buenos Aires. ~~This is~~ reflected in the silence of Latin-American speakers at plenary sessions on the Argentine question.

About the only reference to Argentina was the backhanded quip yesterday by Julian R. Caceres, Honduran Ambassador to the United States, who said:

"My country took its stand against the aggressors long before the glow of victory was on the horizon."

While this was applauded as a gibe at the Argentinians, who only recently declared war, it does not represent the general attitude of Latin Americans, who desire to have Argentina invited here.

Growing Distrust of Soviet

The Latin Americans generally were indignant over the tactics of Foreign Commissar Molotoff at the first session of the Conference Steering Committee. Since then their distrust of the Russians, already a considerable factor, has grown.

After that first session, at which Ezequiel Padilla, Mexican Foreign Minister, took a forceful stand behind the United States delegation on such questions as the naming of a Conference President, the Latin Americans talked of "Soviet rudeness," of "discourtesy" and "insult."

Suspicion of the Soviet played an important part in the shaping of the Act of Chapultepec at Mexico City. In asking the "Colossus of the North" for protection for the first time in history, the Latins were said to have feared Soviet interference in hemispheric affairs.

The fact that most of them are Roman Catholics and strongly anti-Communist is regarded as an underlying factor in this situation.

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This is a clipping from page 11 of the New York Times for April 30, 1945
Clipped at the Seat of Government.

POPE ASKS WATCH ON SOCIAL CHANGE

Tells Catholic Action to Shun Views Foreign to Faith—Says Church Aids Labor

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By Wireless to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

ROME, April 29—Pope Pius told about 1,200 delegates to the National Catholic Action Congress in the Hall of the Benedictions today that no Catholic, and certainly no member of that organization, should endorse social theories or systems displeasing to the church and that the principles of the church in regard to such matters had not been formed in a day, but through the years.

The Pontiff, appearing in much better health than a few weeks ago, spoke for eight minutes and was greeted with cries of "Long live the Pope of the peace."

His address to the delegates, priests and laymen follows:

We had planned, as you well know, to remain silent today, to see you in simplicity and to bless you, who devoutly have gathered in your great national convention, for we have often, and under different circumstances, indicated—as you well remember—the intentions of Catholic Action and its tasks during the present time. Now, however, we cannot refrain from stressing before you a few points that are essential in this serious and responsible moment for the Catholics of the whole world and especially for those in Italy, pronouncing these few words spontaneously as they come to our lips.

We will make two recommendations. The first one concerns the social doctrines of the church. You know how closely the social order is connected with the religious and moral order. In periods of economic revolutions the church has a right and duty to indicate the Catholic doctrine in view of such important problems. Although those doctrines are definitely laid down in their basic points, the church must interpret them according to the changing necessities of the times in order that her principles remain unbroken. No one can evade them; no Catholic, at least anyone of your organization, is permitted to endorse social theories or systems that the church has prohibited or of which she has warned. You understand why the Holy See has to intervene when, among those who claim to be Catholics, harmful social tendencies arise. Be cautious and vigilant.

The second admonition concerns the position of the church with respect to workers. Tell all and everywhere that the church always has represented and continues to represent the worker. She always defends the established rights and reasonable aspirations of workers.

We do not ignore that the Church is unjustly suspected of hindering the workers' progress. The principles of the Church with regard to workers, too, are not of today but were formulated long ago, precisely and without possibility of any doubt. Not only because the moral order prescribes that the commonweal be brought about peacefully for all classes of people but also because the measurges and program that can serve only for propaganda purposes are exaggerated and cannot be practically carried out, the Church rejects them.

After these remarks we implore for you heavenly blessings while fervently waiting for a just and serene peace according to the justified aspirations of the world and specially of Italy.

MAY - 16

This is a clipping from page 3 of the New York Times for April 30, 1945

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COMM. PARTY - Russian
Motion Pictures will be shown
Sunday Night
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This is a clipping from page 7 of the DAILY WORKER

Date 4-28-45

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56 JUN 27 1945

Molotov Pledges Aid of All Soviet People

SAN FRANCISCO, April 27.—Following is the text of the address by Soviet Foreign Commissar Vyacheslav M. Molotov to the United Nations Conference yesterday:

On instruction of the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics I should like at the very beginning of my speech that I am making on behalf of the Soviet delegation at this historic conference to express my deep gratitude to the Government of the United States of America and to Secretary of State Mr. Stettinius personally for the immense amount of work of preparation carried out by them prior to this conference and also for the excellent organization of the Conference of the United Nations.

At the same time I should like to seize this opportunity to express on behalf of the Soviet delegation my most sincere gratitude to Mr. Lapham, Mayor of San Francisco, for the cordial hospitality extended to my delegation at San Francisco.

The Soviet Government attaches a great importance to the international conference in San Francisco. The end of the war had drawn near at least in Europe. The rout of Hitler Germany, the principal aggressor in this war, has become a fact. The time has arrived to take care of the postwar period of the future.

This conference is called upon to consider the question of setting up an organization to protect the general peace and security of nations after the war. From this it can be seen how great is the responsibility resting upon this conference.

Today as well as on many other occasions we must remember the great name of President Franklin Roosevelt. His services in the struggle for the achievement of a lasting peace and in the preparation of this historic conference have met with a wide recognition among all the peace-loving nations.

The second World War by far exceeded the first World War in the magnitude of military operations and the size of the armies involved and in lives lost and in the unusually severe consequences for the life of many peoples.

Hitler Germany, which started this war, did not shrink from any crimes in trying to impose her domination on Europe and to pave the way to the world domination of German imperialism.

Mass murders of children, women and old men, the extermination of nations in their entirety, the wholesale destructions of peaceful citizens who were not to the liking of Fascists, the barbaric destruction of culture and of recalcitrant men, prominent in culture and the destruction of many thousands of towns and villages, the dislocation of economic life of nations and incal-

V. M. MOLOTOV

culable other calamities—all this cannot be

has saved European civilization in bloody battles with German fascism, with good reason reminds now the Governments of their responsibility for the future of peace-loving nations after the termination of this war. This is all the more necessary to do that before this war the warning voice of the Soviet Republic was not heard with due attention.

This is no time to explain at length why this happened. It cannot be proved that there was no desire to prevent the war. It has been fully proved, however, that the Governments which claimed once the leading part in Europe manifested their inability, if not their reluctance, to prevent the war, with the consequence of which it will be not so easy to cope.

LEAGUE OF NATIONS. FAILURE

The conference is called upon to lay the foundations of the future security of nations. This is a great problem which it has been thus far impossible to solve successfully. Anybody knows that the League of Nations in no way coped with this problem. It betrayed the hopes of those who believed in it.

It is obvious that no one wishes to restore the League of Nations with no rights and powers which did not interfere with any aggressor preparing for war against peace-loving nations and sometimes lulled outright the nations' vigilance with regard to impending aggression.

The prestige of the League of Nations was especially undermined whenever unceremonious attempts were made to turn it into a tool of various reactionary forces and privileged powers. If the sad lessons of the League of Nations have to be mentioned now, it is only in order that past errors may be avoided which must not be committed under the sign of new profuse promises.

It is impossible, however, to count indefinitely on the patience

out at Dumbarton Oaks last year, and which is well known to all of us, is an important contribution to this cause. Representatives of the United States of America, Great Britain, China and the Soviet Union worked out such principles of the international security organization as will constitute an important basis for the international organization of a new type.

Quite recently at the suggestion of the late great President Franklin Roosevelt, the Crimean conference made important supplements to this draft. As a result this conference has a sound basis for successful work.

Naturally, the new organization of international security will be built up on the foundation laid by the United Nations in this war.

COALITION FORMED IN STRUGGLE

It is well known that in Europe in the strenuous struggle against the common enemy a great coalition of democratic powers was found. The formation of the Anglo-Soviet-American coalition ensured the rout of German fascism and its henchmen. The other nations of Europe, led by this coalition, have been fighting for their liberation.

The coalition of great powers with their inflexible will to defend their national rights and to promote the liberation of all nations which fell victim to sanguinary aggression is consummating the task of defeating the enemy of all the United Nations.

This coalition could accomplish it because it was conscious of its historic responsibility and because it possessed immense manpower and material resources which were invariably used in the interests of the struggle against the enemy.

But we must always bear in mind that acquired prestige is easily wasted. If we forget certain elementary things such as the lessons of the League of Nations or the lessons of this war in which the democratic nations rallied against an imperial power which considered itself master of Europe and which intended to impose its will well-nigh on the whole world;

This coalition was forged in the fire of struggle and rendered a great service to the cause of the United Nations. It must be admitted that the presence in this coalition of such a country as the Soviet Union, where relations between great and small nations are based on equality and true democracy, is of extremely great importance.

On the other hand, it is impossible to overrate the active part played in this coalition by the United States of America, which formerly remained aloof from the problems of an international organization and which is now devoting to this cause its initiative and enormous international prestige.

This coalition would have been merely impossible without Great Britain which holds an important place in the international association of democratic countries. China in Asia and France in Europe are the great nations which strengthen this coalition as a powerful world factor in the postwar period as well.

If the leading democratic countries show their ability to act in harmony in the postwar period as well, that will mean that the interests of peace and security of nations have received at last a firm basis and protection. But that is not all.

The point at issue is whether other peace-loving nations are willing to rally around these leading powers to create an effective international security organization and this has to be settled at this conference in the interests of the future peace and security of nations.

An international organization must be created having certain powers to safeguard the interests of the general peace. This organization must have the necessary means for military protection of the security of nations.

MILITARY MEANS

Only if conditions are created such as will guarantee that no violation of the peace or the threat of such a violation shall go unpunished, and the adoption of necessary punitive measures is not too late, will the organization of security be able to discharge its responsibility for the cause of peace.

Thus the point at issue is the creation of an effective organization to protect the general peace and security of nations, for which all the sincere partisans of the peaceful development of nations have long been striving but which has always had numerous irreconcilable enemies in the camp of the most aggressive imperialists.

After innumerable sacrifices borne in this war and after suffering and hardships experienced in these past years, the urge of nations for the establishment of such an organization is especially strong. The opponents of the creation of such an international organization have not laid down their arms. They are carrying on their subversive activities even now, though in most cases they are doing it in a latent and veiled form.

For this purpose they frequently use ostensibly the most democratic watchwords and arguments, including the professed protection of the interests of small nations or of the principles of the equity and equality of nations.

But in the end it is not important what reasons or pretexts have been used to disrupt the establishment of an effective organization of the security of nations. If even now no such effective organization is created to protect the postwar peace, this will be another indication of the inability to cope with this great problem by means of the forces available.

But that will not prove that the necessity for such an organization has not yet arisen and that such an organization will not be set up ultimately.

We must not minimize the difficulties involved in the establishment of the international security organization. With eyes closed we shall not be able to find the road. We must warn of these difficulties in order to overcome them and avoid illusions to find at last a reliable road to march along toward the achievement of this noble objective.

As far as the Soviet Union is concerned, I should like to assure the conference at this time that in our country the whole people are brought up in the spirit of faith in and devotion to the cause of setting up a solid organization of international security. I should like also to assure the conference that the Soviet people will readily listen to the voice, wishes and suggestions of all the sincere friends of this great cause among the nations of the world.

You know that there are millions of people in the Soviet Union who know how to defend to the last with arms in hand their motherland. At the same time it is especially in our country of Soviets that the people are devoted with all their hearts to the cause of the establishment of a durable general peace and are willing to support with all their forces the efforts of other nations to create a reliable organization of peace and security of nations.

You must definitely know that the Soviet Union can be relied upon on the matter of safeguarding the peace and security of nations. This great cause is inflexibly backed by our peace-loving people, Soviet Government and the Red Army, our great Marshal Stalin. It is the most important task of the delegation of the Soviet Government to express these sentiments and thoughts of the Soviet people.

I conclude my speech by expressing my heartfelt wishes for our joint success in the work of the conference.

Francisco, for the cordial hospitality extended to my delegation at San Francisco.

The Soviet Government attaches a great importance to the international conference in San Francisco. The end of the war has drawn near at least in Europe. The rout of Hitler Germany, the principal aggressor in this war, has become a fact. The time has arrived to take care of the postwar period of the future.

This conference is called upon to consider the question of setting up an organization to protect the general peace and security of nations after the war. From this it can be seen how great is the responsibility resting upon this conference.

Today as well as on many other occasions we must remember the great name of President Franklin Roosevelt. His services in the struggle for the achievement of a lasting peace and in the preparation of this historic conference have met with a wide recognition among all the peace-loving nations.

The second World War by far exceeded the first World War in the magnitude of military operations and the size of the armies involved and in lives lost and in the unusually severe consequences for the life of many peoples.

Hitler Germany, which started this war, did not shrink from any crimes in trying to impose her domination on Europe and to pave the way to the world domination of German imperialism.

Mass murders of children, women and old men, the extermination of nations in their entirety, the wholesale destructions of peaceful citizens who were not to the liking of Fascists, the barbaric destruction of culture and of recalcitrant men, prominent in culture and the destruction of many thousands of towns and villages, the dislocation of economic life of nations and inchiculable losses—all this cannot be forgotten.

NAZI PREPARATIONS

In the past German fascism not only openly prepared its armies and armaments for a piratic attack on peaceful countries, but Hitlerism cynically adjusted the ideology of many millions of people in its country to the purposes of achieving domination over foreign nations. This purpose was also served by the illiterate misanthropic theories on "the German master-race" in whose service foreign nations were supposed to be.

Long before the direct atack on its neighbors, Hitlerism openly prepared a criminal war which it started at a moment of its own choosing. As is well known, Hitlerism found unscrupulous henchmen and sanguinary accomplices. It is also well known that when German fascism, which had made an easy tour of all Europe, invaded the Soviet Union it faced an unflinching adversary.

The country of Soviets, which [illegible] fascism, with good reason reminds now the Governments of their responsibility for the future of peace-loving nations after the termination of this war. This is all the more necesary to do that before this war the warning voice of the Soviet Republic was not heard with due attention.

This is no time to explain at length why this happened. It cannot be proved that there was no desire to prevent the war. It has been fully proved, however, that the Governments which claimed once the leading part in Europe manifested their inability, if not their reluctance, to prevent the war, with the consequence of which it will be not so easy to cope.

LEAGUE OF NATIONS FAILURE

The conference is called upon to lay the foundations of the future security of nations. This is a great problem which it has been thus far impossible to solve successfully. Anybody knows that the League of Nations in no way coped with this problem. It betrayed the hopes of those who believed in it.

It is obvious that no one wishes to restore the League of Nations with no rights and powers which did not interfere with any aggressor preparing for war against peace-loving nations and sometimes lulled outright the nations' vigilance with regard to impending aggression.

The prestige of the League of Nations was especially undermined whenever unceremonious attempts were made to turn it into a tool of various reactionary forces and privileged powers. If the sad lessons of the League of Nations have to be mentioned now, it is only in order that past errors may be avoided which must not be committed under the sign of new profuse promises.

It is impossible, however, to count indefinitely on the patience of nations if the governments manifest their inability to set up an international organization protecting the peaceful life of people, their families, their young generations against the horrors and hardships of new piratic imperialist wars.

SOVIET STAND

The Soviet Government are a sincere and firm champion of the establishment of a strong international organization of security. Whatever may depend upon them and their efforts in their common cause of the creation of such a postwar organization of peace and security of nations will be readily done by the Soviet Government.

We will full cooperate in the solution of this great problem with all the other governments genuinely devoted to this noble cause. We are confident that this historic aim will be achieved by joint effort of peace-loving nations in spite of all the obstacles in the way of its achievement.

The work which was carried in the strenuous struggle against the common enemy a great coalition of democratic powers was found. The formation of the Anglo-Soviet-American coalition ensured the rout of German fascism and its henchmen. The other nations of Europe, led by this coalition, have been fighting for their liberation.

The coalition of great powers with their inflexible will to defend their national rights and to promote the liberation of all nations which fell victim to sanguinary aggression is consummating the task of defeating the enemy of all the United Nations.

This coalition could accomplish it because it was conscious of its historic responsibility and because it possessed immense manpower and material resources which were invariably used in the interests of the struggle against the enemy.

But we must always bear in mind that acquired prestige is easily wasted. If we forget certain elementary things such as the lessons of the League of Nations or the lessons of this war in which the democratic nations rallied against an imperial power which considered itself master of Europe and which intended to impose its will well-nigh on the whole world.

This coalition was forged in the fire of struggle and rendered a great service to the cause of the United Nations. It must be admitted that the presence in this coalition of such a country as the Soviet Union, where relations between great and small nations are based on equality and true democracy, is of extremely great importance.

On the other hand, it is impossible to overrate the active part played in this coalition by the United States of America, which [illegible] leading powers to create an effective international security [illegible] ganization and this has to settled at this conference in interests of the future peace security of nations.

An international organiza must be created having ce powers to safeguard the terests of the general p This organization must have necessary means for mil protection of the security of tions.

MILITARY MEANS

Only if conditions are cre such as will guarantee tha violation of the peace of threat of such a violation go unpunished, and the ado of necessary punitive measur not too late, will the organiz of security be able to disch its responsibility for the peace.

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For this purpose they frel ly use ostensibly the most ocratic watchwords and

... allies approach the fabulous Nazi redoubt in the Bavarian Alps. The Yanks advance on Milan. The British have taken Bremen. Stettin has fallen to the Russians. Additional junctures are imminent in Austria and in the north of Germany.

The meeting of the Allied armies is a great military triumph. But it is also a political triumph, the triumph of the coalition strategy of the Soviet Union, Great Britain and the United States. This is what Roosevelt and Churchill and Stalin talked about at Teheran.

The Second Front

In a real sense the turning point of the war came when the second front was opened in France. For three long years the Soviet Union had borne the main brunt of the greatest offensive in all history. The Red Army fought and retreated, retreated hundreds of miles to Stalingrad, then made a stand, began the long march westward to Berlin. That was a climax in the war too.

But then the Americans and the British were hacking only at the periphery of Nazi power, preparing for the western front. Victory was not assured until Germany was gripped in the giant pincers of two-front war. Here was the real evidence of Allied unity. From that point on, Hitler's only hope became to split the unity of the Big Three. This he was not able to.

It was the unity of the Big Three that made the juncture at Torgau possible, that assured the winning of the war. It is the same unity which will assure the winning of the peace. That was why the foreign ministers of the major powers speaking from San Francisco, and particularly Soviet Foreign Minister Molotov, emphasized the need for maintaining the unity of the Big Three.

The juncture on the battlefronts is an accomplished fact. Now the job is to achieve an equal joining of will and purpose on the political front, to prevent Germany from ever again becoming a major military power, to form a security organization which means business.

Nazi Maneuvers

Only this complete political juncture can thwart the scheming of the Nazis and their friends, their accomplices and their dupes, for a soft peace, can interrupt forever their dream of breaking the unity of the Big Three.

— Between the Lines —

Perspectives on San Francisco

by Joseph Starobin

SAN FRANCISCO.

IT WAS quite a trip on our trans-continental train. The dramatic contrasts between the wastes of Nevada and the lush, green fields of California, following upon the snow-swept pines of the Sierras was exciting even for the most hardboiled passengers. And the contrasts between the personalities of the correspondents aboard our special train were equally dramatic. A whole world-war - torn and apprehensive — was travelling westwards. It would have to travel unitely after San Francisco. And that was the question on every mind, would we all travel together?

One Canadian lady seemed to think it was a convention of the Elks. After three days of discussion, she suddenly asked one of my friends: "Tell me, frankly just what is the Dumbarton Oaks that everybody's talking about?" You may laugh at this lady. You may marvel at her abysmal ignorance of the great powers which will determine the success of the future world organization.

This conference will succeed in writing a charter for the world security body and that charter, I believe will follow quite closely the patterns of Dumbarton Oaks. I have no doubt of that, and in this respect, the conference will be a success. It is also true that if this conference now reflects the unsolved problems of world politics, the very fact that an organization will be formed, will help to solve these problems.

Nevertheless, the fact stares us in the face that there are forty-six flags on the dais of the Opera House here, and there should be forty-seven flags. The Polish Eagle is missing. Is it missing from Poland? No, the Polish people have a government. It is representative of the progressive wings of their traditional political parties. It is not a Soviet Government, not a puppet government. And we must never let this fact escape us, no matter how much our press disregards the truth. Was there an agreement about Poland at Yalta? Yes, there was. A new government was to be formed on the basis of the existing provisional government in Poland, and it was to be invited to San Francisco. Then why are the Polish people unrepresented?

New Kind Of Poland

It is impossible to escape the conclusion that the Polish people are being penalized because their country was not only liberated by the Red Army, but also insists upon becoming a new kind of Poland.

The attempt to abandon the Yalta formula is, therefore, a most serious matter. It means an attempt to prevent the Polish nation from taking over Silesia and East Prussia and so permanently weakening Germany. It is an attempt to put politicians like Mikolajczyk into a post to which they have no claims by their own records. Like Mikolajczyk they are known to oppose territorial reparations from Germany. It is an attempt to upset the fraternity of the Slav peoples. What are the Czechs and Slovaks or the Yugoslavs at San Francisco to think when they, who have normal diplomatic relations with the Warsaw government, find that their position is unpopular with two of their great allies?

And one final question. If the great powers agree on something in February and fail to agree by April, then the whole functioning of the proposed security organization council is endangered.

Poland the Link To Peace

I am no pessimist on this problem. But I think we must be very clear as to its gravity. And we must realize that Poland is the link between the Dumbarton Oaks and the peace itself. The absence of Poland tells us that, while we will have an organization to prevent aggression, it will work only if the great powers fully and finally agree that Europe is going to be democratic, and the days of an anti-Soviet Europe are past. When Poland's democratic government is recognized and seated — perhaps with apologies—we shall know that the organization being established here will actually work.

— Worth Repeating —

REACTIONARY POLISH LEADERS, now guiding the London Poles, were responsible for the lack of progress in Poland, declares Lt. Com. Charles S. Seely, U. S. Navy (retired), in the April 23 issue of We, the People Protest, of Sullivan, Ind., in which Seely says:

These leaders were so intent on saving the old system that they made laws which prohibited the Polish peasants from even looking toward the Russian border! They did not want the Polish peasants, whose cows and even wives were pulling wooden plowpoints, to see the Russian tractors which were pulling 20 plows. . . .

For her security, advancement and general well-being Poland needed above all else close cooperation with Russia. She now has this, and it is beyond the bound of probability that there is any power in Europe capable of breaking this tie. Certainly no Pole who has the welfare of his country at heart will attempt to weaken Polish-Russian friendship.

RUSSIAN ISSUES OUT

Plea for 4 Chairmen Won but Stettinius Will Head Vital Committees

EQUALITY CALLED AIM

Heads of 14 Delegations Are Named as Members of Executive Group

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

SAN FRANCISCO, April 27—The United Nations Conference on International Organization today accepted two of the three requests put before it by Soviet Russia, and rejected the third.

First, the delegates of the forty-six nations gathered here to establish an international security organization accepted Russia's request that there should be four presidents of the conference, Edward R. Stettinius Jr., American Secretary of State; Vyacheslaff M. Molotoff, Russian Foreign Commissar; Anthony Eden, British Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, and T. V. Soong, Chinese Foreign Minister.

They agreed, however, that while the four presidents would preside in turn over the plenary sessions of the conference, the four presidents would delegate to Mr. Stettinius the chairmanship of the Executive and Steering Committees of the conference.

Second, they accepted Marshal Stalin's proposal that two of the sixteen Soviet Republics, White Russia and the Ukraine, should become initial voting members of the new world security organization.

Third, they rejected Russia's request, made publicly in Moscow, and brought up privately but not pressed here, that the present Polish Provisional Government of Warsaw (classed as the Lublin regime) be allowed to attend the conference. Instead, the conference passed a resolution expressing the hope that Poland would be represented at the conference as soon as the present difficulties over the reconstituting of the Polish Government were resolved.

Reply on Poland Drafted

On this latter point there was one important development. Marshal Stalin's reply to the report he received on the conversations which took place with President Harry S. Truman and the Foreign Ministers of "the Big Three" in Washington several days ago has been received and studied here. It does not, in the opinion of those members of the American and British delegations who have seen it, change the basic issue over the expansion of the Warsaw Government to include "democratic elements" from inside and outside Poland.

A reply to Marshal Stalin's note has been drafted here and has been approved by Washington and sent to London for Prime Minister Churchill's observations. It will be sent to Moscow, probably this week-end. In the meanwhile, the deadlock continues.

It is generally admitted here that Mr. Molotoff received approval on the two issues on which he insisted. He wished to establish two principles and made this clear to the heads of the delegations:

First, he wanted to establish the principle of equality among the four sponsor powers running the conference; second, he desired to establish the principle that the Soviet Republics were independent entities with the right to sit and vote at international conferences. These two principles were accepted in this afternoon's plenary session at the Opera House without a dissenting voice.

Mr. Molotoff did not press at this morning's meeting for the entrance of representatives of the present Warsaw government into the conference. It was left to the Czechoslovak Foreign Minister,

Continued on Page 10, Column 3

Russia

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This is a clipping from page 1 of the New York Times for April 28, 1945
Clipped at the Seat of Government.

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Continued From Page 1

Jan Masaryk, to note "the vacant Polish seat," and to Paul Henri Spaak, the Belgian Foreign Minister, to discuss it.

Polish Issue Not Pressed

This comparative silence by the Russians on the Polish question did not seem to have surprised the leading delegates, however, for the Russians had indicated to them, after yesterday's stormy session over the presidency, that if the steering committee agreed to the "four presidents," and approved the entrance of White Russia and the Ukraine into the new league, Mr. Molotoff would not insist on pressing the Polish issue.

The Steering Committee meeting this morning was more orderly than yesterday's. The Russians allowed it to be known early that they would not stand out against the "Eden formula" for solving the presidency dispute, provided the formula were modified slightly.

Yesterday, the Russians insisted that there should be only one announcement: that there would be four presidents of the conference. Mr. Molotoff said then that he had "no objection" to Mr. Stettinius sitting as chairman of the Steering and Executive Committees but wanted that announcement made later.

When it was decided, however, that the major announcement should be that there would be four presidents and that they would "delegate" their powers to Mr. Stettinius in the committee meetings—rather than merely making him chairman of the two major committees—the Russians agreed.

The official statement on the presidency question was as follows:

"The meeting recommends that there be four presidents, who will preside in rotation at the plenary from time to time, with Mr. Stettinius presiding over these meetings and Mr. Stettinius to be chairman of the Executive and Steering Committees, the three others delegating full powers to Mr. Stettinius for conducting the business of the conference."

It is apparent that the silent unanimity with which the conference assented to all decisions of the Steering Committee this afternoon is not wholly in keeping with the private comments of the delegates about the issues involved.

They have no objections to recognizing the services of White Russia and the Ukraine in the war, but they are concerned lest this precedent of giving voting places to two States which are not wholly sovereign and independent should lead to future requests that these, and perhaps all sixteen of the Soviet Republics, might demand, on the basis of today's precedent, that they receive places in international conferences.

Similarly, he delegates have no objection to accepting the principle that the four sponsor countries have equal power in the conference and in the new league which they are trying to create, but the tactics of the Russian delegation yesterday, and the success of their tactics today, have left many delegates with the impression that the Russians are determined to impose a big-power domination on the rest of the members of the new league.

The reasons for Russia's action yesterday on the presidency of the conference are a little clearer tonight. They have now let it be known to at least the heads of one or two delegations that they were trying to make clear that they did not want to carry into the new leage the habits, or even some of the courtesies, of the old League of Nations and other past international conferences.

Yalta Chairmanship Cited

The League of Nations Covenant was accepted unanimously at Paris twenty-six years ago today. The Russians were not here. They were kept out of the League for a long time, they insist, by the operations of the British and the French. They want now to demonstrate this this new League is going to be different from the old, that they are going to be equal partners.

Therefore, they say, they insisted on the principle of equality for themselves with the other sponsor powers by demanding immediately that the conference recognize four presidents.

The Russians make two points about this. The late President Roosevelt, they assert, was chairman at the Yalta Conference. In that case, the old courtesies were shelved and, therefore, they say, they do not understand all the shouting about yesterday's proceedings. Furthermore, they add (and this is confirmed by our delegates) they brought up the question of the four presidents before they arrived here and it should not, therefore, they add, have been any surprise to Mr. Stettinius or Mr. Eden.

The Steering Committee agreed this morning upon fourteen members for the Executive Committee of the Conference, approved a proposal to close amendments to the Dumbarton Oaks proposals at the end of next week, confirmed Alger Hiss of the State Department as Secretary General, and named Guillermo B. Ramirez, Cuban Ambassador in Washington, as rapporteur.

The membership of the Executive Committee is interesting as an indication of the way in which the United Nations might select the membership of the important Security Council in the new league. The members are the heads of delegations from the United States, Soviet Russia, Great Britain, China, France, the five so-called "permanent members" of the proposed Security Council; and Brazil, Canada, Australia, Czechoslovakia, the Netherlands, Mexico, Yugoslavia, Iran and Chile.

FILE

REDS SEE PARLEY SUCCESS

Tass Agency Says Good-Will Can Overcome All Difficulties

The Soviet Tass Agency reported yesterday an article in the Army newspaper Red Star insisting that good-will could overcome whatever differences arose among the powers attending the San Francisco Conference.

The Tass review, transmitted in English to North America and recorded by the Federal Communications Commission, said that the Red Star writer, Prof. A. S. Yerusalimsky, had pointed out that German plans to dominate the world were being buried under the ruins of Berlin.

"These plans should not be allowed to come back to life," Tass continued. "The San Francisco Conference is of great importance in this respect. It opened under good omens when the war against Hitler entered the last phase.

"Certain differences among powers are no obstacle to an agreement provided there is good-will to eliminate them."

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RECORDED
27 MAY 1 1945

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Date April 28, 1945
Clipped at the Seat of Government

57 MAY 1 8 1945

RUSSIA'S THREE VOTES

Near the head of the list of problems to be met at San Francisco is Russia's claim for three votes in the Assembly of the new league of nations. In our own judgment this claim needlessly complicates the already complex business of the conference, but we see no reason to believe that it raises an issue so fundamental or so crucial as to jeopardize the success of the work which the conference has undertaken.

The precise nature of the Russian proposal is of course clearly understood at San Francisco, but there still seems to be much misunderstanding about it in some public discussion of the question, and in some sections of Congress. Those who are most excited about the issue seem to think that Russia is asking for three votes, as against our one, in that agency of the new league which will have the effective power of decision in all matters relating to the use of force, or of methods short of the use of force, to prevent aggression. This is not the case at all. Under the plan agreed upon at Dumbarton Oaks, the plan which is now before the conference at San Francisco, the power of decision in all these matters would rest in the hands of the proposed new Security Council. Russia is not asking, and has never asked, for three votes in the Security Council. Russia is quite content to have one vote there—with one for the United States, one for Britain, one for China and one for France, and one each for six additional countries to be chosen on a non-permanent basis by the whole family of the United Nations. What Russia is asking is *not* three votes in the Security Council, but three votes in the *Assembly*.

And what are the powers of the Assembly, of which all forty-six of the nations now represented at San Francisco will be members? Under the Dumbarton Oaks proposals the Assembly would have no power whatever to decide whether force, or even methods short of force, should be used to prevent aggression. The Assembly would be, for the most part, an advisory agency. It would have power "to consider the general principles of cooperation"; to "discuss" any questions pertinent to the maintenance of peace and order; to "initiate studies" and to "make recommendations" to the Security Council. But there its authority would end. It would not hold in its own hands the power to make decisions regarding action to prevent aggression. And it follows, therefore, that, so far as such action is concerned, it would make no real difference in the operation of the new league whether Russia had three votes, or three times three, in the Assembly. Russia's three would still be a tiny minority in a total vote of forty-six (and ultimately more), in a largely consultative Assembly which lacks the decision-making power of the smaller Council.

The Russians feel, apparently, that with their enormous population, area and resources they are entitled to more than the one vote in the Assembly which will go automatically to Ethiopia and to Liberia and to other little nations. There is no doubt that they pull more weight, and will continue to pull more weight, than these small members of the family. But this is also true of other major Powers, to each of whom has been allotted only a single vote in the Assembly, on the general principle that this larger and more democratic branch of the new league should consist of representatives of equally sovereign states.

The Russian proposal is, specifically, that the White Russian Republic and Ukrainia should be given votes in the Assembly, as well as the Soviet Republic. There would be no problem here at all if the White Russian Republic and Ukrainia were generally recognized as independent states with their own ambassadors abroad. But that is not the case. Neither of these states is, for example, a signatory of the Atlantic Charter. Both Ethiopia and Liberia are.

Perhaps the solution of the problem is the recognition of the grant of a larger measure of autonomy to the White Russian Republic and Ukrainia in matters of foreign policy. In any event, we may be sure that our own delegation will stand by the commitment made by Mr. Roosevelt at Yalta to support the Russian claim if it is pressed. We may also be sure that while the raising of the issue is unfortunate, in the sense that it exaggerates out of all true proportion the factor of voting power in the Assembly, and the whole business of "voting" in all its aspects, there is nothing here that is basic enough or troublesome enough to wreck, or even to halt, the work of the conference.

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This is a clipping from page 18 of the New York Times for April 27, 1945
Clipped at the Seat of Government.

Transcript Of Molotoff Interview

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

SAN FRANCISCO, April 26—Here is a stenographic transcript of Foreign Minister Molotoff's interview with the press this afternoon:

Molotoff—I apologize for being late. I deem it necessary to see the correspondents from the American and foreign newspapers before the conference opens its procedures. I should like to introduce to you the members of the Soviet delegation, who will appear here in full representation shortly. You are probably interested to learn the Soviet attitude on certain questions at the conference. At the plenary session of the conference today I shall have the opportunity of setting forth the Soviet attitude. The Chinese delegation will be first, then I will take the floor and I hope I will fulfill my mission. I hope this will facilitate it. If there are any questions, I am ready to give you my answers.

Q—Would Mr. Molotoff explain in as simple terms as possible the Russian attitude toward the Polish question?

Molotoff—The Polish question? Are there any more questions? (Laughter.) It will give me great pleasure to reply to the question put to me, all the more so because it presents no difficulties to me. The present conference does not discuss the Polish question. Nevertheless, the question which has been put forward is of great interest and I should like to reply to it.

We shall carry out and insure the solution of the Polish question. Is this answer clear to you? (Laughter and shouts of no.) Then I should like to ask you to get familiar with the Crimean Conference action on this question. I may assure you that the Government of the Soviet Union, the United States and Great Britain are doing all in their power to assure a solution of this question. But it is so important, especially to the Soviet Union, that we shall give all our efforts to the solution.

It must not be done without consulting the Poles. (Laughter.) I think it is not possible at all to settle the Poles without the Poles.

Three Votes "a Minimum"

Q—May I ask Mr. Molotoff the reason why his Government has asked for only three votes at the conference instead of sixteen votes?

Molotoff—We ask for a minimum. (Laughter.) We have sixteen republics, of which only the Ukraine and White Russia play a direct, important part in this war. And no one can deny that they deserve to have a part in this conference.

At least at the Crimean Conference the great American President, Franklin Delano Roosevelt, has said so, just as well as the Prime Minister of Great Britain, Mr. Churchill. I am confident that both the attitudes of the American and British Governments remain unchanged. It is only just to do that for the Ukraine and White Russia in exchange for the services they have made for the war.

Million Parley Stamps Sold on First Day of Issue

By The Associated Press.

SAN FRANCISCO, April 26—Postoffice officials estimated today that more than 1,000,000 postage stamps commemorating the opening of the United Nations Conference were sold here on the first day of issue.

The five-cent blue stamps, the first issue of which will go to the Franklin D. Roosevelt stamp collection, were in hot demand at the conference headquarters.

At least 20,000 were bought from a quickly constructed wooden booth in the lobby of the Veterans Memorial Building there. A weary clerk said:

"We started selling them over the carpenter's head at 8:30 in the morning and we never stopped all day."

Herbert S. Chamberlain, departmental representative on philatelic mail, came here from Washington to help conduct the sale. It was he who estimated the sale at beyond 1,000,000 stamps. In addition, 200,000 covers were sold, he said.

These covers, prized by stamp collectors, bore as many as ten of the stamps. They, like any other envelopes mailed yesterday from San Francisco with the new stamp, will bear cancellations showing their "first day of issue" status.

Q.—Does Mr. Molotoff believe that these two republics might be present in San Francisco?

Molotoff—I believe that it will happen.

Q.—President Truman and some others have expressed the idea that the alternative to the success of this conference is international chaos. Does Mr. Molotoff agree with this?

Molotoff—Agree to what?

Q.—Does Mr. Molotoff believe that unless this conference is successful, international chaos will result?

Molotoff—I shall reply to this question by making my speech at the conference today. My speech will provide a more comprehensive answer to your question than it is possible to do now with so little time before the conference.

Q.—Does the Soviet Union favor the location of the United Nations (interruption by another questioner)—United Nations headquarters in any particular country?

Molotoff—This question is not to be discussed at this conference. There are many fine places.

Q.—How soon does Mr. Molotoff think Germany will collapse?

Molotoff—I think that the resistance of Germany is nearly at its end.

Shift to Polish Question

Q.—You mentioned difficulties lying before the settlement of the Polish question. What are these difficulties?

Molotoff—I have not referred to any of the difficulties in this question, but really there are several.

Q.—Can we know them?

Molotoff—These difficulties are inovlved in the question of recognizing the provisional Polish Government. On this question the Polish Government and prominent Polish leaders themselves should be consulted.

Q.—Does that mean Mr. Molotoff plans to establish a more democratic government for the Poles?

Molotoff—What I want to say is that a new Polish Government is to be established according to the Crimean Conference.

Q.—Can these difficulties be overcome?

Molotoff—I have no doubt that thees difficulties can and will be overcome. The new relations which are being established now, I am confident will overcome any difficulties.

Q.—Can Mr. Molotoff say whether the Soviet delegation will be agreeable to making fundamental amendments in the Dumbarton Oaks agreement, or does he hold that it is a closed agreement not subject to amendment?

Molotoff—If there were not intended to make any amendments to the Dumbarton Oaks agreement, there would be no use in having this conference. (Laughter and applause.)

Q—Does Mr. Molotoff believe the Polish Government will be represented at San Francisco?

Molotoff—I am very anxious to have them represented.

Q—Is there any great difference regarding this question between the Soviet Union, Great Britain and the United States?

Asks "to Wind Up" Subject

Molotoff—Are there any more questions relating to the Polish question, so that I may be able to wind up that question?

Q—Does Mr. Molotoff agree that all meetings of the Polish commission be held in Warsaw and not in Moscow or other parts of Poland?

Molotoff—Generally speaking, the commission has not always been held there. I have already said that we cannot settle the Polish question without the Poles.

Q—How far have agreements made at Yalta progressed toward agreement between the Poles themselves?

Molotoff—Rather a complicated question, but relations among Polish factions are progressing.

Q—Have negotiations between the Polish factions actually begun at all?

Molotoff—Not between the Poles and the Poles, but between the commission and the Polish factions.

Q—I would like to know whether the famous Russian drink is pronounced "wodka" or "vodka," and if it is safe for Americans to drink it without internal danger?

Molotoff—I like your accent. (Laughter). Permit me to take leave.

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N. Y. Times
April 27, 1945
p. 14

SOVIET PAPER URGES TRUST OF BIG ALLIES

Smaller Countries Must Cooperate to Make Parley a Success, Red Star Asserts

The Russian Army newspaper, Red Star, said yesterday that the Soviet delegates at San Francisco would work for the strengthening of universal peace, collective security and the co-existence of nations and asserted that the Dumbarton Oaks plan had "shortcomings" and "undoubtedly some omissions which must be filled in and supplemented."

The Red Star article, which was written by Prof. Eugene Korovin, an authority on international law, said that success of the conference depended principally on the fulfillment of their obligations and continued collaboration by the great powers as well as the cooperation and trust of the other participants.

Tass, Soviet news agency, broadcast the article in English to the United States. The text of the transmission, which was recorded by the Federal Communications Commission, was as follows:

"No wonder that reactionaries of all shades, who prefer any deal with the aggressor to collaboration with the Soviet Union, any political gamble to consolidation with the Soviet Union, any political gamble to consolidation of democracy, fear that reconstruction of international relations on new principles which find expression in the formation of an international security organization will lead to corresponding reconstruction of internal relations in their respective States.

Says Riddle Is Explained

"This explains the riddle to the 'peaceable dispositions' of these gentlemen toward fascist Germany, the secret of their 'Christian' feelings for the Nazi bandits and their venal hissing against international organization.

"But objective factors show, Korovin emphasizes, that the plan of international organization has the sympathies of the broadest sections of the population in the Allied countries.

"The most diverse trends of social and political thought in the countries of the anti-Hitler coalition agree on the question of supporting this organization.

"A positive attitude toward a future international security organization, the author says, in no way means that there is anything sacrosanct about a draft of its covenant. It has shortcomings of an editorial character and undoubtedly some omissions which must be filled in and supplemented. An example of this are questions of structure and the competency of an international court whose covenant has not been discussed either in Dumbarton Oaks or in the Crimea. The question of admittance to and withdrawal from the international organization and some other questions must be defined more precisely.

"The San Francisco Conference gathers at a highly important historical moment, at a time when the Red Army, crowned with the laurel wreath of victories, crushes German resistance in their capital, Berlin, when gallant Allied troops penetrated deep into Germany, when German fascism is living through its last days and the dawn of final victory rises over the world.

Task Is Called Lofty

"A lofty and noble task confronts the San Francisco Conference. The whole of progressive and peace-loving mankind eagerly and with hope is awaiting the fruits of its work. The success and effectiveness of its results depend essentially upon two factors. Firstly, on the firm determination of the great Allied powers to fulfill all their undertakings and preserve a fighting unity and collaboration which will insure the defeat of Hitler Germany and of the European bloc she mustered, which can insure to humanity the broadest prospects of spiritual and material progress in times of peace.

"Secondly, they depend on close collaboration and mutual trust between other participants of the conference as well as their readiness to bring their national aims and interests into harmony with the interests of all the peace-loving powers.

"In the course of the twenty-seven years of its existence, the Soviet Government invariably fought for strengthening of universal peace, friendly co-existence of nations, for rebuff to war mongers and for collective security.

"It will defend these main principles of its foreign policy also at the San Francisco Conference of the United Nations. These principles reflect the cherished dreams of many millions of people in all counties which have united in the name of democratic ideals of peaceful labor and of insuring every man and women on earth a truly human existence."

Lewis Attacked in Article

MOSCOW, April 25 (U.P.)—In his article, Professor Korovin attacked John L. Lewis, United Mine Workers' leader, as one of the "harsh critics of international organization among reactionary, trade union bureaucrats, the American Federation of Labor and individual so-called independent unions." He added:

"One from the latter, John Lewis, is apparently independent only of common sense and even compared international organization with Hitler's new order."

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This is a clipping from page 3 of the New York Times for April 26, 1945
Clipped at the Seat of Government.

RUSSO-LUBLIN PACT OPPOSED BY BRITISH

Government Vainly Urged Its Delay Until After Talks of Eden and Molotoff

By CLIFTON DANIEL

By Wireless to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

LONDON, April 25—The British Government is understood to have requested the Soviet Government to postpone signing the recent alliance with the Polish Provisional Government in Warsaw, but to no avail.

When London learned that the treaty was in prospect, the Government asked that it be delayed until Anthony Eden, Foreign Secretary, could confer with Vyacheslaff M. Molotoff, Soviet Foreign Commissar, in Washington. It was then hoped that the two men, with President Truman and Secretary Stettinius, could reach agreement on the Government of Poland before the San Francisco Conference.

Following failure of the Washington conversations, all comment here makes it clear that the British Government is standing shoulder to shoulder with the American Government on the issue and that the two have no intention of yielding further to Soviet arguments.

The impression has been gained the Mr. Molotoff was equally adamant and for that reason the outlook for early agreement was exceedingly gloomy. The only hope held here is that Mr. Molotoff will receive instructions from Moscow to take a new tack.

British opinion shares the feeling that lack of agreement on Poland is an unhappy augury for the United Nations Conference. It is hoped that the shadow of disagreement will be lifted before the conference is very old, but there is no disposition here to make further concessions merely for the appearance of agreement.

It is felt that the intent of the Yalta agreement on Poland was clearly understood by everyone concerned in framing it and that the Soviet contention that the Warsaw provisional government should have the right to a veto on Polish leaders nominated by the British and American Governments for inclusion in the unified regime was by no means valid.

The British and American representatives opposed this interpretation when it was first presented before the commission of three in Moscow and have consistently continued to do so. They show no disposition to abandon that position now.

The signing of the Russo-Polish alliance is regarded as an attempt to force the issue upon British and American Governments.

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This is a clipping from page 3 of the New York Times for April 26, 1945

Clipped at the Seat of Government.

RUSSIAN LEADERS HONOR ROOSEVELT

Members of Supreme Soviet Stand for Minute in Silence —'Great Friend' Eulogized

By C. L. SULZBERGER

By Cable to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

MOSCOW, April 24—The Supreme Soviet of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics met tonight in its eleventh session, the first wartime gathering with the entire and free from Axis invading forces, and the delegates, including Premier Stalin and his presidium, heard an unprecedented tribute to President Roosevelt and then rose to honor him.

Almost immediately after the three minutes of applause following Premier Stalin's entrance in a fawn colored uniform bearing the Decoration of Hero of Soviet Toil, Nikolai Shvernik, chairman of the Supreme Soviet's Council of Nationalities, read a tribute to President Roosevelt. He said the Soviet people would always honor him.

"Let us insure that in future the friendship between our peoples will stand as a memorial," he added and then called on the delegates to rise in tribute. This testimonial had no precedent in Soviet history.

Led by Premier Stalin all the Deputies, including Russian generals, Uzbek women swathed in scarves, Khirgiz men in skullcaps, and representatives of liberated areas in the Baltic and the western Ukraine, stood in silence for a minute with bowed heads.

The delegates had gathered with diplomates, correspondents and distinguished visitors at 7 P. M. but the opening was postponed for one hour so everyone flocked to the buffet for drinks of lemon pop.

Meeting in Great Hall

The meeting began a few minutes before eight in the huge St. Andregeff Hall of the Kremlin's Great Palace, which is about the size of ten tennis courts with a white ceiling arched above cream colored walls.

The deputies sat on brown chairs with small desks equipped with radio earphones. On each desk were copies of the new budget and the agenda.

Most of the dignitaries were sitting on the raised stage behind the speakers' platform when at 8 o'clock Premier Stalin strode in, followed by high members of the Council of Commissars. All in the hall rose, clapping, while Premier Stalin faced slowly from one side of the room to the other.

Then the Premier sat at the rear of the group of dignitaries, almost at the feet of a large statue of Lenin, set in a niche behind the platform, and the session commenced with Mr. Shvernik's speech. Correspondents began scribbling away and trading translations of the proceedings.

Arseny Gregorevitch Zvereff, Finance Commissar, then read his budget report on 1943 and 1944 expenditures and estimates for 1945. After a few moments the report seemed to bore Premier Stalin, so he shifted his seat and chatted with an old Army friend.

Mr. Zvereff said the Soviet economic system had proved superior to the Germans and stressed that this was due to Premier Stalin's leadership. The statement was loudly applauded. He then emphasized that heavy expenses were still to be met at the front and to reconstruct liberated regions and further develop the Soviet economic system.

He said that although 263,830,000,000 rubles were expended in 1944, including 137,850,000,000 for national defense, the U. S. S. R. had emerged from that trying year with a surplus of 5,019,000,000 rubles.

Mr. Zvereff reported that income for 1944 included 37,170,000,000 rubles from taxes, 29,000,000,000 from defense loans and 5,190,000,000 from state lotteries.

For 1945 he estimated expenditures at 305,252,000,000 rubles, which will include heavy defense reconstruction and industrialization outlays.

Tribute to Roosevelt

MOSCOW, April 24 (UP)—Nikolai Shvernik in his tribute to President Roosevelt before the Supreme Soviet said:

"The Soviet people are sorrowed by the loss. The American people and the United Nations have lost a great statesman and one of the nations' heralds of international security. The President's death was a great loss for the United Nations.

"He was a great friend of the Soviet Union, beginning with the establishment of normal relations and ending with the struggle against the common foe.

"The Soviet people will always cherish the memory of a great fighter for freedom and international security. The Soviet people are confident that the cause for which Roosevelt gave his life will flourish."

Waste fats make ammunition. Save them for your country. Give them to your butcher and he will give you red points in return.

This is a clipping from page 7 of the New York Times for April 25, 1945

Clipped at the Seat of Government,

60 MAY 15 1945

Molotov Arrives in Frisco, Stirs Excited Speculation

Russian Diplomat Will Keep in Direct Contact With Stalin Via Own Radio

By WILLARD EDWARDS

SAN FRANCISCO, April 24 (C.T.P.S.).—A plump-cheeked, bespectacled man of deceptively mild appearance stepped off a plane here this afternoon and immediately became the center of excited speculation at the World Security Conference.

He bore the name of Molotov, a name he took in his revolutionary youth from the Russian word "Molot," meaning hammer. His surname also is linked with the "Molotov cocktail," a bottle filled with gasoline which Soviet soldiers threw into German tanks before the gates of Moscow.

An Explosive Career

These two word associations typify the hard and sometimes explosive career of Viacheslav Michaelovich Molotov, born Scriabin, the Soviet Commissar of Foreign Affairs who is here as the head of the Russian delegation.

Actually Molotov is the delegation. The other members of the delegation, with the exception of Soviet Ambassador Andrei Gromyko, who was originally selected as the chairman before President Truman personally requested Marshal Stalin to send his chief foreign minister as had been agreed at Yalta, are practically unknown outside their own country.

This fact was vividly made clear when an attempt was made to secure information about the seven delegates. None were listed in the International Who's Who or Europa, its European counterpart. The bureau manager of Tass, the Russian news agency, was either reluctant or unable to furnish any biographical data about them. A State Department spokesman said the information would be available when a certain trunk could be located and unlocked.

Headquarters Silent

The same mysterious silence was encountered at the headquarters of the Soviet delegation which occupies an entire floor of the fashionable St. Francis Hotel. While booted men and uniformed young men swept up and down the corridors amidst the excitement caused by the Molotov arrival, a press representative said he was unable to give any information pending approval from higher up.

The American public, therefore, will have to be temporarily satisfied with the official list of the delegates in addition to Molotov and Gromyko, which lists them as follows:

K. V. Novikov, head of foreign office British relations; S. K. Zarapkin, head of foreign office American relations; S. A. Golunsky, and S. F. Krylov, international affairs experts; A. A. Sovolev, Balkan expert; Lt. Gen. A. F. Vassiliev, and Vice Admiral K. K. Rodionov.

A One-Man Show

That all decisions of the delegation will be made by Molotov without much consultation with these subordinates is taken for granted. He is Stalin's most intimate friend and occupies living quarters in the Kremlin next to Stalin's. Through a powerful radio sending and receiving set on a Russian vessel anchored in the bay, Molotov will be in constant communication with his friend and chief.

Molotov is 55, speaks with a slight stammer, is an accomplished violinist, and is interested in literature and art. In the field of international diplomacy, he is esteemed as one of the masters.

He became a revolutionary in 1906 at the age of 16, joining the Bolshevist section of the social democratic party. He was exiled for two years at the age of 19, returned to enter the Polytechnic Institute of St. Petersburg in 1911. He joined the revolutionist organization and helped to found Pravda, now the official Soviet newspaper, in 1912. He became acquainted with Stalin and corresponded with Lenin, then abroad.

Worked With Stalin

He was exiled again in 1915 in Irkuktsk, escaped and returned to Petrograd, where he became a member of the central committee of the Communist party. With Stalin he was a member of the military revolution committee which organized the October, 1917, revolution.

Molotov did not become internationally known until 1939 when he became commissar for foreign affairs, but for 10 years before that he had been chairman of the Council of Peoples Commissars, the Russian equivalent of prime minister. He also worked in the investigations which culminated in the notorious 1937 treason trials.

Mr. Tolson ✓
Mr. E. A. Tamm ✓
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Coffey
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Ladd ✓
Mr. Nichols ✓
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Tracy
Mr. Carson
Mr. Egan
Mr. Hendon
Mr. Pennington
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Nease
Miss Gandy

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IRAN AND TURKEY RUSSIAN TARGETS

Moscow Press Finds 'Fascist Terror' and Anti-Soviet Activities Growing

By Wireless to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

MOSCOW, April 23—Russia's concern with Middle Eastern affairs, especially in the neighboring Moslem countries of Iran and Turkey, is strongly indicated by the amount of space given to recent developments by the local press.

During the past few days there has been a series of press reports complaining of inimical movements in Turkey. The latest was printed five days ago under the headline: "Fascist Activities Encouraged in Turkey." Considerable stir has been caused in the Moscow press by "terrorist activities" in Iran against the Tudeh party. Last autumn Russia was disturbed at Iran's refusal to grant oil concessions.

Only a few weeks ago Russia denounced her twenty-year treaty with Turkey and informed Ankara that she wanted a new and better one. In Iran the most prominent recent events reported here have been the following:

On March 20 the local press printed reports about "German fifth-columnists in Iran." On April 12 the press published reports of clashes between "rightist" elements financed by Said Zia ed Din, a former political émigré, and the Tudeh party. More reports of Said Zia ed Din's followers and their "terroristic activities" were printed yesterday.

All papers printed the news that the Iranian Government had resigned and a Tass report that "reactionary groups and newspapers are having to resort to lies and slanders in their struggle against the popular [Tudeh] party."

As far as Turkey goes, the local press has taken a strong attitude against what it considers Fascist activities. It has labeled Hussein Djahid Yalchin, well known journalist, as a sort of Abou ben Adhem among the current "Fascist beasts."

Izvestia recently discussed the results of the trials of the Grey Wolf Society's members, commenting that most of the accused had been acquitted and concluding that "it is difficult to comprehend the decision of the Turkish court, for it is known that pan-Turkism and all its ramifications are nothing but Turkish National Sosialists in direct contact with Berlin.

"The acquittal of the Turkish Hitlerites by the Ankara court hardly accords with the policy proclaimed by the Turkish authorities. * * * Turkish judges are not known for their leniency toward democratic elements. * * * It appears that in Turkey any Fascist rogue with a bit of money can indulge in vile attacks against a friendly neighboring State. * * * Attempts to protect Nazi seeds on Turkish soil are, to say the least, extremely suspicious."

This is a clipping from page 4 of the New York Times for April 24, 1945

Clipped at the Seat of Government.

COMRADE EHRENBURG OVERSIMPLIFIES

By G. Alexandrov

The following article was published in PRAVDA, *April 14:*

Krasnaya Zvezda on April 11, 1945, published an article by Ilya Ehrenburg, "Enough." Ehrenburg in this article deals with the current situation in Germany and with the reasons for the concentration of the German army on the Soviet-German front when at the same time the German armed forces in the West are being weakened.

Anybody who reads Ehrenburg's article carefully cannot help noting that his main theses are ill-considered and obviously mistaken. The reader cannot agree either with his description of Germany as "a huge gang" or with his explanation of the withdrawal of German-fascist troops from the Western Front and the concentration of all forces of the German army in the East.

Ehrenburg assures his readers that all Germans are the same and they will all be held responsible in equal measure for the crimes of the Hitlerites. It is stated in the article "Enough" that there is "a huge gang which is scattering and fleeing now that the time has come to answer for their deeds." It is also stated that in Germany they are all on the run, all scurrying and trampling on one another in their haste to get to the Swiss border."

There is no difficulty in showing that these assurances of Ehrenburg do not correspond with the facts. Everyone is now convinced, and this is particularly borne out by the experience of the past few months, that different Germans howl in different ways and behave differently. Some of them with doltish obstinacy continue with every means in their power to support fascism, the fascist party, the fascist state and the Hitler clique. Others prefer to refrain from active struggle on behalf of Hitlerism, and temporize or surrender. Some Germans zealously support fascism and the Hitler system, while others, disillusioned with the war and having lost hope of victory, have turned cold toward the "Fuehrer's" wild and crazy plans.

This may be said of the German army as well as of the civilian population. The corroding acid has eaten into the body of the German-fascist army. It is not surprising that while some German officers may be fighting for the cannibal system, others throw bombs at Hitler and his clique, or are trying to persuade the Germans to lay down their arms.

What is now happening in the German army and among the German population was long ago foreseen by Stalin. As far back as May, 1942, Stalin wrote: "The war has brought grave disillusionments, the loss of millions of lives, starvation and poverty to the German people. The end of the war is not in sight, but the reserves of Germany's manpower are giving out, oil and raw material stocks are giving out. The realization that Germany's defeat is inevitable is growing on the German people. It is becoming increasingly clear to the German people that the only way out of the present situation is to liberate Germany from the adventurist clique of Hitler and Goering."

The days of fascist intoxication in Germany are passing. The fools in Germany who are ready to sacrifice their heads uncomplainingly for Hitler and his criminal aims are growing fewer and fewer. German newspapers are compelled every day to report facts which are indicative of the rapid disintegration of the rear of the German fascist armies.

The other day, for example, the fascist newspaper *Front und Heimat* wrote that a large number of "opponents in principle" have arisen in Germany. And although the Gestapo has appealed to all "real Germans" to institute a "free hunt" against all such "opponents in principle," this is becoming less and less within the power of the ramified machinery of the Gestapo.

It is therefore clear that actually there is no united Germany and that the Germans are not all behaving the same way.

As we know, the Hitlerites, trying to save their skins and their criminal system as long as possible, are importunately striving to show, in defiance of the facts, that the entire German people are solidly rallied around them. The purpose of this clumsy demagogy is quite clear. The fascist state in Germany today has exhausted every real opportunity of holding its own in the World War it unleashed. The Hitlerites are spasmodically clinging to every slightest chance of prolonging the existence of the bloodthirsty and cannibal fascist system.

They are therefore untiringly hammering at one point, namely, that Germany's adversaries, the Armies of the United Nations, are determined to exterminate the German people and that therefore all of them must rise up and fight for the preservation of Germany. Goebbels, one of the chieftains of the piratical Hitler gang, recently wrote, "Participation in the war in one way or another is the obligation of all inhabitants of Germany without exception. . . ."

Four days ago the German radio broadcast an article by this same Goebbels which was printed in the fascist newspaper *Das Reich*, and in which he states, "We must stick out this battle in complete national unity and we must rally our ranks and see it through. We must not throw ourselves overboard in any storm. That is the commandment of the hour."

The central theme of the hullabaloo raised by the fascist press and radio is an appeal to remain united in these critical times for fascist Germany.

The question arises, why in the sixth year of war do the Hitlerites shriek so frantically about the necessity for the German people remaining united in the face of the danger threatening the fascist state? The reason is very simple. The Hitlerites are trying to tie up the fate of the entire German people and the entire German army with the fate of the fascist clique, and hope to draw upon certain additional forces with which to continue the criminal war, to delay the inevitable end, to win time for military, political and diplomatic maneuvers, and to postpone the hour of the freedom-loving nations' just trial of the bloodstained Nazi criminals.

However, as the facts eloquently show, the frantic appeals of the fascist press are of little help. The Hitler state is grow-

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ing weaker from day to day, the ranks of the Nazi Party are thinning, and of course there can be no question of any unity between the entire population of Germany and the ruling fascist clique. It is perfectly obvious that the Hitlerites would have had no need to appeal to Germany for unity and would not have worried about this unity if the fascist order were not violently bursting at the seams and if there were not so many individuals in Germany anxious to "throw themselves overboard", in other words, jump off the fascist wagon.

Such are the facts.

And from this it is clear why Ehrenburg is mistaken when in his article he represents the population of Germany as an integral whole.

Ehrenburg writes in his articles that there is no Germany, but only "a huge gang." If we admitted that Ehrenburg is right, then we should have to agree that the whole population of Germany must share the fate of the Hitler clique.

There is no need to say that Ehrenburg in this case does not reflect Soviet public opinion. In fulfilling its great liberation mission, the Red Army is fighting for the destruction of Hitler's army, Hitler's state and Hitler's government, but its purpose never was, nor is it now, to exterminate the German people. That would be stupid and senseless.

When the Hitlerites falsify the position of our troops and our State and cry that the Red Army is out to destroy all Germans to a man, that is understandable. The ruling fascist clique is trying to exploit this lying statement in order to rouse the whole German population to fight the Allied Armies and the Red Army and thereby prolong the existence of the criminal and rotten fascist system. But when genuine anti-fascists, active participants in the struggle against Hitler Germany, express such views, it is strange and incomprehensible. The Soviet people never did identify the German population with the criminal fascist clique who are ruling Germany. Stalin said: But it would be ridiculous to identify Hitler's clique with the German people and the German state. History shows that Hitlers come and go, but the German people and the German state remain.

In complete harmony with this Soviet viewpoint are the decisions of the Crimea Conference, where it is stated: "It is not our purpose to destroy the people of Germany, but only when Nazism and militarism have been extirpated will there be hope for a decent life for the German people, and a place for them in the community of nations."

It is clear from this that the lives of Germans who take up the fight against Hitler or who behave loyally toward the Allied Armies are not threatened. Of course, those of them who are fighting and continue to fight the Red Army and the Armies of our Allies in order to preserve the fascist regime, will receive no mercy.

In his article "Enough," Ehrenburg truthfully and powerfully describes the bloody deeds of the Germans on our sacred soil, but unfortunately Ehrenburg drew wrong conclusions from the incontrovertible facts. He says that the "insolent Germans maintain an attitude toward the Americans as if they were some neutral power," and he attributes the fierce resistance of the Germans on the Soviet-German front to their fear of the coming reckoning for their crimes on Soviet territory.

There is no denying that the Germans guilty of crimes on our territory are afraid of the reckoning all the more now that retribution is near. Nor can it be denied that this fact tends to stiffen the resistance of those who are guilty of crimes against Soviet citizens. We know that nowhere else have the Hitlerites performed such butcheries, nowhere else did they so display their cannibal nature as in the occupied regions of the USSR. Our people are bitter. Perhaps the world has never before witnessed such hatred as the hatred of our Soviet people for the fascist enslavers.

However, it would be oversimplifying matters and naïve to attribute the present distribution of German armed forces between the Western and Eastern Fronts only to the fear and panic of the Nazi criminals. The reasons why the Germans have stripped their Western Front and are continuing to mass troops on the Soviet-German front lie deeper than the susceptibility of the Hitlerites to fear.

Lenin at one time, when analyzing the policies of different states in time of war, as well as the character and causes of changes in such policy, had some very important remarks to make on this score. He said that "every war is inseparably bound up with the political system from which it springs." And the political system of Hitler Germany determines the nature of the war waged by the Hitler clique and its policy during the war.

The experience of 12 years' policy of the Hitlerites in Germany and outside Germany shows that intrigue, demagogy and political unscrupulousness have always been an essential substance of the policy of the Hitlerites, both in time of war and in time of peace. This, for example, is what Hitler wrote regarding the principal feature of his policy: "Politics are a game in which every form of cunning is permissible and in which the rules vary with the skill of the players." Hitler's clique cannot be denied a certain consistency; for over 10 years the peoples of all countries have witnessed one act of perfidy on the part of fascist Germany after another, one intrigue after another.

To judge by all signs, the Hitlerites have been hatching a new intrigue lately. Lieutenant General Krappe, Commander of the German 10th Army Corps, who was taken prisoner, stated in February that the German command had a broad plan for transferring armed forces to the Soviet-German front. And indeed in the past two and one-half months the German command has transferred to the Soviet-German front 44 divisions from the Western Front, the central regions of Germany, Norway and northern Italy. By transferring such large forces to the Soviet-German front, the German army command left the Western Front without any effective defense.

What is the aim of the German command in distributing its forces between the West and East in this way? Can it be attributed to the fear and terror of the German command of having to answer for the bloody crimes perpetrated by the German armies on Soviet territory?

It would be truer to say that at the present stage of the war the Hitlerites are pursuing a policy of intrigue which they have long been hatching and which conforms to their whole nature. They are striving by their actions to sow dis-

trust among the United Nations, to foment dissension among the Allies, to avert—if only for a time—the last mortal blow of the Allied Armies, and to achieve by means of military-political intrigue what they failed to achieve by armed force.

As to the fear experienced by the Hitlerites on account of their past and present crimes, this sentiment does of course play its part. But as will be seen from what was said above, the fear and terror of the Hitlerites is not the whole thing. It should be clear to everyone that if the Germans were guided by fear in their present criminal policy, they would probably not go on trying so persistently to sink British and American ships with their submarines; they would not have bombarded England with flying bombs as they did until recently, and would not continue to slay war prisoners, soldiers and officers of the Allied Armies.

From this it follows that quite a different explanation from the one Ehrenburg offers in the columns of *Krasnaya Zvezda* must be found for the fact that the Germans have weakened their front in the West and are so stubbornly resisting in the East, for the fact that, in the words of Ehrenburg, "we did not take Koenigsberg by telephone and we are not capturing Vienna with cameras." This is all the more necessary because Ehrenburg's unfounded inferences and conclusions may confuse the question and will at any rate not help expose the Hitlerite policy of intrigue aimed at sowing dissension among the Allies.

FRENCH SEE ~~PACT~~ SPLITTING BIG THREE

Breach Between Russia and Western Allies Feared as Result of Polish Treaty

By HAROLD CALLENDER

PARIS, April 22 — Even though hints had preceded it, the signature of the Mutual-Assistance Treaty between Moscow and the Warsaw Regime, regarded as Moscow's puppet, came as a thunderbolt to informed French circles today. The French had clung all along to the theory that Premier Stalin would find a way to resume or retain good relations with the United States, but today they found it difficult to persuade themselves that Moscow's move did not widen the breach in the solidarity of the Big Three established at Yalta. That solidarity at first annoyed General Charles deGaulle but now any threat to it causes deep apprehension here.

Reports received here said that there was no administration at all in Poland and no real government, only a foreign-chosen regime that represented hardly anyone in Poland, where poverty and misery were widespread and intense and the Russians were more feared today than ever.

Moscow's treaty with the Warsaw regime is much like that with Yugoslavia, it was noted here, and it was expected that such a treaty with Rumania would be the next move. A Moscow broadcast on Thursday hinted at a similar treaty between Hungary and Russia and between Hungary and Czechoslovakia. It is thought clear that the Russian aim is to draw all these States into Moscow's orbit, which would extend to the Adriatic on the South and to Stettin on the Baltic, and that the pressure of Russian influence would bear more and more heavily on Greece and Turkey.

The reason why the French ~~watch~~ this diplomatic drama with far more than academic interest is that, before the war, Poland, Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia were spheres of French—that is, western European—influence, while now they seem to be becoming bridgeheads of an influence that is considered extra-European. Especially is it so considered by that Catholic Europe to which General De Gaulle belongs.

As this influence seems to grow increasingly predominant in Europe as a result of military power, the French ask with deepening concern whether once again it is not necessary to call in the New World to redress the balance of the Old, as it was expressed by George Canning the British Foreign Secretary who helped to create the Monroe Doctrine. The French thought that this was President Roosevelt's intention and they hope that it is his successors'. Hence French eyes, so recently turned toward Washington with suspicion, are now turned toward Washington with hope.

"Everything on wheels in Russia today is American," a particularly well-informed Frenchman said today, alluding to lend-lease tanks, trucks and tractors, "and Russia will need a lot more equipment from the United States." Hence Moscow may listen to Washington, the French hope. Thus it is imagined that once again—in the sphere of diplomacy as recently in the military sphere—the American assembly line may come to the rescue of Europe that in the past has had a tendency to deplore our mechanical excesses.

This is a clipping from page 8 of the New York Times for April 23, 1945

Clipped at the Seat of Government.

RUSSIAN CAUTIONS ALLIES ON EUROPE

Says They Must Not Force Their Kind of Democracy on Liberated Nations

DIFFERENT TYPES CITED

Freed Countries Should Have Right to Choose Soviet Kind, Writer Asserts

By C. L. SULZBERGER

By Wireless to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

MOSCOW, April 21—An effort to insist that democracy in European countries should be constructed exactly along the lines of the British or American models would represent an effort to interfere in the internal affairs of other peoples and would be unjustified, Sokoloff said today in War and the Working Class.

Mr. Sokoloff's views and prognostications on international affairs are often surprisingly accurate. He said:

"Indisputably there is a difference between the democracy that is fulfilled in the Soviet Union and the democracy that is applied in a number of other countries. But it is also indisputable that this distinction should not serve as an obstacle in the way of strong and lasting collaboration among the Allies.

Soviet Regime Cited

"The economic regime in the Soviet Union guarantees to the citizens of our country the possibility of realizing their democratic rights, among which are such vital rights as the rights of labor, education and freedom from exploitation or racial or national inequality. One should not forget that in England only the metropolitan population has democratic rights, while the much more numerous population of the British colonies still expects democratization in vain, as well as freedom and independence.

"Still this does not mean that the Soviet people and the supporters of democracy in other countries cannot find a common tongue and agree on some common denominator of what should be considered democratic and anti-democratic. In our epoch, democracy is learned in combat against fascism. He is a Democrat who is ready not in words but in deeds to carry on the struggle until the complete uprooting of fascist elements and fascist influence. * * *

"It would be a completely hopeless business to demand that democracy in all European countries should be built exactly on the lines of the English or American example. That would constitute an attempt to disturb the internal affairs of other peoples that could not be justified by anything: an attempt to force on them from outside certain political canons."

Uses Poland as Example

Mr. Sokoloff used the example of Poland, saying that the "hypocritical pedants of democracy expose themselves mostly when the cause is Poland. From the viewpoint of democracy the so-called Polish problem is absolutely clear. The Polish people, liberated from the German yoke, are building their new life on a democratic basis.

"From the democratic viewpoint and in the present case there is no difference whether it is based on a foundation of Soviet democracy or a foundation of Anglo-American democracy. It is indisputable that such gentlemen as Radescue in Rumania; Linkomies, Tanner and Ryti in Finland; Rasckiewicz and Arciszewski in the Polish emigration, and substantial figures in other countries are foes of democracy. Many supporters of democracy in the past were so blinded by anti-Communist prejudices that they resolutely refused to have any business with the Communists, forgetting that thus they made easier the cause of fascism."

It is clear that these views are of importance. According to Mr. Sokoloff, it is undue interference to try to "force the building of a post-war European democracy on Anglo-American models. It is rather considered only just that the sparkling and highly spontaneous movements in such countries as Poland, Rumania or Hungary flourish.

Union's Position Analyzed

War and the working class then turned to an analysis of the position of labor unions in the modern state. Omelchenko, editor of the union paper, Trud, said that "reactionary leaders of the American Federation of Labor" preach that Russion unions cannot collaborate with those of other nations because they are connected with the state. He contended that "reactionary leaders of many trade unions of capitalistic countries force the unions to support their state to the damage of working-class interests."

An article on the treaty with Yugoslavia said that the "provision for close friendship and cooperation between the Soviet Union and the eastern and southern countries of Europe has great significance * * * now the relationship between the Soviet Union and the eastern and southeastern European countries is developing otherwise than before the First World War. * * * This cooperative relationship connects the Soviet Union with the new democratic Poland and Czechoslovakia.

"Because of the great generosity of the Soviet people, they have received the possibility of restoring their independence and starting a democratic system. * * * It may be that in this connection the Polish people are posing the question of forming a similar pact of friendship, mutual assistance and post-war collaboration between the Soviet Union and Poland."

In a discussion of liberated Poland, Rudnitski pointed out that already "hundreds of thousands of landless and small-holding peasants are being transferred to new areas and in the future will become

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COMMUNIST
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a stronghold against the German Drang nach Osten."

I discern in these broad terms the Russian concepts of policy concerning Europe and Russia's western borders. I also try, by careful persual, to ascertain certain ideas concerning the east and Asia.

Dairen Discussed

A. Subbotin wrote at length about Dairen Harbor, just above Port Arthur, which was lost during the Russo-Japanese War and ceded to Tokyo in 1905. This is described as the second port after Shanghai on the coast between Okhotsk and the southern China seas." Today, he said, "the port is dead." He said that the Chinese population was being robbed and impoverished and only the Japanese get rice; that the Chinese were terrorized but that, when American planes appeared, "Japanese men and women rushed to the bomb shelters while the Chinese remained where they were, laughing at the Japanese."

V. Avarin specifically analyzed the Chinese situation. He entertained "sharp anxiety as to the political prospects of China." He said that in their efforts to reduce China to a more backward state, the Japanese "use thousands and tens of thousands of yesterday's Kuomintang people. * * * Many Kuomintang generals have crossed to the Japanese imperialists—in fact, sixty-seven of them. * * * Many soldiers and former officers now serve the puppet Nanking president, a former member of the tee."

He said that the Japanese are employing these former Kuomintang men and isolated Chungking troops as a "weapon against the truly national Partisan movement"—in other words, Yenan. "Under the mask of Chinese patriots they are more useful to the Japanese. * * * Some generals on isolated territory have already commenced their work as Chinese Mikhailovitches."

Contending that the Chungking Government had constructed and presented to the Japanese, by not defending it, the Kuansi-Kweichow railway, and that inflationary prices since last December had gone on the index from 485 to 873, Mr. Avarin asked: "Is this not the beginning of a counter-offensive of large bankers and reactionaries against the people and their demands for the democratization of China? * * * The democratic public received with great anxiety the news that the negotiations between the Chinese Communist party and Chungking had produced no results."

An important article in Pravda—the first of a series on Lenin to come—dealt today with "a new type of state power, the Soviet power." It said that "the experience of the revolution has proved that this form of power is a much higher form of democracy than any other form of power known to history. The Soviet people know this, feeling, at each step of economic and cultural construction in the U.S.S.R., all the advantages of Soviet power in comparison with other forms of authority."

The editorial also said that "he who attempts to solve the problems of the transition from capitalism to socialism by relying on the general phrases of freedom, equality and democracy in general. Discloses his nature as a petty bourgeois and Philistine."

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

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WEEK-END TALKS PRESAGE EASING OF PARLEY RIFTS

Molotoff, Eden and Stettinius Will Sift Polish and Other Issues on 'Foreign Minister Level'

E-3

AN OPPORTUNITY FOR TRUMAN

By TURNER CATLEDGE

At a time when American, British and Russian armies are within less than forty miles of meeting in several places in Germany, and the United Nations Conference in San Francisco, seeking to construct machinery for preserving peace in the future, only a few days in the offing, it is inconceivable that the great powers leading the victory march in the present war will not settle any substantial diplomatic differences among them in the series of conferences to be held in Washington over this week-end.

That there are differences, no one with candor will deny. That those differences are more than minor, particularly in the matter of setting up the new Provisional Government of National Unity for Poland in accordance with the Crimea agreements, had best be conceded frankly for the sake of settlement itself.

It is wholly in keeping with the same sense of realism, however, for the Axis enemies to face that cold, evident fact that the divergence of views over this question between the American and British Governments on the one hand and the Russians on the other, which came to a head on the occasion, if not largely as a result of the sudden death of President Roosevelt, have arisen in anticipation of victory. Whatever may grow out of them in the next few days will in no way stay the vise that is closing so relentlessly upon the Reich, nor will it ameliorate the fate that most certainly awaits Japan.

The Polish Question

The new Polish question, which is a direct outgrowth of practical efforts to carry into effect agreements made among the "Big Three" at Yalta, has been coming steadily to the top for several weeks. Its principal manifestation, up until a week ago, had been in the exchanges between Moscow and Washington and London, over the constitution of the Polish delegation to the San Francisco Conference.

Underneath these, however, and more basic to the whole problem, was the inability of the inter-Allied Commission to select the top members of the new Polish Government of National Unity which, according to the Yalta agreements, was to be recruited in part from, and to replace the present competing London and Lublin Polish groups. The so-called "Moscow Commission," as set up at Yalta, was composed of W. Averell Harriman, American Ambassador to Russia; Sir Archibald Clark Kerr, the British Ambassador, and Vyacheslaff M. Molotoff, Foreign Commissar of the Soviet Union.

One of the hard facts of the case seems to be that this Commission, in American parlance, never got to first base. The difficulty has been attributed in large part to a too general wording used in Yalta agreements—to oral "understandings" which were open to modification and interpretation when reduced to writing. The core of the arrangement was that the present provisional (Lubin) government of Poland should be "reorganized" (the Yalta conference searched for hours for this particular word) on a broader democratic basis with the inclusion of democratic leaders from Poland abroad, the latter presumably to take in some members of the London Polish government.

Molotoff's Veto

To the commission was given the authority to work out the practical details, and to consult with members of the Lublin group and with "democratic leaders" with a view to recruiting the ministers for the "reorganized" government.

There may be numerous reasons, both large and small, why the plan as envisioned at Yalta never has gone through. One of the principal snags seems to be, however, that Mr. Molotoff claimed, either for Russia or for the Lublin government speaking through the Soviet, authority to veto members suggested from other sources. Mr. Harriman and Sir Archibald Clark Kerr apparently demurred to this procedure, expressing themselves in as strong a manner as possible,

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but they got nowhere. Thus for all intents and purposes the effort to set up the new Polish government, at least in time for it to have representation at the San Francisco Conference, has been frustrated.

Stage for Meetings

Such appears to have been the state of affairs when a turn of fate set the stage for the meetings this week-end in Washington among Mr. Molotoff and the other members of the Moscow commission, Secretary of State Stettinius of the United States and Anthony Eden, foreign minister of Great Britain. The hope which most Americans undoubtedly feel now that a settlement will come arises not so much from the issues, for perhaps they are not widely understood, as from the feeling that the Conference will be held on the "foreign minister level," and, furthermore, that President Truman will be able to participate directly and personally in any new decisions that may have to be made.

The Polish question was left literally on President Truman's desk by his predecessor. One of the important documents Mr. Truman is reported to have found when he sat down to the desk Mr. Roosevelt had occupied for more than twelve years, was a copy of a letter which the late President had written personally to Marshal Stalin, expressing his disappointment that the effort to settle the question of the reorganized Provisional Government for Poland had met with such little success since the Yalta conference. From the phrasing of the letter it was evident that Mr. Roosevelt meant it for the record eventually. Writing of the letter was one of the last official acts of Franklin D. Roosevelt.

Regardless of Moscow's most recent step in again asking a place for delegates of the Lublin government at San Francisco, the chances of success for the week-end conferences among representatives of the "Big Three" were described by Washington sources today as being highly favorable.

Moscow Accepted Quickly

This forecast was rooted in large part in the knowledge that the knowledge that the Government at Moscow is highly desirous of a fresh interchange with Washington, as evidenced by the fact that Marshal Stalin accepted so quickly President Truman's invitation for him to send Mr. Molotoff to the San Francisco meeting. In fact, the suggestion that Mr. Molotoff, who previously had decided against attending the United Nations Conference in person, would act favorably on a renewal of the invitation, is understood to have come from Moscow.

Whatever comes of the Polish question over the week-end the conferences in Washington will be of the highest importance. They will give Mr. Truman his first opportunity, and a rare one at that, to assert himself personally in the field of foreign policy and to make known to Mr. Molotoff and Mr. Eden, and through them to Marshal Stalin and Prime Minister Churchill, the kind of man he is.

The occasion will also furnish an opportunity for the foreign ministers of the "Big Three" powers to survey the war situation in Europe as it has developed to date and to talk even in further detail than was possible at Yalta of plans for dealing with the immediate aftermath of the conflict.

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Allies' Use of German Labor Set At Yalta Parley, Soviet Paper Says

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

MOSCOW, April 20—President Roosevelt, Premier Stalin and Prime Minister Churchill agreed at the Crimea Conference in February that German labor and manpower should be employed to restore and reconstruct the damage caused by the German armies in Allied lands, it was revealed today.

This had been widely rumored, but it was confirmed today when the trade union newspaper Trud said:

"The Yalta Conference decided to exact compensation in kind for damage caused by the Germans. This includes the use of German labor for the restoration of districts the Germans have destroyed.

"The idea of the restoration being done by the hands of those who caused the destruction is gaining even greater popularity among the public of democratic countries."

[The Yalta statement on reparations said:

"We have considered the question of the damage caused by Germany to the Allied nations in this war and recognized it as just that Germany be obliged to make compensation for this damage in kind to the greatest extent possible. A commission for the compensation of damage will be established. The commission will be instructed to consider the question of the extent and methods for compensating damage caused by Germany to the Allied countries. The commission will work in Moscow."]

It is impossible to estimate ex-

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This is a clipping from page 1 of the New York Times for April 21, 1945
Clipped at the Seat of Government.

USE OF GERMANS SET, MOSCOW SAYS

Continued From Page 1

actly how much damage has been done in the Soviet Union alone by the Germans. A commission of specialists, including commissariat officials, is working on the problem and its conclusions are likely to be available before many weeks have passed.

A recent issue of the magazine Bolshevik said that in formerly occupied areas of the Soviet Union alone the damage exceeded 250,000,000,000 gold rubles, about $50,000,000,000.

The Soviet Union will need much manpower for the sheer labor of reconstructing Stalingrad, Kiev, Odessa and Sevastopol or such projects as the Dnieper Dam.

In the matter of security Moscow's views were re-emphasized today in a reply published today by the editor of Pravda, Communist newspaper, to statements of Walter Lippman, American columnist.

Several weeks ago Pravda attacked Mr. Lippman's book, "United States War Aims." Mr. Lippmann cabled his rebuttal to Pravda. This was published this morning together with the editor's own note and counter-rebuttal.

The latter said that the idea of a post-war arrangement of the world into orbits smacked of "competing military and political blocs," and expressed concern over the proposed powerful Western group of nations facing a Soviet bloc of lands east of Germany.

Pravda added doubts about China, saying that "the Chinese sphere is even vaguer and the author does not say what will happen with China and all eastern Asia before China can become the center of a third strategic system."

The paper also expressed doubt on the Middle East and India.

Pravda explained that in the interests of strategic security the Soviet Union must entertain friendly relations with its neighbors, "guaranteed by mutual treaties between interested states," the process of cementing which has been going on here for several weeks.

The paper said that this fits in with the general scheme of a world security organization but that Mr. Lippman's idea of "splitting up the world into gigantic military and political blocs is contrary to the scheme of attaining a lasting and secure peace."

The nub of the article is contained in this sentence: "It is impossible to form a world security organization if the world is organized to Mr. Lippmann's scheme; Atlantic comity is such a vast bloc that it cannot be incorporated into a world security organization."

Pravda's editor said that he was sure Mr. Lippmann had good intentions, "but it is known that the road to hell was paved with good intentions."

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

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Italians in Istria Back Right to Join Tito

ANTI-FASCISTS IN FIUME, TRIESTE CITE ATLANTIC CHARTER

8/4/19..

Italian anti-fascists living in Istria and Fiume recently addressed a letter to the Italian Government asserting the right of the Istrian peoples to become part of Marshal Tito's new Yugoslavia.

The letter, reported here by OWI, assumes special interest in view of Marshal Tito's statement to Red Star in Moscow Sunday that the wish of the population of Istria and Trieste to be incorporated in Yugoslavia would surely be realized.

Signed by an executive committee of the Anti-fascist Union of Fiume and Istrian Italians, the letter said in part:

"We protest against and condemn all anti-democratic forces whose intention it is to deny and obstruct the sacred right of self-determination confirmed in the Atlantic Charter, thus preventing Croats in Istria and Fiume from joining their homeland.

"For over 20 years we had suffered economically and politically under the policy which Italian enemies of democracy would restore today. In the struggle against Fascism and its lackeys, the Croat people of Istria, united in the Yugoslav National Liberation movement, have shown by a plebiscite of blood their wish to join Croatia.

"We honest Italian anti-fascists who have witnessed the superhuman struggle, at once admitted the right of Istrian Croats to self-determination and went into battle together with them. In battle our sacrifices and blood made good the shame imposed on Italy by Fascism and gained the right to live, free and respected, in the new Yugoslavia of Tito with which we are bound by economic interests. . . ."

Daily Worker
April 19, 1945
p. 8

VATICAN ACCUSED BY RUSSIAN WRITER

Magazine Bolshevik Says Pope Has Been Hostile to Soviet Since Its Creation

By C. L. SULZBERGER

MOSCOW, April 16—The Soviet attitude toward the Vatican and the Roman Catholic Church in general strikes most Americans as rather amazingly caustic and perhaps somewhat ludicrous when one considers that this is the largest State in the world and Vatican City is the smallest.

If some Americans think there will be accord soon between the two State they must understand the background. This has been summarized by Boris Stein in Bolshevik, the Communist party's magazine. Here is part of his summary:

"After the great October revolution the Vatican proved itself hostile to the Soviet Union. The Pope inspired and headed a political campaign known as the 'cruside' against the U.S.S.R. Later the Vatican stimulated German aggression to the east against the Soviet Union. During the Soviet Finnish war the Vatican openly sided with Finland."

Mr. Stein says that because of the "insignificant territory of the Vatican and the secret form of its diplomacy it is more difficult to observe than the diplomacy of any other State." But he adds that "the Vatican united 348,500,000 Catholics in the entire world * * * the army of the Vatican and its general staff include a colonel a lieutenant colonel and four other officers.

Stresses Vatican Resources

"Although the Vatican is a small State its resources are countless," he goes on. "Its budget is never published and therefore nothing can be known about its income and expenses."

He adds that the Vatican has remarkable facilities for collecting information. He says:

"Besides the normal channels of diplomatic information from Ambassadors and Ministers the Vatican receives secular reports from 1,300 Catholic Bishops all over the world. These Bishops, in turn, get reports from armies of subordinate priests, who are tied up with the population."

Then the writer insists that the Pope disregarded his declaration of non-interference in lay affairs and has intervened in international affairs.

"This interference," he says, "appears in the form of speeches, papal messages and especially in behind-the-scenes diplomacy."

He specifically charges that the Vatican supported Italian fascism and "almost simultaneously with the Lateran concordat, the Vatican established closer contact with Hitler and his adherents. In 1930 Cardinal Pacelli, the present Pope, during a Berlin visit instructed the German Catholic party to reapproach Hitler and prepare the ground for a coalition government.

He adds that after the signing of the special concordat with the Hitler Government to strengthen the Catholic position in Germany the Vatican disregarded the persecution of Catholics in the Reich and "the good relations between the Pope and Hitler continued."

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This is a clipping from page 7 of the New York Times for April 17, 1945
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Molotoff Visit Will Mean Talks On Important Issues Facing Big 3

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

WASHINGTON, April 15—Marshal Stalin's decision to send Vyacheslaff M. Molotoff, Soviet Foreign Commissar and Vice Premier, to this country a few days after the arrival of Anthony Eden, British Foreign Secretary, and the inauguration of President Truman has provided an opportunity for a series of important conversations about the issues which have arisen among the major Allies over the San Francisco United Nations Conference to form an international organization and the developments in eastern Europe.

The visit of M. Molotoff is welcomed not only because the new Administration is eager to satisfy the natural desire of the Kremlin to learn at first hand as much as possible about President Truman and his policies, but because Mr. Truman and his colleagues are said to be desirous of learning what they can about certain "inconsistencies" which they believe have developed in Moscow's interpretation of the Yalta communiqué.

It is known that even those officials who have full knowledge of the complexities of the Polish question have been disappointed that no more progress has been

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nade by Mr. Molotoff and the American and British ambasadors n Moscow in working out the three-power settlement of the Polish issue forshadowed in the Yalta communique.

Note Sent to Marshal Stalin

What is not generally known is that the United States and British Governments sent a not to Marshal Stalin some time ago expressing the hope that more rapid progress could be made and seeking an explanation of the delay in gathering together representative Poles from inside and outside Poland to form "a Polish Provisional Government of national unity," which all three capitals could recognize.

But in spite of this note, weeks have passed in which Mr. Molotoff and the two Ambassadors, to whom was assigned at Yalta the task of forming a commission to work out the problems of forming an independent democratic Polish government, failed—at least until yesterday—to agree on which Poles should be allowed to go to Moscow to discuss the formation of the new government.

Until a few days before his death Franklin D. Roosevelt had concerned himself with this problem and had written another messabe to Marshal Stalin.

It is hoped here that this issue can be discussed and solved during the Soviet Commissar's visit, or better still, that some formula may be devised before he arrives which will enable high officials of the three Governments to start their conversations on less inflammable issues.

Mikolajczyk Backs Yalta Plan

Hopes that such a development might be expected were revived tonight by the announcement that Stanislaw Mikolajczyk, former Premier of the Polish Government in London, had accepted the decision of the Yalta conference on the future of Poland. This was interpreted as a preliminary to the withdrawal of Moscow's objections to him as one of "the democratic Poles" who would be permitted to go to Moscow to discuss broadening the Lublin Government.

Also there is a sincere and evident desire in the capital to see that the Poles, who were the first to stand against the German Army at the beginning of the war, are not only represented by a Government which can honestly be recognized by Moscow, Washington and London, but that they can be seated at the San Francisco conference.

The present Polish Provisional (Lublin) Government has already requested that they be invited to the conference. This request is acceptable to the Kremlin, but not to Washington or London, which continue to recognize the Polish (exiled) Government in London. More than any other question, the Polish controversy has divided the major Allies. The Truman Administration can be relied upon to take any honorable action that will bring about an honest settlement of the issue.

"Concert" on Europe Stressed

The visit of the Foreign Commissar is welcomed in Washington for other reasons. At the Yalta conference to three Governments stated that it was their policy to consult together and to "concert during the temporary period of instability in liberated Europe the policies of their three Governments in assisting the peoples liberated from the domination of Nazi Germany and the peoples of the former Axis satellite states of Europe to solve by democratic means their pressing political and economic problems."

It is something less than an exaggeration to say that some responsible officials of the United States Go ernment do not believe that this pledge of joint action with the United States and Great Britain has been carried out in every respect by Moscow.

In fact, the truth is that the right of both the United States and Great Britain to ascertain the facts about developments in Poland, Czechoslovakia, Rumania, Yugoslavia and Bulgaria has been greatly restricted.

Our officials do not seem to be convinced, moreover, that the policies of the Soviet Union are being "concerted" with ours in these countries or that the problems there are being settled "by democratic means," as the Yalta communiqué seemed to indicate that they should.

Principle of Joint Action

These questions have undoubtedly impinged more than Washington desires on the question (a) of the three major allies continuing in the future to work out joint policies and (b) of working out the questions of forming an effective international security organization.

The State Department has been hoping to establish with London and Moscow the principle of joint action defined at Yalta. Our officials express belief that the British are cooperating fully in this policy and they point to the fact that while Soviet Russia did not help to liberate Italy, the Russians received every opportunity to cooperate with us on the Allied commission there.

The hope here has been that the same principle would operate in eastern Europe and that the three allies would not seek to establish spheres of influence in their own parts of the world but would gradually work out together fair settlements in all parts of the world.

From time to time, however, it has been feared here that the Russians might insist on a unilateral settlement of affairs in Eastern Europe and thus encourage a similar settlement by Britain and the United States elsewhere rather than a system under which the three powers would cooperate jointly in all areas.

Recent Events in Europe

Recent developments in Eastern Europe have not encouraged American officials to believe that a joint policy was being worked out. Recent reports of Russian activity in Bulgaria close to the Dardanelles; the failure to get Russian permission to send more observers to that region and to Rumania, Czechoslovakai and Poland; the sudden decision of Moscow to indicate a change of policy with Turkey, and especially the failure even to agree, not on who should go into the new Polish government but even on who should be allowed to go to Moscow to discuss it — all these factors have not contributed to the development of that trust which is generally thought to be necessary to the successful operation of a joint policy or the success of an international organization which depends on the collaboration of the Big Three.

These are a few of the things which President Truman and Secretary Stettinius and Mr. Eden are undoubtedly eager to discuss with Mr. Molotoff, while at the same time President Truman himself will no doubt take the opportunity peresonally of reassuring the Russian Vice Premier of the sincerity of his statement that the new Administration is eager to demonstrate that there will be no break in the continuity or the purpose of tthe Roosevelt foreign policy under the new Administration,

Dumbarton Oaks Accepted

Certain commitments were taken by the late President at the Yalta Conference. Mr. Roosevelt for the first time accepted the Dumbarton Oaks proposals there as "a basis for the charter," to be created at San Francisco.

He also undertook to support Marshal Stalin's request that White Russia and the Ukraine should become initial voting members in the general assembly of the new security organization and he proposed the revised compromise veto voting procedure in the Security Council, which was finally accepted there.

That the new Administration continues to support these commitments there can be no doubt and the impression here is that President Truman will certainly reassure Mr. Molotoff on this point.

The President, meanwhile, is confronted with his own problems in preparing for a series of conversations of this magnitude and at this particular time. Many of the conversations at Yalta were conducted at the highest level and in the greatest secrecy.

The records kept of these conversations were limited and are not always at hand. Mr. Stettinius, Mr. Byrnes and Harry Hopkins, who were at the Crimea conference, are available to report to the President on much of what happened there and they and the British Foreign Secretary will hold many conversations with him about these matters this week.

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Noted Soviet Publicist Criticizes Ehrenburg

4/16 8

By JOHN GIBBONS

MOSCOW, April 15.—George Alexandrov, leading Soviet publicist has critized Ilya Ehrenburg for incorrect conclusions in relation to the German people and the reasons for German resistance on the eastern front.

Alexandrov's article has received wide publicity in the Soviet press and radio.

Against Ehrenburg's thesis that all Germans—and not just Nazis—are responsible, and that their desperate eastern front resistance is due solely to an animal fear of retribution for their terrible crimes in the Soviet Union, Alexandrov declared: 'Quite correctly this is not the view of Soviet public opinion."

Since the only logical conclusion from Ehrenburg's standpoint would mean that all Germans are war criminals and would therefore warrant punishment as such, Alexandrov referred to Marshal Stalin's 1942 speech in which the Soviet leader made a distinction between the German people and the fascists.

[Alexandrov explained that while some German soldiers battle for the "cannibal system," others throw bombs at Hitler or persuade their fellows to lay down their arms, according to yesterday's New York Times summary.]

This has always been the keynote of the official Soviet view attitude, and has consistently been expressed in radio broadcasts, in German language leaflets to German troops, in the surrender terms offered the Germans at Stalingrad and Budapest, and in Marshal Feodor Tolbukhin's recent manifesto to the Austrian people.

NO SOFTENING

However it would be a grave error for anyone to read into Alexandrov's article the slightest indication

Release

This is a clipping from page 8 of the Daily Worker for

April 16, 1945

Clipped at the Seat of Government.

of a softening of the Soviet stand against German fascists and German militarists. The complete extirpation of fascism in all its forms was, is and will remain one of the chief war aims.

War criminals, big and small, have been carefully listed by a government commission, and will be made to answer for their monstrous crimes.

Alexandrov made this point perfectly plain in his reference to German resistance in the east and the transfer by the German command of 44 divisions from other theaters to the eastern front.

The hope of the Germans now is to achieve disunity among the allies by means of intrigue and provocation, Alexandrov asserted. Soviet leaders and the Soviet people know their enemy. They know the Nazis are pastmasters at the shadiest deals. In handling super-criminals of this type it is necessary to think with one's head as well as with one's a head as well as with heat.

Ehrenburg's "unfounded conclusions," the Soviet publicist added, "confuse the question and do not help expose the provocative policies of the Hitlerites directed at achieving dssenson among the Alles."

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DOMINIONS FAVOR 3 VOTES TO RUSSIA

London Talks End With Call to Clarify, Improve and Extend Oaks Proposals

16

By Wireless to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

LONDON, April 13—The British dominions are prepared to accept the Russian request for three votes in Assembly or world organization to be established at San Francisco, it was stated authoritatively today at the end of the British Commonwealth pre-conference talks.

The Russian request and the veto question were discussed in exhaustive review of the Dumbarton Oaks proposals during the talks here, it was stated.

The source of information on the dominions' position about voting power cannot be named and the subject was no discussed in the brief statement of general principles issued on behalf of all the delegates. This statement said that certain aspects of the Dumbarton Oaks proposals called for a "clarification, improvement and expansion."

The suggestion which the British delegates will make at San Francisco to obtain these changes probably involve some of the things on which, it was said, a general identity of view had been reached here.

There was agreement that a preamble should be put in the charter of the United Nations, probably along the lines of the Atlantic Charter, setting forth the aims to be achieved by the machinery of the world security organization.

Particular attention was paid to the position of small nations. The force of the Canadian argument, which in effect would establish a class of middle powers with a fixed proportion of seats on the Security Council, was recognized by all. The smaller nations, it was said, should not be ignored or relegated to a position of impotence.

Other subjects reviewed and on which the British delegates generally found themselves seeing eye to eye included the necessity for periodic review of the world organization charter, colonies and mandates, and the social and economic council suggested at Dumbarton Oaks.

It was emphasized that, in line with the policy not to form any bloc during the conversations here, no formal conclusions had been reached and no hard-and-fast decisions made with which the British Empire would face other nations at San Francisco.

Even after the London discussions certain points remained on which the British nations would disagree, it was said, but on nearly every main issue the views of the United Kingdom Government and the Dominion Governments were found to be similar.

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Russia

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APR 26 1945

This is a clipping from page 16 of the New York Times for April 14, 1945

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SOVIET STIMULATES NAVAL AMBITIONS

Aspires to Rank as Sea Power —11 Special Colleges Give Broad Training Program

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

MOSCOW, April 13—The remarkable fighting record and organizational suppleness, ingenuity and drive of the Red Army have been so emphasized in the public's attention during the last four years that one is likely to forget Russia as a naval power, one that is proud of its fleet. It is only occasionally, and then in its own paper, Red Fleet, edited by Marine Major General Musiakoff, that naval personnel is mentioned. When it is mentioned, it is probably in connection some land operation, for example, the recent reports of the landing operations of the Danubian flotilla near Vienna or patrols by Soviet marines.

Nevertheless, it is traditional in Russian history to seek the development of a fleet commensurate in size and power with this immense nation. Since the Japanese defeated the Czar's warships at Tsushima and Admiral Makaroff died, the Russian Navy has had a hard time getting back to its full potential powers, but just as the Soviet Government carefully prepared over a long period for the development of the Red Army, it has not forgotten that any great power must also have a great fleet.

Perhaps this phase of military development has been secondary; the land menace of Germany had been countered with a land army, but, as various analytical articles appearing from time to time here demonstrate, naval affairs are always kept in mind.

Problem Being Solved

The Literary Gazette said recently: "Our Soviet State is solving the task of the creation of a powerful ocean and naval fleet."

Major General Haida said recently that literature on the sea was needed to "propagate among the people the idea of the sea, the feeling of a naval power. We need literature that would summon our seamen to creative and daring deeds, to an iron assertion that our fatherland has a right to be one of the greatest naval powers of the world.

A. Zharoff wrote, "We will have a large fleet."

The Soviet Government has taken great pains to train both ratings and officers. According to the Administration of Naval Schools, eleven naval colleges are now open. These are the Frunze Naval College, Leningrad; Pacific Naval College, Vladivostok; Caspian Naval College, Baku-Zykh; F. E. Dzerzhinski Naval Engineering College, Naval Technical Engineering College and Naval Faculty of the State Conservatory, Leningrad; Naval Coastal Defense School, Vladivostok; Naval Anti-aircraft Defense School, Taganrog; Naval Commissariat School, Kiev; Engineering Faculty of Technical the Engineering Naval School, Leningrad, and the Naval Surgeons Assistants School.

Naval education is being stressed. Major General Zvyagin recently declared, "Serious problems are facing the fleet," and a study of the general situation stressed the need "of more thorough study of contemporary naval science."

Admiral Nikolai J. Kuznetsoff, Commissar of the Soviet Navy, attended the conference at which these statements were made, underlining their importance.

War Exercises Held

These studies are being based on both foreign and Soviet experience. Thus the Soviet Pacific Fleet's air forces are now studying the operations of guards airmen of the Soviet northern fleet and carrying out practical exercises, testing their knowledge in the bombing of "enemy" ships and dive-bombing of "enemy" naval bases.

Naval officers study the history of the Russo-Japanese war.

Ships, however, are needed. The exact strength of the Red Fleet is naturally a strict secret. Certain things are public knowledge, however. First, Britain and the United States recently made available to the Soviet Navy several warships, including the battleship Royal Sovereign, now operating as the Archangelsk, and the cruiser Milwaukee, now the Murmansk.

As far as is known, the Archangelsk is the only 14-inch gun ship in the Soviet Navy.

Despite the need to stress heavy industrial production for the Army, the Soviet Government has not neglected naval needs. Plant 199 was recently decorated for its work in constructing military vessels. Officers and ratings of the Red Fleet were decorated for "becoming familiar with and repairing naval vessels of the Pacific Fleet."

Thus, as the European war ends, the Soviet Union continues its efforts to build a strong protective naval force to operate in bordering seas.

Russia

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'BENEVOLENCE' TO FOE DECRIED BY MOSCOW

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MOSCOW, April 12 (AP)—An article in the Soviet Government newspaper Izvestia said today that Allied "benevolence" toward the Germans was growing and that it formed an integral part of Nazi plans to go underground in preparation for another war.

The Izvestia writer cited a statement from abroad that "an appreciable part of the German people are friendly toward the invading army."

"This 'benevolence' undoubtedly forms the basis for Adolf Hitler's plans," he commented.

He added that the impression was gained, "as may be seen from the history of the Reichsbank's gold reserves," that the Germans were trying to use the Allied occupational zone for saving foreign-exchange values and army cadres.

The commentator said the Nazis were "sending emissaries in all directions" and that "they apparently are even prepared to repeat the jump of Hess," one-time No. 2 Nazi, who made a strange flight to Britain in 1941 before Germany attacked Russia.

The article referred to "the well-known Hitlerite envoy [Karl] Schnurre sitting in Stockholm," a German Foreign Office trade envoy said to be recuperating from bronchitis in a Stockholm hospital. Last week the British Legation in Sweden denied rumors that he had made contact with it.

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This is a clipping from page 10 of the New York Times for

April 13 1945

Clipped at the Seat of Government.

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RUSSIANS BELITTLE WESTERN SUCCESS

Americans Accused of 'Soft' Attitude to Germans and Injustice to Deportees

By Cable to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

MOSCOW, April 11—A series of articles and dispatches published this morning told of the complete collapse of German resistance in the west while the Germans hold hard in the east and of German efforts to seek favored treatment by the Americans and the British.

Ilya Ehrenburg reported in an impassioned article in the Army paper, the Red Star, that the Americans were hampered in their eastward advance only by crowds of prisoners blocking the road and that "with fanatical persistence the Germans are giving themselves up. Wotan and Hitler are forgotten; the supermen are encouraging one another with the words: 'Patience, fried, the Americans are near'."

He said that the Germans were "behaving toward the Americans as does a certain neutral power." He then attacked the Bishop of Muenster, who, he said is urging that the Russians must not be allowed to come to Germany. He cited a report by an English correspondent that a German farmer had demanded that Russian workers be left on his farm to carry out the spring sowing, he said that the Allies' military authorities had distributed leaflets in five languages urging "liberated slaves to return to the farms and their masters to carmry out the sowing."

Ehrenburg remarked with elaborate sarcasm that "the Germans on the Oder are unlike those on the Weser" because "no one can imagine that the Germans request the Russians to allow French slaves to go on working for them or that it is necessary to leave Netherland laborers with German farmers in order to maintain agriculture in Pomerania."

All papers carried a report from the United States saying that Dr. Werner Vieck of the Reichsbank had said that the Germans preferred that the Americans rather than the Russians seize the gold reserves and had urged the Americans to ration foodstuffs and maintain the exchange value of the mark.

These reports are an obvious contrast to the Russian reader when he hears of savage fighting around Vienna, Koenigsberg or what is now called Breslavl "because of its centuries-old Slav tradition." They voice considerable disquiet.

The press carried a sharp attack on the Roman paper the Quotidiano, which is said to be "trying to convince the world that Catholic circles have nothing to do with fascism."

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87 APR 26 1945

This is a clipping from page 3 of the New York Times for April 12, 1945

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MOSCOW ASKS TOIL 3 FOR REICH EXPIATION

LONDON, April 9 (AP)—The Moscow radio declared tonight that Russia "cannot and will not be elbowed out of participation in international affairs" and that "Germany must be disarmed economically, militarily and politically."

In a Red Army commentary heard by the British Broadcasting Corporation, the Moscow radio asserted that the German nation "must make good the ramage suffered by victims of her aggression."

"War criminals must be punished with severity," the broadcast added. "It is essential to prevent future propagation of reactionary militaristic and chauvinist ideas in Germany—deas on which the Germans have been reared for many generations."

"The population of Germany, as the result of its responsibility for crimes committed by the Hitlerite clique, will be able to regan its right to be accepted into the comity of other European nations only by years of intense toil and hard trials," the broadcast continued.

"Radical differences between the situation today and the situation after 1918 consists in the fact that the Soviet Union, the country where democracy has been brought to its last logical conclusion, an implacable enemy of reaction and fascism, cannot and will not be elbowed out of participation in international affairs, as happened after the First World War.

"In close collaboration with all other peace-loving nations, the three leading powers of the anti-German coalition will build up a new and effective organization of international security, the task of which will be to ensure a stable ~~and lasting~~ peace."

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This is a clipping from page 3 of the New York Times for

April 10, 1945

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TRENDS IN RUSSIA DISTURBING FRENCH

Idea of Occupying Denmark and Attacks on Church Arouse Apprehension

By HAROLD CALLENDER

By Wireless to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

PARIS, April 9—Their alliance with Russia did not prevent the French from being deeply disturbed today by Moscow's suggestion that the Russians would occupy Denmark and by Russia's attitude toward Catholic Europe as the Red Army knocked at the gates of Vienna.

Russia's policies in Poland and Rumania had long since disquieted the French, but Austria and Denmark, parts of the western European world, seem incomparably closer to Paris. As heard here, the Moscow radio said on Saturday that the Russians intended to occupy Denmark and liberate Norway by operations in the Kattegat and Skagerrak to end German control of the Baltic. This was interpretde as suggesting that Russia desired to control the Baltic.

At the same time, the French were impressed by Russian newspaper attacks on Theodore Cardinal Innitzer of Austria and the Roman Catholic Church generally. The comment made here is that Russia professes to create democracy in Austria by eliminating both the Catholic and the Socialist parties, which are the only ones in Austria. Moscow press comments seem to sustain this view.

As reported here, Pravda said yesterday that Catholics under the leadership of the Vatican formed the main obstacle to a "patriotic front" in Austria. Pravda added that the Austrian monarchists sought to create a kingdom embracing Austria, Hungary, Bavaria and the Rhineland, as well as parts of Italy and Croatia. Those monarchists are Catholic, and this conception of a Catholic union in Europe is one that the French have sometimes entertained. Gen. Charles de Gaulle has been reported to have considered it.

These Russian comments, made when the Russians are entering more of Catholic Europe, are associated by the French with the religious issue in Russian-controlled Poland and with the Russian press campaign against the Vatican. There is no disposition here to make a material distinction between the Moscow authorities, on the one hand, and the Moscow press and Communist leaders in other countries on the other hand.

General de Gaulle is an ardent Catholic, the first to head a French state or government in some forty years, and his alliance with Russia is generally regarded as a marriage of convenience, since his and Moscow's philosphies are poles apart.

The Moscow radio said yesterday that the Red Army played the most difficult and the most important role in the fight against Germany. On Friday it said that the advance of the Americans, British and French into the heart of Germany showed that the Germans were putting up only feeble resistance against the western armies while keeping their greatest forces in the east to resist the Russians.

Russia

This is a clipping from page 3 of the New York Times for April 10, 1945

Clipped at the Seat of Government.

IZVESTIA EDITORIAL BERATES JAPANESE

Soviet Paper Reminds Tokyo How It Took Advantage of Infant Regime

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

MOSCOW, April 7—In an editorial commenting on the Soviet Union's denunciation of the Soviet-Japanese neutrality pact, Izvestia, the official Government newspaper, reminded Tokyo that the Japanese had continued to aid Nazi Germany against the Soviet even after it had become obvious that the Reich had lost the war.

The editorial gave no intimation of what might happen during the one-year period that the neutrality pact still has to run.

Emphasizing Soviet Russia's traditional distrust of Japan, Izvestia pointed out that for more than two decades prior to the signing of the neutrality agreement relations with that country "bore an altogether unsatisfactory character."

Japanese intervention in the Soviet Far East from 1918 to 1922, during which time the Japanese Army landed in Vladivostok and occupied the costal area and occupied northern Sakhalin Island, was reviewed. Izvestia also brought up the issue of the many border conflicts including the "memorable events" at Lake Khasan on [Changkufeng Hill] and on the Khalkin Gol River [at Nomonhan] in 1938-39.

Izvestia goes on to add that its recital is far from a full summation of the facts "bearing witness that leading circles in Japan, during many years, conducted aggressive policies in relations with the Soviet Union, which led more than once to sharp conflicts between the two States."

Japan's Help Was Material

Izvestia then said that the neutrality pact had been signed by the Soviet Union to remove the dangers in the East when it had become increasingly probable that Germany was planning an attack in the west, adding that the Reich's temporary initial successes had "caused the heads of many Japanese politicians, who were ready to place bets on Hitler's cards, to whirl."

After Pearl Harbor, the editorial explained, "during the most difficult times for the U.S.S.R., Japan continued to strengthen her collaboration with Germany. This having not only great political meaning, but also affording substantial aid to Germany in her war against the Soviet Union."

Therefore, says Izvestia, the situation "has changed fundamentally" since the pact was negotiated. This is the key to the editorial.

As if to give the tottering Japanese Empire another jab, today's War and the Working Class published a lengthy analysis of the Far Eastern situation under the title of "Deterioration of the Military and Political Situation in Japan." The article says of the present phase of the Pacific war:

"It is the beginning of the blockade of Tokyo from the sea and air, and the isloation of it from the territories it captured. * * * The war in the Pacific proceeds under the dominance of the overwhelming superiority of forces of the Anglo-American bloc. * * *

"It is clear that the basis for this domination of Allied armed forces is in their collossal economic potential with which Japan cannot compete."

Anaylzing recent Japanese political developments, the magazine says:

"Some politicians and officials try to envisage the return to the Constitution, which they think might be useful these days. Military and political events prove the quick deterioration of the situation in Japan," it concludes, saying that the root of the situation may be found "in the bankruptcy of the Axis," on which Japan placed her bets.

This collapse of Japanese aspirations and the proof of defects in Japanese wartime planning are sharply contrasted to the Soviet's situation in its Far Eastern provinces. During the entire course of the German was, the Soviet Union continued to build up its Eastern and Far Eastern industrial potentials and communications system.

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87 APR 26 1945

This is a clipping from page 7 of the New York Times for April 8, 1945
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SOVIET UNION HAS MAPPED EXTENSIVE FOREIGN POLICY

Its Views on Security and Relations With Its Neighbors Are Definite

By C. L. SULZBERGER

By Wireless to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

MOSCOW, April 7—This is an effort to analyze the Soviet Union's foreign policy in the west; it is not timely to attempt to gauge similar conceptions in the east or to try to analyze the Soviet denunciation of the Japanese neutrality pact, which was not an unexpected event. But the western war is on the verge of conclusion and therefore the desires and aspirations of this great European power are of primary importance to the future world peace, as is their accurate understanding by other nations. This article seeks merely to describe this foreign policy as locally envisioned without comment or critique.

For purposes of this analysis the west may be considered a geographical arc extending from Iran in the south across Turkey through the Balkans and Danubia to the Baltic Sea and up to Finland.

The U.S.S.R. has a direct interest in the political attitude and military security of all States within this band which are directly bordering on her own frontiers or relatively contiguous thereto.

This direct interest, therefore, affects the following lands within this geographical security belt: Iran, Turkey, Bulgaria, Rumania, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Finland. In a secondary category within the same broad definition might be placed Yugoslavia, Albania, Greece and Hungary. Immediately beyond this belt are Austria, Germany, Italy, Sweden and Norway.

Views on Security

It might be stated that the Kremlin's principal desire upon the termination of this war is security. Security can be divided into two phases: (1) Support of an international organization to maintain world peace and order; (2) absolute insurance that, regardless of any defects that such an organization might develop (as did, for example, the old League of Nations), the Soviet Union would be adequately protected against the remotest possibility of foreign aggression.

In the first broad category—that affecting the world peace organization—the U.S.S.R. desires to see this established in an effective fashion in which the great Allied powers have responsibility commensurate with their size and in which, for example, one small country, such as Paraguay or Iraq, will not be in an equal position with a great country such as the United States or the U.S.S.R. when votes on a vital issue are counted and is able to block moves desired by the large nations.

The U.S.S.R. wants the great Allied powers which have won this war against aggression to be in position to halt aggression. To insure this the U.S.S.R. wants the large Allied powers to bear a greater individual responsibility in the potential organization than they had in the Geneva League.

This explains two things: (1) The Soviet Union's agreement that control of executive aspects of the security organization must rest in the hands of the great Allied and victorious powers; (2) that in the Assembly a nation as large as the Soviet Union should be adequately represented. Thus Moscow has proposed and secured American diplomatic support for the thesis that the wealthy Ukrainian and White Russian Republics be given separate voices in the Security League's Assembly.

Moscow's policy is to insure that no future Security League can in any way be turned into an anti-Soviet alliance or coalition. During the history of the moribund League of Nations it was intermittently feared that just this was being attempted.

So much for the basic concept of the Soviet Union in its twin effort to insure peace and safety from attack for its inhabitants.

Diplomatic Precautions

The second aspect concerns taking national diplomatic precautions as an emergency brake upon any remotely possible thoughts of aggression from the west. In this category the fate of Germany assumes primary importance.

Russia has suffered critically twice in this century in wars with the Reich. Especially during this second conflict it has experienced manpower losses, destruction, ravishment, barbarity and actual physical and economic ruin and dislocation to a degree quite incredible to the mind of the relatively secure American citizen. One of the fundamental precepts of Soviet foreign policy is to make sure that this will never happen again.

The Soviet Union is determined to accomplish two things: (1) to reduce Germany's potential military threat to zero, and (2) to make Germany play an important role in repairing the damage her people have done to Europe.

To accomplish the first of these things it is necessary to make sure that Germany never again will have a heavy industry sufficient to initiate an armaments program; and also to reduce the actual geographical space of the Reich sufficiently to facilitate this essential program.

Army and General Staff

The Soviet Union wishes to be certain that the German Army and its General Staff and those economic barons who worked with it are effectively removed so that it cannot build its forces anew.

This explains the acerbity toward Sweden or Switzerland where, it is reported, German capital and personnel are fleeing, or even more toward considerably less neutral Spain and only recently belligerent Argentina.

Geographically the U.S.S.R. wants to accomplish a dual purpose

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by shrinking the size of the Reich. First of all, it endorses the conception of a free Austria and opposes any potential thoughts of Anschluss. Secondly, it intends to eliminate East Prussia, conceived originally by the Teutonic Knights and extending German control of the Baltic.

Far in the west the U.S.S.R. wants friendship with the major countries such as Britain, the United States and France based on two systems; (1), through an international security organization in which all will take part; (2), through bipartite treaties such as those existing with Britain and France.

In the contiguous regions the Soviet has two basic policies: (1) to eradicate all aspects of what is considered fascism and anti-Soviet centers, which might militate against basic friendly relations with a powerful U.S.S.R.; (2), to establish a series of bipartite treaties with these lands, such as that with Czechoslovakia, and to encourage a system of friendly treaties in that entire area.

Policy Toward West

While seeking to insure a certain homogeneity of policy in the area between the Aegean and Baltic, permitting individual friendships with the U.S.S.R. and mass friendships with each other by eliminating opposition elements in those lands, the U.S.S.R. seeks to establish security and friendship on two flanks of that area.

In a similar way the Soviet Union wants to rectify a situation on its southern diplomatic flank in the western world. That explains the desire to modify the old Russo-Turkish Treaty which now is in process of change.

Finally, the U.S.S.R. intends to take its place among the great commercial and trading nations in the future peaceful world. It intends to have adequate access to world seaways and international markets. As The Literary Gazette said: "Our Soviet state is solving the great task of creating a powerful oceanic and naval fleet."

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MOSCOW, April 7 (AP)—Text of an Izvestia editorial on the Russian denunciation of the Soviet-Japanese pact:

On April 13, 1941, that is, before the attack of Germany on the U. S. S. R. and before the outbreak of the war between Japan on the one side and the United States and Great Britain on the other, in Moscow there was signed a treaty of neutrality between the Soviet Union and Japan. The conclusion of this pact marked the crowning stage in the development of Soviet and Japanese relations.

During more than two decades, beginning from the time of the great October Socialist Revolution and the formation of the Soviet State, these relations bore an altogether unsatisfactory character.

[There was] Japanese intervention in the Far East in 1918-1922, during which time the Japanese Army landed in Vladivostok and occupied the coastal area, occupation by Japan of northern Sakhalin, a large number of border conflicts and finally the memorable events at Lake Khassan and the Onkhalkin Gol River in 1938-1939.

[The foregoing] is far from being a full summation of the facts bearing witness that leading circles in Japan during many years conducted aggressive politics in relations with the Soviet Union, which led more than once to sharp conflicts between the two States.

No little time was needed for the leading Japanese circles to come to the conclusion of the necessity of establishing normal relations with their neighbor, the Soviet Union, and to desist from their politics of military provocations and adventures in their relations with the U. S. S. R.

The conclusion of the treaty of neutrality betwee nthe U.S.S.R. and Japan on April 13, 1941, witnessed the breaking down of such politics one the part of Japanese leading circles and in the end compelled them to enter upon and onto a path of normal relations with the Soviet Union.

The neutrality agreement of April 13, 1941, played a helpful role in removing a series of misunderstanding conflicts with Japan which were escpecially dangerous in a situation when Germany more and more exposed her intentions toward new imperialistic occupations and open domination of Europe.

On June 22, 1941, Germany, intoxicated by her easy successes in western Europe, treacherously attacked the Soviet Union. Throwing herself into a war of adventure in the east, Germany counted on much the same easy successes in the war against the Soviet Union, and seemed convinced of her military might, depending on the enormous resources of almost all of western Europe, which she had captured.

The temporary successes of Germany during the first months of the war against the Soviet Union, which resulted from the surprise, scoundrelly attack, is known to have caused the heads of many Japanese politicians, who were ready to place bets on Hitler's cards, to whirl.

But the resistance of the Red Army to the impudent invader at the walls of Moscow and a series of other sectors of the front acted as a sobering influence on the hot-heads in Japan. However, at this time there ripened thoughts in leading political and military circles of Japan on the necessity of making use of this "golden opportunity," as when the most open representatives of the Japanese militarists openly spoke out for the beginning of the realization of their hidden imperialistic plans in the South Seas.

Further progress of events in the Pacific, beginning with the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor, Dec. 7, 1941, and the start of the war between the United States of America and Great Britain on one side and Japan on the other side is known.

During the most difficult times for the U.S.S.R., Japan continued to strengthen her collaboration with Germany, this having not only great political meaning, but also substantial aid for Germany in her war against the Soviet Union. In the course of this war

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which Germany imposed upon the Soviet Union there occurred a radical redisposition of forces, as a result of which there was created a powerful Anglo-Soviet-American coalition. At the same time, Japan waged war against the U.S.S.R.'s allies, the United States of America and Britain.

From the time when the neutrality pact was concluded, that is, April 13, 1941, the situation therefore changed fundamentally. Regarding this change, the Peoples' Commissar for Foreign Affairs, Molotoff, in a statement April 5, 1945, to the Japanese Ambassador, Mr. Sato, said:

"Germany attacked the U.S.S.R., but Japan, an ally of Germany, helps the latter in her war against the U.S.S.R."

Besides, Japan is warring with the United States of America and Britain, which are allies of the Soviet Union. During all this war, even when it became fully obvious [that Germany would lose], she continued to strengthen her alliance with Germany and render support to robber German imperialism. The Soviet Government admitted that "under such conditions the neutrality pact between Japan and the U.S.S.R. has lost its meaning, and extension of the pact has become impossible."

In this connection, the Soviet Government informed the Japanese Government on April 5, 1943, of its desire to denounce the pact with Japan.

In this statement, as is known, there was included a reference to Article III of the pact of neutrality, in which it is said that said pact retains its force during five years from the day of its ratification. Article III also foresaw that if neither of the signers of the pact failed to denounce it before the expiration of the period of its duration, then it automatically was extended for a succeeding five years.

The signatory sides of the pact must precisely at the present time, under Article III, decide the question whether they out to extend the pact for another five years or announce its denunciation. As is known, the Soviet Government adopted the decision to announce to the Japanese Government its desire to denounce the pact of April 13, 1941.

The statement of the Soviet Government of April 5, 1945, concerning the denunciation of the pact is a direct consequence of the fact that Japan is an ally of Germany, which is waging a bandits' war against the Soviet Union and, in addition, is waging war against the U.S.S.R.'s allies, the United States of America and Britain.

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Abroad

The Headlights Beam Again on the Golden Gate

By ANNE O'HARE McCORMICK

The immediate effect of Russia's denunciation of the neutrality pact with Japan is to clear the air for the San Francisco Conference. The high hopes fixed on this meeting of the nations were undoubtedly dimmed by signs of strain among the Big Three. The Soviet Government's actions since Yalta greatly disturbed the other Governments, because they seemed to indicate that the joint declaration signed there did not mean in Moscow what it meant in Washington and London. And since the invitations to San Francisco were sent out on the basis of firm agreement among the sponsors, the doubts sown by evidences of difference cast a shadow on an enterprise that has to be founded on faith as well as interest.

There was something else. Whether it was made explicit or not, the British and American delegations left Yalta with a very definite idea of Russia's attitude toward Japan. Perhaps the chief reason for the subsequent uneasiness over the moves in Rumania, Turkey and Poland, and the composition of the Russian delegation to San Francisco, was that they raised a question regarding this larger issue. Were the President and the Prime Minister also mistaken in their understanding of Stalin's intentions in the Far East?

Perhaps Russia felt that these contradictions and uncertainties were clouding the prospects for success at San Francisco. Perhaps she felt the receding tides of pro-Russian sentiment here and in Britain. Perhaps the polite but firm refusal of the British and American Governments to recognize the Lublin committee as representative of Poland convinced Moscow that "compromise" means compromise. At any rate, that action was followed by articles in the Moscow press playing up San Francisco and predicting its success. This reassures those who feared that Stalin was inclined to minimize the importance of world organization, or to question the timing of the President's effort to lay the foundations of a peace structure before the war partnership dissolved.

But far more significant in this respect is the notice to Japan that her neutrality treaty with Russia is null and void. This was the step foreshadowed at Yalta. No date was set, but it was expected that the announcement might be made on the eve of San Francisco. There is reason to believe that it was issued ahead of time as a sign of the reality of the Grand Alliance in both theatres of the war, and therefore as a move to dissipate the doubts and misgivings that trouble the political atmosphere at the very moment when military victory is sure, and the United Nations are gathering to lay the foundations for a post-war order.

If this is true, if Russia sought to give a high sign of her solidarity with her allies and her resolve to support a world security system, she could not have done it more spectacularly than by this gesture at this time. If her previous actions seemed to stress a determination to build up her own security system, and thus threw a dash of cold water on the efficacy of the idea embodied in the League of Nations and now about to be tried again, this move goes far to dispel this impression. Whatever else it does, the break with Japan, or the threat to Japan, certainly brightens the prospects for San Francisco, gets the fateful conference off to a better start than was thought possible a few days ago.

This result is quite aside from its effect on Japan or its possible military consequences. At present it is wholly a diplomatic move. It opens the way for other moves, but meantime far-away observers would do well to heed the warning conveyed in a dispatch by Cyrus Sulzberger from Moscow yesterday. "For the moment," he wrote, "the statement should be read exactly for what it is, and no more. * * * It would be foolish to assume that more dramatic and positive events must necessarily follow swiftly." There are some who think that this is Stalin's way to hasten the surrender of Japan.

Russia has every reason to desire the Asiatic war to end as soon as possible after the European war. From the beginning Stalin's argument to his allies was that they should take larger risks in order to shorten the conflict. The domestic problems in Russia become more urgent as the battle is prolonged, and the strain on the civilian population becomes almost unendurable. The Soviet leader is reported to be impatient to get the thing over and begin to organize the "new Russia" that has emerged out of the struggle, a Russia with larger vistas and stirring urges for more comforts and wider freedoms.

It is inevitable that at some hour and on some terms the Soviet Union should enter the Asiatic war. It is a great Asiatic power, hitherto far more interested in expansion in the East than in the West. The hour is nearer than it was, because the progress of the battle in both areas is ahead of schedule. It will never be so easy for Russians to settle their old scores with Japan as when the power of the United States and Britain is massed for a knock-out blow against the island empire. Nor is it conceivable that Russia would be satisfied to leave to the western powers the deciding voice in the reorganization of Asia. And this leads straight to the political problems that will arise when Japan also is defeated. Assuming that the congress for a new international order is held in the United States because we are the initiating power, is held in San Francisco because it looks across the Pacific and underlines our interest in the Orient, and particularly in the future of China, it is clear that if Russia cannot afford to be out of the Pacific war, still less can she afford to miss any opportunity of building up a system of world peace.

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NOT RECORDED
87 APR 26 1945

This is a clipping from page 14 of the New York Times for April 7, 1945
Clipped at the Seat of Government.

Statement by Moscow

LONDON, April 5 (AP)—The text of the Moscow radio announcement on denouncement of the Russo-Japanese Non-Aggression Pact:

At 3 o'clock this afternoon the People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs of the U.S.S.R., Molotoff, received the Japanese Ambassador, Mr. Sato, and in the name of the Soviet Government made the following statement to him:

"The pact of neutrality between the Soviet Union and Japan was concluded on April 13, 1941—that is, before the attack by Germany on the U.S.S.R. and before the outbreak of war between Japan on the one hand and Great Britain and the United States of America on the other.

"Since that time the situation has radically changed. Germany attacked the U.S.S.R. and Japan—Germany's ally—helped the latter in her war against the U.S.S.R.

"In addition Japan is fighting against the U. S. A. and Great Britain, which are the allies of the Soviet Union. In such a situation the pact of neutrality between Japan and the U.S.S.R. has lost its meaning and the continuance of this pact has become impossible.

"On the strength of the aforesaid and in accordance with Article III of the pact mentioned, which envisages the right of denunciation one year before the expiration of the five-year period of validity of the pact, the Soviet Government by the present statement announces to the Japanese Government its desire to denounce the pact of April 13, 1941."

The Japanese Ambassador, Mr. Sato, promised to bring the declaration of the Soviet Government to the attention of the Japanese Government.

NOT RECORDED
87 APR 26 1945

This is a clipping from page 4 of the New York Times Sun
April 6, 1945
Clipped at the Seat of Government

96

PRAVDA CONDEMNS HOOVER PROPOSALS

His Views on Dumbarton Oaks and San Francisco Plans Called 'Most Suspicious'

MOSCOW, April 5 (AP)—A Pravda editorial writer asserted today that Herbert Hoover "not only fears but does not desire a long peace."

Jacob Viktorov, in an article discussing plans for world security, called Mr. Hoover an enemy of the Soviet Union and said the former President's suggestions regarding the Dumbarton Oaks' proposals and the forthcoming San Francisco world security conference were "among the most suspicious."

"Hoover calls for no haste in the formation of a security organization," said the writer, and he quoted the former President as saying: "We must have time in order to cool off from the emotions of wartime. We cannot have simultaneously both peace and retribution."

"His thoughts are clear," the Pravda editorial continued. "Hoover does not need peace, but he needs rejection of retribution in order to save war criminals from punishment."

Hoover's "Suspicious" Projects

"Among the security projects are many which undoubtedly are dictated by the desire to render auxiliary help to the United Nations," Mr. Viktorov began. "No few, however, are altogether suspicious prescriptions for strengthening 'peace and security.' Among the most suspicious, it is necessary to mention the projects advanced by Herbert Hoover, former President of the U. S. A. and a leading figure in the Republican party.

"The political physiognomy of Herbert Hoover is sufficiently well known. He heads the most reactionary wing of the Republican party. He spoke sharply against participation of the U. S. A. in the struggle against Hitler's banditry and imperialism. Hoover considered the invasion of the Continent unattainable, and assured that the U. S. A. needed no less than ten years to prepare for war.

"Hoover now is appearing in the role of defender of the United Nations and protector of all powers. In four lengthy articles published in THE NEW YORK TIMES he criticizes the projects worked out at Dumbarton Oaks and proposes to amend the Dumbarton Oaks decisions with additions in order thereby 'appreciably to strengthen the charter of peace.'

"What kind of 'spirit' does Hoover want to breathe into the Dumbarton Oaks projects? His proposal presents itself despite all the author's efforts as if a badly camouflaged mine were inserted under the future security organization.

Hits Views on Baltic States

"Hoover not only fears but does not desire a long peace. He pours out tears because Poland, Finland and the Soviet Baltic republics were snatched from the chains of German imperialism. He 'of course' does not think about war for 'securing their freedom.'

"Such are some of the aims of Hoover in perspective. But he pursues aims which are more actual, and one of them is to disrupt the possibility of quickly halting aggression in the case of its appearance.

"For this reason he opposes the idea that the U. S. A. delegation in the security council should have the right, in the name of the U. S. A., to enter into war. He proposes giving this right to the President of the United States, but with reservation. The President must receive in the Senate and House Foreign Relations Committee's a majority of votes on the question whether the decision must be adopted by all members of Congress."

This is a clipping from page 12 of the New York Times for April 6, 1945

Clipped at the Seat of Government.

In The Nation

What Stalin Has Revealed "in Due Course"

By ARTHUR KROCK

WASHINGTON, April 5—One month ago today, some time after the Yalta conferees had risen, the agreement reached there on the voting plan in the proposed world security council was announced, and statements began to be made that the President and Prime Minister Churchill had yielded to Marshal Stalin on every point, including the Polish boundary, and got nothing in exchange but the continued advance of the Red Armies in Germany, which would have advanced anyhow.

More recently, when the White House confirmed the report that the President and Mr. Churchill had agreed to support at San Francisco the Russian request for three seats in the proposed assembly of the security league, these statements were repeated and intensified. This particular viewpoint was strengthened by the impasse formed at Moscow over the promised reorganization of the Lublin Government, despite the three-power pledge at Yalta; and by growing appearances that the Russians would resist any changes in the Dumbarton Oaks pattern, including some proposed by Senator Vandenberg and former President Hoover. Suspicions were voiced that the President and the Prime Minister had given Marshal Stalin reason to think they also would stand against such changes. And that the Anglo-Americans had conceded everything and gained virtually nothing at Yalta was more strongly reiterated.

In the March 7 issue of this newspaper, reporting the beginning of this line of criticism in the Senate, this correspondent wrote:

> Well-informed persons here * * * predict confusion to those who charge [that the Anglo-Americans got nothing at Yalta, etc.]. * * * The prediction is not so explicitly supported, and it is being made with an air of great mystery. But it is stated confidently that "in due course" it will be revealed that Marshal Stalin pledged something in exchange * * * that the American public will find more than satisfactory.
>
> For reasons of state, and for military reasons, those well-informed persons assert, it is not possible at this time to say more. But they are counseling the critics to be prudent lest their faces turn very red later on * * *

Comes the Revelation

Now, "in due course," it has been revealed that Soviet Russia has decided not to continue its neutrality pact with Japan, which would have remained in force for five more years if it had not been denounced by April 25, also the date for the convocation at San Francisco. Since such a decision was not the matter of a day, a week or a month, it was obviously made some time ago. The conditions on which the decision was based, as stated in the official Moscow announcement today, all existed long before the Yalta meeting. Therefore, it is logical reasoning that Marshal Stalin had made up his mind to take the step well prior to that date, and all that remained for him at Yalta was to strengthen his national position against the consequences.

That is logical reasoning. But the "well-informed persons" quoted above based their prediction on more than that. It is now plain their information was that Marshal Stalin had communicated his plan to the President and the Prime Minister at Yalta in the most definite terms he has ever employed, even to the approximate date, and that this announcement was the foundation of certain concessions made to him by Mr. Roosevelt and Mr. Churchill. Former Secretary Hull came back from Moscow in 1943 convinced that, by the required date in the Russo-Japanese neutrality treaty, Marshal Stalin would denounce it. But expectancy became certainty for the first time at Yalta.

Think People Will Approve

The opinion of these "well-informed persons" was and is that, in contrast to the magnitude of this news and its probable effects on our cause in the Pacific, the compromises made with Russia and the differences that remain become very minor matters, and that the American people will so regard them in the light of today's announcement. That is why they predicted that the critics would find their faces red and the people of the United States would find the exchange "more than satisfactory." In some degree this prophecy must await events that will follow the expiration of the treaty and the collapse of organized German resistance. But it seems to have a very good chance of coming true.

Whatever the popular impression, however—and there is little disposition here as yet to dispute that the immediate one is as prophesied—some close observers of the post-war security prospect were disposed today to greet the news from Moscow with rejoicing that was tempered with anxiety. Not doubting that Marshal Stalin confirmed his decision to his two colleagues at Yalta, not doubting that this explains some of the compromises, these observers privately expressed the fear that "the price may be too great" and that another decision at Yalta is still being concealed from the peoples of the United Nations.

The price was "guessed"—by one of these anxious persons—to be an Anglo-American pledge to Russia of a free post-war hand in Korea and Manchuria. And if this guess, or anything approximating it, is near to the truth, then there is still a momentous undisclosed chapter of the Yalta meeting. But even this observer agreed that neither price nor secrecy, if they be these, would be disapproved by the American people.

This is a clipping from page 14 of the New York Times for April 6, 1945
Clipped at the Seat of Government.

PRAVDA SAYS RUSSIA SETTLED REICH'S FATE

MOSCOW, April 4 (Æ)—Saying that "there is no room for jealousy here," a Pravda article by Ilya Ehrenburg declared today that the "fate of eGrmany was decided not on the Niemen or the Rhine, but on the Valgo.

"The Germans are surrendering wholesale to the Americans," Mr. Ehrenburg wrote. "Probably the Fritzies think that ,as they have not visited America, the inhabitants of the State of Nevada will receive them with more hospitality than the inhabitants of White Russia.'"

The writer declared that "I sincerely admire the military operations of our Allies" and "surely before being able to rush through Westphalia, Hessen and Bavaria they had to break through the enemy defenses," he added:

"I want only to recall, in these days of dazzling harvest, other stern days and sowers of victory. Our English friends who went through Dunkerque realize what an army marched on Russia in the Summer of 1941. eW turned the conquerors of Narvik and Crete inot those whining Fritzies who implore by telephone: 'Please do not shoot.'

"Why do the tank men of the American First or Third Armies meet with no opposition? where are the Germans who should be defending Darmstadt, Mannheim and Frankfort?

"They are in Russian soil. Our Allies occupy German towns and see there women, old men and children. The young men are decaying between the Volga and the Vistula."

This is a clipping from page 13 of the New York Times for

April 5, 1945

Clipped at the Seat of Government.

BULGARIA IS KEPT FROM TITO'S ORBIT

Britain Reported Restraining Trend to Yugoslav Bloc With Russian Assent

By PERTINAX
North American Newspaper Alliance.

WASHINGTON, April 5 — The British Government has vetoed the inclusion of Bulgaria in the Yugoslav federative State now forming around Marshal Tito. Until a few weeks ago all reports received from eastern Europe described the Bulgarian move toward Belgrade as impending.

Suddenly there was a stop. At first it could not be accounted for. But diplomatic sources solved the riddle. British diplomacy had stepped in and brought to a standstill what was being done for merging the Bulgarian people with other southern Slavs.

Beforehand, Prime Minister Churchill had obtained the approval of Premier Stalin, and this was an item on the agenda of the Yalta conference that to this day has passed unnoticed. Obviously, if Marshal Stalin had not lent assistance, Britain would not have been able to achieve her purpose. Since the armistice last September, Bulgaria has been ruled by the Russian general who presides over the Commission of Control.

Trend Likely to Continue

But notwithstanding the British veto and the Russian blessing bestowed upon it, many observers of Bankan affairs believe the Bulgarian trend toward a Yugoslav bloc in a position to dominate the whole peninsula will continue to assert itself.

Two significant facts are quoted in support of that view. First, the head of the Macedonian State, one of the component parts of Marshal Tito's federation, is a Bulgarian by birth. His activity is turned toward Sofia. Second, Bulgarian Prime Minisiteer Kimon Georgieff, in a speech on March 11, announced that a fraternal treaty had been signed with the Yugoslav Government of Marshal Tito on Oct. 2. He took care not to disclose the contents of the treaty.

Before long we shall know about Marshal Tito's commitments to Bulgaria, but it will be rather late in the day.

The British refusal to condone Bulgaria's reunion with her western neighbors rests on two main considerations. Britain is fearful of the consequences to Greece, the bulwark of the Mediterranean route upon whch the Admralty s determined that its grip shall not relax.

And Britain is not yet prepared to put on the same footing recent satellites of the Axis, like Bulgaria, and nations that have contributed to the defeat of the Axis. Yugoslavia is one of these nations.

Both reasons are valid. Unfortunately, the policy followed by British agents, despite all appearances, has frustrated and defeated them.

Serbs a Volatile Factor

On one hand the Croats, clearly the domineering partner in the new Yugoslav community, have a disputable record in their dealings with pan-Germanism, while the Serbs, who on March 27, 1941, ousted Prince Regent Paul, their ruler, rather than comply with the treaty the latter had signed with Hitler, are the underdog. To hold them down Marshal Tito must enlist the help of the Bulgarians.

On the other hand, Greece cannot but feel more and more the pressure of her all too powerful northern neighbor, whom Russia is bound to support. Not only Greece has to suffer from the new political order that British policy has helped to bring about. The British and Americans will have to reckon with Marshal Tito on the day northern Italy comes under their control.

British-American discussions with the Yugoslav marshal over Trieste and Venezia Giulia the lines of supplies upon which eventually, the armies of occupation in Bavaria and Austria must be able to rely, have not led so far to any satisfactory conclusion. Already Marshal Tito's men are virtually in charge of the Goritzia district and of Istria in what is still enemy country.

Russian policy, on all showing, behaves wisely and moderately in the circumstance. But Brig. Fitzroy Maclean and his friend, the Oxford don, have unwittingly played into Russian hands.

By the way, it is said now on good authority that President Roosevelt's famous sentence on "prima donnas," inserted in his report to Congress on the Yalta Conference, did not apply to General de Gaulle, but to Marshal Tito.

This is a clipping from page 8 of the New York Times for April 6, 1945
Clipped at the Seat of Government.

RUSSIANS FORESEE END OF SLAV FEUDS

Red Army Organ Believes War Has Cohesive Effect, Uniting Peoples of East Europe

By C. L. SULZBERGER

By Wireless to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

MOSCOW, April 3—The people of Europe are bound to remain acutely conscious of and grateful to the Red Army for its role in liberating them during this war. This applies especially to the populations of eastern and southeastern Europe. So concludes today's Red Star, which stated: 'One of the marked political results of this war will be the liberation of all Slav peoples and the consolidation of Slav friendship in the struggle against Germany.

Red Star adds: "It is important that the countries in eastern and southeastern Europe were liberated by the Red Army, for this will consolidate the friendship between them and the Soviet Union."

Clearly, it is hoped here that some of the ancient traditional squabbles between various east European peoples will now be forgotten permanently: such fueds as that between Serbs and Croats, Serbs and Bulgars, Bulgars and Rumanians, Hungarians and Rumanians, Hungarians and Slovaks, Slovaks and Czechs, Czechs and Poles.

There is every sign that any sympton of such fueding is being put down strongly. Relations between Marshal Tito's new government in Belgrade and Premier Georgieff's in Sofia, for example, are proclaimed to be excellent. The Polish Provisional Government's assertions to claims over Teschen have not been allowed in any public way to mar President Eduard Benes' return to his native land.

According to Red Star, the Russian Army was the liberating force in that area. The only part of southeastern Europe where Anglo-American troops were in any sense operationally active was in the British case of Greece.

Emphasizing the results of this military fact, Red Star says:

"The Polish people are now resolved to establish close ties of friendship with the peoples of the Soviet Union. They will remain eternally grateful to the Red Army. Teh Red Army has also liberated a large part of Czechoslovakia.

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87 APR 26 1945

This is a clipping from page 11 of the New York Times for April 4, 1945

Clipped at the Seat of Government.

Parley Will Accomplish Its Task, Timing Is Proper, Soviet Radio Says

A Moscow broadcast on the an Francisco world security conrence said yesterday that the eeting was being held "at the ght time from every point of ew" and that it would "acomplish its task."

The broadcast, which was comosed of excerpts from an article y David Zaslavsky, editorial riter for Pravda, was made in the ungarian language and reported y the Federal Communications ommission. It said that it was ignificant" that the parley was be held in America, since this as "proof of the defeat of United tates isolationism."

The text of the broadcast was as ollows:

"The peoples of the world are getting ready for the San Francisco conference. The calling together of the conference happens at the right time from every point of ivew.

"The conference will take place at the end of this month. The few weeks up to then may mean a whole epoch under present circumstances.

"The armies of the United States have crossed two of the greatest rivers of Germany. The Red Army has crossed the Oder and is continuing its advance into Germany westward. Anglo-American troops have crossed the Rhine and are pressing into Germany from west to east.

"Once upon a time Kipling

Continued on Page 15, Column 6

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wrote: 'West is west, and east is east, and never the twain shall meet.' Although the west remains west and east remains east, west and east are meeting in front of our very eyes. The scene of this renowned meeting will be Berlin.

"The Germans are trying to postpone the end of the war. The San Francisco conference is an answer to this. The conference will meet despite the thousands of intrigues and machinations of the German Fascists and advocates in their defense, and it will accomplish its task.

"There are people who try to illuminate every new phenomenon with the light of an old historic example. These people see a new version of the League of Nations in the San Francisco conference, and for this very reason are beginning to play old records on their gramophones and strike up sentimental tunes about the small countries, which they allege will have to sing in tune with the great powers, the powers that defeated Germany.

"We have heard many such concerts from Geneva. Political eunuchs want dto sing in a sonorous bass voice, but just because they were eunuchs their voices broke and they sang out of tune. The German Fascists prepared for a new world war to the melody of such serenades.

"The San Francisco conference has nothing in common with the League of Nations. This conference does not repeat the past, but opens a new chapter in world history.

Stalin's Statement Is Recalled

"Stalin said (in a Moscow speech Nov. 6, 1944) the following about the new international organization: 'This organization must not be a repetition of the ill-starred League of Nations which had neither the right nor the means to avert aggression. It will be a new, special, fully authorized world organization having in its command everything necessary to uphold the peace and avert new aggression.'

"It is a significant fact that the conference that proceeds the formation of the new international organization will meet in the United States. This is proof of the defeat of United States isolationism was one of the reasons of the weaknesses of the League of Nations. The United States are now not only participating in the construction of the international peace organization but are amongst the powers that are convening the conference, which means that they share in the responsibility for peace.

"Another significant fact is that another organizing and inviting country is the U.S.S.R. This country never suffered from isolationism. The situation was that others wanted to isolate it.

"There was a time when some people wanted to organize the world without a strong Soviet State. What is more, they wanted to organize the world against the Soviet State. In other words, this means that they wanted to organize war.

"Hitler's Germany realized this criminal ambition by her own methods. But Hitler was rudely disappointed. He did not count on the strength of the Soviet people.

"This also was the fatal shortcoming of the League of Nations. The League of Nations was based not on realistic conditions, but on its own desires and ambitions.

Based on Realistic Conditions

"The San Francisco conference is based above all on realistic conditions. Its initiating powers are the strongest States of the world: the U. S. S. R., the United States and Great Britain. These States,

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Clipped at the Seat of Government.

united in war against the Fascist bloc. Their coalition stood every test, at the time of reverses as well as in the period of victories. The basis of the Anglo-United States-Soviet coalition is formed by the most important life interests of three States, and these interests demand a durable and solid peace.

"The experience of the Second World War has proved that weak peoples, defended by nothing but beautiful words and procrastinated treaties, are always the first victims of aggression. Nothing but force permeated by the ideals of democracy can defend these people. Only such force can guarantee the freedom and independence of such people.

"It is now no longer necessary to prove to he peoples of Poland, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, Finland, Rumania and Hungary that their freedom and security depend upon their friendly association with the U. S. S. R., because it was the strength of the Soviet Union that rescued these peoples from the Fascist invaders.

Links Peace to Big Powers

"It is clear that if the strongest states of the world find a common platform for the protection of the peace there will be peace on earth. If this common platform is not found, no clause in the constitution of any organization whatever will help.

"In connection with this, Stalin clearly said: 'Can we count on it that the international organization will function effectively enough? It will be effective if the great powers that bore the greatest burden of the war against Hitler's Germany continue to deal in a spirit of understanding and harmony. It will have no results if they offend against this essential condition. The Crimea Conference was an example of unity and understanding.'

"The basis of the International Security Organization is permeated by the same spirit. The possibilities of the effective functioning of the internatonal organization ar eat hand. The conference can begin its work in a fovorable atmosphere.

"The concerted stragey of the Allies is to bring great results on the battlefields. We can hope that this harmony will bring similar results on the field of diplomacy, too."

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

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Abroad

The Political Home Front in the Soviet Union

By ANNE O'HARE McCORMICK

The notion that Stalin may have internal difficulties in gaining acceptance for Big Three agreements is a strange one to most outsiders. It is generally supposed that the decisions of the Soviet leader are so absolute that he has a great advantage in negotiating with statesmen whose words and actions are subject to the review of public opinion, usually of a divided public opinion. Yet inside reports of the Yalta conference indicate that in asking for three seats in the Assembly for the Soviet Union, Stalin earnestly argued that this would "help" him at home—presumably in strengthening support for participation in the world security organization.

This argument, whether thrown in for bargaining purposes or because the Marshal has heard so many pleas in the same sense from his British and American colleagues, casts a new light on the process by which Moscow makes up its mind. It lends point to questions raised in the mind of Washington by post-Yalta developments. Because they seem to contradict the sense of that conference, these developments bewilder some of the American representatives and cause them to wonder whether the Yalta agreements were known or understood by officials making subsequent decisions or whether there may be influential persons in the Soviet Government who have other ideas.

Some New Questions

This is a new thought. There may be better explanations of the contradictions between the procedures agreed on at Yalta and the procedures Moscow had followed since in the case of Rumania, Turkey, the change in the Lublin government, the constitution of the Soviet delegation to San Francisco. They may represent that "alternate line" of policy which Russia has pretty consistently followed as a hedge against the failure of the first line.

Or are there isolationists and internationalists in the top councils of the U.S.S.R.? Does Stalin have to balance differences of view among his advisers? Is the Soviet Government, in other words, less single-minded than everybody assumes?

The idea that there may be two minds seems to be occurring for the first time to leaders who have been negotiating with Marshal Stalin and who have no doubt of his good faith. It is interesting because it leads to speculations on who Stalin's advisers are, on how decisions are made in the Kremlin, on the relative influence of the Politbureau, supreme political organ of the Communist party, and the generals of the Red Army, which comes out of this war a triumphant and brilliantly directed instrument of the popular will.

In victory the Red Army is bound to be even more important in the Soviet system than it was in the past. More and more, as the war progresses, Stalin has identified himself with the Army, of which he is not merely the nominal but the active chief. At Yalta as at Teheran he talked more about the war than the peace, displayed more interest in military than in political questions. It is physically impossible for any of the Big Three to answer all the questions that have to be decided day by day in the vast complex of the war. For Stalin, concentrated as he is on military operations, it is even more impossible.

It is all guesswork. The questions asked about Soviet policy reveal how little is known in the highest official circles regarding the inner workings of a Government which is assuming an immense role in world policy. No country, with the possible exception of the United States, casts such an enormous shadow over the earth as the Soviet Union. None is the focus of so much anxious interest and curiosity. None is more written about, speculated about, and less known and understood.

Russian Aid Essential

This is unfortunate, for as the European battle nears an end and heroic efforts are made in Washington to smooth the rough road to San Francisco, it is apparent to the blindest that there can be no international security system without the whole-hearted cooperation of Russia. If for any reason this cooperation is not achieved, the outlook for the world, and particularly for the small states, whose safety depends absolutely on partnerships for peace among the only powers capable of making modern war, is dark indeed. Just now it is surmised that the pressure for this partnership is all on the side of the United States and that Russia is lukewarm not only to the San Francisco conference but to the whole scheme of international organization.

But this is guesswork, too, the effect of moves that we do not know how to interpret. Surely the realities of Russia's position argue against such an assumption. The Russians may doubt our continuity of purpose and policy, but they can no more afford to miss any chance of assuring a long period of tranquillity for themselves than the United States can. They have the same vital interest in making a success of the common policy San Francisco symbolizes. Obviously we know little about Soviet policy-making. Obviously it is important to know more; the channels of free communication need to be opened. But whether Stalin is omnipotent or not, whether keeping the world guessing is deliberate or not, it can be taken for granted that Russia will not be so stupid as this country was after the last war and allow any less consideration to stand in the way of her long-time interest.

This is a clipping from page 20 of the New York Times for April 4, 1945
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USSIAN RELATIONS AUSE UNEASINESS IN CAPITAL CIRCLES

eeling Is Growing That U. S. Must Go Through With Security Parley

ND PROVE OUR GOOD FAITH

ome Officials Say Soviets Want More Positive American Action in Economic Field

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

WASHINGTON, April 2—Offi-als in Washington are disturbed out their current relations with oviet Russia. They admit that on is subject they are usually more ated or depressed than the facts stify, but at the moment they e clearly depressed, particularly er what some of them think is oscow's tendency to minimize the n Francisco Security Confer-ce.

The specific facts that disturb em are that Marshal Stalin did t show much enthusiasm at alta for the conference; that he rned down their request to send oreign Commissar Vyacheslaff olotoff and assigned Ambassador ndrei A. Gromyko instead; that the Russians demanded votes in the General Assembly for White Russia and the Ukraine, and that they have not been very pliable on the subject of "broadening" the Polish Government.

Factors Are Listed

Officials here do not think they have any adequate explanation of these actions, but they list the following factors as at least a partial explanation:

Moscow thinks that the United States is over-emphasizing the importance of the San Francisco Conference. The Russians want to see an international security organization established, and they are prepared to support the draft charter they helped create at Dumbarton Oaks.

But they are reported not looking on this proposed security organization as their first line of defense, and they do not think it means much unless it is backed up by much more positive acts, such as agreements to disarm Germany and arrangements to settle territorial questions, which will not be under discussion at the San Francisco Conference.

As a corollary to this point, these officials add, the Russians have indicated that they believe the United States is minimizing the importance of reaching other international agreements particularly in the economic field. Several specific cases are put forward in support of this contention.

The first is that while the United States is talking more than any other nation about the necessity of creating machinery of interna-

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tional collaboration, we are not, in the Russian view, showing much desire to implement that collaboration in the economic field.

The Bretton Woods proposals, the Russians are said to beleive, are not making much progress on Capitol Hill, and some observers say it looks as if they may be rejected by the House Banking Committee.

Secondly, the Russians are said to be disturbed over the United States' refusal to do anything to meet their request for a $6,000,000,000 post-war credit or to furnish some of the heavy industrial equipment which they requested under the fourth Lend-Lease Protocol. (This latter was due to be signed last June 30, but is still under negotiation).

The Russian request for the unprecedented post-war credit is now nearly a year old. It has been discussed for months and always the Administration has pointed out that it does not have authority from Congress to grant a credit of anything like $6,000,000,000.

The Russians know this, but argue that very little has yet been done to seek greater authority for lending the money, though the Bretton Woods proposals have been put forward and the Administration will ask within the next few days for another $1,500,000,000 for the Export-Import Bank, bringing its lending authority up to $2,200,000,000.

In other words, Russia wants her international collaboration put on what she believes to be more tangible things than an international security organization alone.

Lists More Tangible Factors

Officials are saying that the Russians look on the Bretton Woods agreements, on the 6,000,000,000 credit, on the President's request for authority to reduce tariffs by another 50 per cent, on alliances aimed at specific enemies, on boundary settlements and political agreemnts with neighboring countries as factors that are even more tangible than an international security organization.

None of these things, other than the creation of an international organization to keep the peace are going to be discussed at San Francisco and therefore the Russians are said to be taking the view that, having already reached more or less the agreement they want at Dumbarton Oaks, and being a little dubious about the administration's ability to put through these other concomitants of what they believe to be a practical peace, they are going to take it easy and see what happens.

Two Reactions Are Reported

This attitude has produced two reactions here. The first is that if the Russians feel this way, maybe the San Francisco conference should be postponed. This group fears that the parley, which is scheduled to open April 25, might fail and thereby jeapordize the cooperation of the major Allies in the war and in the peace.

Furthermore, they argue, the war in Europe is likely to reach its climax about the end of this month and, in the present state of relations among the major Allies, the conference would probably run for a longer time than the Foreign Secretaries could spare away from their respective capitals.

The other point of view is that for more than three years now this Government has done everything in its power to reach an understanding with Soviet Russia; that we have played an honorable and indispensable role in the war, and that the United States has not only fought effectively in every corner of the world but has contributed a great deal to the success of Russian arms.

This group admits one or two

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nistains on the part of the President and the State Department. They concede, for example, that while Mr. Roosevelt proposed the voting procedure which was finally accepted for the Security Council at the Yalta conference, the Administration has allowed the country to get the impression that this voting procedure was imposed by Marshal Stalin.

They also concede that the State Department, in its desire to emphasize the importance of the San Francisco meeting, has failed to correct a general impression that the conference is going to settle many things which they know it will not even discuss.

At the same time, this group of officials adds, it is not for Russia or any other nation to question the sincere desire on the part of the Washington Administration to do what it can to help establish not only political and military but also economic security in the world.

It may be, it is said, that the Bretton Woods agreements and the reciprocal aid suggestions are not getting the treatment in Congress that the Russians would like, but when they are not getting the treatment the Administration wants either, and the attitude of these officials is that the Russians are not going to help reach the ends they seek by their present course.

At present, observers believe this latter group will prevail. There is a growing feeling here that the United States must go through with the San Francisco conference, and that we must support our promise to the Russians to back the Dumbarton Oaks proposals as a basis for discussion, but at the same tiem that we must also live up to our promise that these proposals were merely "preliminary and exploratory."

In short, this group concludes, the United States must not seek to evade any embarrassing problems which may arise with Russia, but must go to San Francisco and meet the issues squarely.

The American delegation will meet tomorrow at the State Department when the advisers" to the delegation will be chosen. These will include John Foster Dulles, and Isaiah Bowman, and the State Department delegation will be headed by James Dunn, an Assistant Secretary, and Leo Pasvolsky, special assistane to Secretary Stettinius.

The department took no direct cognizance today of rumors that the conference might be postponed, and arrangements were said to be proceeding normally.

Senator Connally, a United States delegate, reiterated, after a talk with Mr. Stettinius, his confidence in the success of the conference.

"Regardless of minor differnces which may arise from time to time it is my view that the conference will be held at San Francisco April 25," Mr. Connally said. "It is my further view that the conference will be a success, and that from it will emerge an international organization for peace which will be acceptable to the United States and to the American people."

Stettinius Will Meet Reporters

WASHINGTON, April 2 (AP)—Senator Connally's prediction that the conference would open on schedule and "be a success" was in reference to unofficial reports from London and in this country that the divergence of policy among the major Allies since the Crimea Conference might lead to a postponement while they tried to iron out differences.

There may be still more direct information on the point tomorrow. The State Department announced that Mr. Stettinius would hold his

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WASHINGTON SEEKS FORMULA ON ISSUES RAISED BY RUSSIA

Attitudes on Polish Question and Backing Dumbarton Oaks Pose Pre-Parley Problems

PRESSURE ON PRESIDENT

Soviet Release Stresses Big 3 Unity for Draft While His Appointees Urge Changes

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

WASHINGTON, April 4—There is a growing impression in official Washington that the United States, Soviet Russia and Great Britain must find a formula for solving at least two specific issues if the San Francisco security conference is to open in an atmosphere favorable to full agreement on a charter at an early date thereafter.

The first issue is whether Soviet Russia alone or the Big Three are going to work out a compromise solution of the complex Polish political problem; the second is whether the Big Three are obliged to stand together at San Francisco against any amendments to the Dumbarton Oaks proposals or changes which in the Russian view would weaken them.

On the second question, State Department officials are gaining the impression that at least some Russian spokesmen expect the United States and Great Britain to stand by the Dumbarton Oaks proposals, more or less as they are.

Views in Soviet Bulletin

These Russians have said as much in private conversation, but they are now beginning to develop the thesis in public. An article by M. Nikolayev, printed in War and the Working Class and reprinted in today's issue of the Soviet Embassy's Information Bulletin, expressed this point of view.

The Dumbarton Oaks proposals, M. Nikolayev wrote, virtually amounted to an agreement "among the four Governments represented at the conference, under which they undertook to sponsor these proposals at the forthcoming conference of the United Nations and not only to refrain from repudiating or amending them, but to defend them against possible attempts on the part of other participants to amend or weaken them."

"Indeed, if each of the initiators of the preliminary negotiations reserved for himself freedom of action and the right to move at the general conference amendments or addenda to the decisions jointly arrived at," the writer continued, "the labor expended on these negotiations would be wasted and the success of the conference jeopardized."

Soviet writers have, of course, been repudiated by the actions of the Soviet Government before, and it is noteworthy that an official Soviet broadcast said yesterday that the San Francisco conference was being held "at the right time from every point of view," but if the Russians should insist on a "no changes" policy at San Francisco, the Administration would face a fundamental problem:

President Under Double Pressure

For at the present time President Roosevelt is under pressure not only from the Russians to stand by the Dumbarton Oaks proposals more or less as they are, but from influential members of his own San Francisco delegation not only to accept certain amendments of other United Nations but to introduce several important amendments on behalf of the United States.

Senator Vandenberg has already proposed eight specific amendments to the Dumbarton Oaks

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WASHINGTON SEEKS FORMULA ON ISSUES

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harter. These include proposals o increase the authority of the General Assembly, to impose standards of justice on the Security Council, and to give to the world organization a flexibility to meet future changes that the Senator does not think it now has.

Comdr. Harold Stassen is also said to have expressed the intention of introducing an amendment that would provide for reconsideration of the entire world security charter for a sort of "constitutional convention," in ten or fifteen years.

These amendments are not being put before the President as demands; he is not being forced to accept them as conditions of the support of Senator Vandenberg and Commander Stassen, but he is said to be well aware of the advisability of accepting some of the amendments not only in the interest of strengthening the Dumbarton Oaks plan but also as a means of gaining support for it in the Senate.

Thus, the President is being urged to make clear to the Russians that it is necessary to straighten out this question before or early in the conference if the charter drafted by that conference is not to have trouble in the United States Senate.

Problem of Poland

The second question, on the settlement of the Polish issue, is more complicated and it is no more than fair to report that the negotiations among Washington, London and Moscow on this subject are not going well.

The Yalta communiqué was announced on Feb. 12, more than seven weeks ago. The wording of this communiqué produced a conflict which is still unresolved. On the one hand, it suggested that the present Polish (Lublin) provisional government should be reorganized "on a broaader democratic basis," and on the other hand it talked about the formation of a Polish provisional government of national unity and referred to this as a "new government."

The communiqué also stated that the Soviet Foreign Commissar, Vyacheslaff Molotoff, and the American and British Ambassadors in Moscow should form a commission "to consult in the first instance in Moscow with members of the present provisional government and with other Polish democratic leaders from within Poland and from abroad with a view to the reorganization of the present government."

For weeks now this commission is understood to have been arguing, not about who should be made members of the "new" or "reorganized" Polish government, but over who should be allowed to go to Moscow to discuss with the commission the problem of forming it. Several have been submitted by the British and Americans, including the former Polish Premier, Stanislaw Mikolajzyk, but these are understod to have been vetoed by the Lublin authorities, who are sticking to the thesis that their government is to be "reorganized" and rejecting the thesis that what is being formed is a "new" government.

Washington Impressions

This is not a dispute over shadows behind words. The impression is growing in Washington that, despite the Yalta communiqué, the Russians are not eager to premit anything more than the appearance of a three-power settlement of the Polish question. The Russians are saying that they want "a strong, friendly and independent Polish Govrnmnt, but after seven weeks of discussions about arranging this, doubts are growing in Washington that the Polish Government can, under present conditions, be both "friend" to Russia and at the same time "strong and independent."

The Russians are now making clear that in their opinion they must rely on bilateral defense arrangements with their neighbors and other allies at least until the new security organization has proved its effectiveness.

"One may and should hope," M. Nokolayev says in War and the Working Class, "that the new organization (at San Francisco) will perform its duty successfully and unfailingly. But experience has shown that individual obligations of individual states in respect of allied assistance are observed to a greater degree and more rapidly than obligations assumed under collective agreements.

"That is why the countries which are most directly threatened by German aggression value the bilatera agreements they have concluded, and it is scarcely likely they will want to renounce them or agree to make their operation contingent upon the decision of an international organization which has still to demonstrate its effectiveness."

Conflict Over Primary Aims

Considerable significance is being attached here to these observations from Moscow about alliances and their relation to the international organization. The United States has been arguing for the creation of a security organization which would be a primary organ of general defense; the Russians appear to be arguing that the security organization must play a secondary role until it has proved itself.

Thus, they are said to be proceeding on the theory that they must make the fences secure in their own area above everything else, and this gives to the settlement of the Polish question an urgency and importance which influential officials here are certain will affect the atmosphere, if not the outcome, of the San Francisco conference.

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Soviet Agency 'Explains' 3 Votes for Reds

LONDON, April 2.—The Soviet News Agency declared today that the three votes for Russia in the proposed international security organization were based on the "contributions" made to defeating Germany by the "White Russia and Ukrainian Soviet Republics."

By these contributions, said the official statement, the Soviet republics "exceed in importance some of the states which .... have been placed among the founder members."

Question Raised at Yalta

The statement in full:

"At the Crimea conference Soviet representatives raised the question of the participation of the Ukrainian S.S.R. and the White Russian S.S.R. in the proposed international security organization as founder members.

"Taking into account the fact that the Ukraine and White Russia, by the number of their populations, political significance and the contributions made by them to the common cause of defeating Hitler's Germany, exceed in importance some of the states which by common agreement have been placed among the founder members, Soviet representatives made the proposal that these two basic Soviet republics should be invited to participate in the organization as founder members.

"This proposal met with a positive reception on the part of the representatives of the United States and Great Britain. As a result, agreement was reached that at the forthcoming conference at San Francisco the British and United States delegations should support the proposals to invite the Ukrainian S.S.R. and the White Russia S.S.R. to participate in the international organization as founder members.

So, U. S. Gets Three Votes

"Subsequently the representatives of the United States raised the question of the Soviet Union's support for a proposal for the allocation to the United States of additional votes in the assembly (of the international organization).

"The Soviet representatives agreed to the United States proposal and stated that the number of the United States votes might be brought up to three.

"As reported from Washington, the representatives of Great Britain have also stated ~~that~~ they have no objections to the United States proposal."

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April 3, 1945

SENATORS APPLAUD REBUFF TO SOVIET

Some Interpret Rejection of Demands on Poles as Firmer Policy Toward Russians

WASHINGTON, April 1 (AP) — Rejection of Russian demands for a San Francisco conference invitation to the Warsaw Poles was interpreted today by some Senators as marking the possible emergence of a firmer American policy toward the Soviets.

It has been no secret that legislators have been irked by the series of jarring actions that have come out of Moscow.

Senator George of Georgia told a reporter that the time had arrived when the United States must speak plainly. He declared:

"In view of the enormous sacrifices the Unted States has made in both men and money, in view of the support we have given the United Nations in this great struggle without any desire for indemnities, the time is certainly at hand when we should say very plainly that our views and our decisions in the program being shaped for the post-war world are entitled to full consideration."

Chairman Connally of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, a delegate to San Francisco, also applauded the State Department's action.

Senator Hill of Alabama, the Democratic whip, said he thought the Yalta Agreement on the Poles "should be carried out in letter and spirit."

That agreement set up a commission to form a coalition Polish Government in which all factions would be represented.

Moscow since has made it plain that it wants none of the members of the London Exile Polish Government—recognized by the United States and Britain—in the Coalition Cabinet.

Senator McCarran of Nevada, who has been critical of the Administration's dealings with foreign nations, said it appeared to him that the Russians were looking for 'an excuse for not coming to San Francisco at all."

Senator Millikin, Colorado, said the Soviet demand for recognition of the Warsaw Poles looked like 'a' bid for another vote for Russia" at the San Francisco conference.

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TITO RECOGNIZES LUBLIN'S REGIME

Moscow Believed Standing Pat on Provisional Group's Bid to Security Parley

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

MOSCOW, April 1—Marshal Tito today announced his Yugoslav Government had recognized the provisional Lublin administration in Warsaw and intended to establish diplomatic representation there, while George Tatarescu, Foreign Minister of "democratized" Rumania, publicly urged closer economic and political relations with the Soviet Union.

President Eduard Benes of Czechoslovakia, en route to the liberated portion of his homeland, thanked the Russians for their aid and predicted that "in the future we shall go together with you, our brothers."

There is every indication the Soviet Government is standing pat on its insistence that the provisional Polish Government at Warsaw be invited to the San Francisco World Security Conference, although, as far as one can learn in the mute diplomatic circles here, an answer to this demand addressed to Washington has not yet been received.

Pravda Attacks Foreign Press

Pravda took a hearty poke at what it described as laughable and pitiable attempts by some foreign newspapers "stubbornly to distort all that is occurring in Poland." Assuring its readers that "all healthy forces of the English people are gathering around their democratic power," the official organ of the Communist party criticized what it termed the "absurd racket of these newspapers."

Pravda accused some foreign press organs of misrepresenting the facts on the Yalta conference and to toadying to "reactionary emigrant politicians."

There has been no news concerning the American-Soviet-British talks going on here about the Polish question.

Meanwhile, an official communiqué was published here on the recent Soviet-Czechoslovak talks. It said that meetings between Premier Joseph Stalin, Foreign Commissar Vyacheloff M. Molotoff, M. Benes, Jan Masaryk, Deputy Prime Minister, and the rest, including Zdenek Fierlinger, who is M. Benes' ambassador here, had proceeded in an atmosphere of "cordiality and friendship." It said questions concerning liberated Czechoslovakia and the Benes Government's authority there as well as Soviet aid and military assistance had been reveiwed.

The keynote of the Czechoslovak reaction can be found in the text of M. Benes' farewell speech. The diminutive statesman said, "I thank you all for your help and express the assurance that in the future we shall go together with you, our brothers, to face the happy future of your and our peoples."

The faithful Bolesław Bierut, President of the Lublin Government, and Edward B. Osubka-Morawski, its Prime Minister, cabled Mr. Stalin today thanking the Red Army in the name of the Polish people for liberating the Vistula estuary, Danzig and Gdynia and referring to the former "ancient Polish port of Gdansk." Polpress, the provisional regime's news agency, also predicted that the "ancient Slavonic city of Stettin" soon would be "returning after centuries to the motherland."

M. Tatarescu, meanwhile, responded to his cue in Rumania, saying in a statement to the press that "Rumania primarily must create its new life by deepening and broadening its friendly relations with the Soviet Union. * * * The wonderful reorganization and progress achieved by the U.S.S.R. in all branches of life has made it a directing force for all world democracy. Our bond with the U.S.S.R. must be tied in a frame of constant collaboration."

While these tokens of admiration were received from the democratized liberated countries, Pravda took a smack at Sweden and Argentina again, berating Prime Minister Per Albin Hansson in Stockholm for smugly praising his country's foreign policy that "during the war has been favorable to the Germans" and asserting that Argentina's war declaration "makes a strange impression" and "sounds quite suspicious."

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U. S., BRITAIN JOIN IN REBUFFING REDS ON LUBLIN POLES

They Reject Russia's Appeal That Soviet-Backed Regime Get Bid to San Francisco

AND INSIST ON YALTA PLAN

This Called for the Inclusion of Democrats in Warsaw Rule —Moscow Defends Stand

By BERTRAM D. HULEN

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

WASHINGTON, March 31—The United States and Great Britain has refused a Russian appeal that the Soviet-supported Lublin Provisional Government in Warsaw be invited to the San Francisco conference of the United Nations on world security.

It was revealed at the State Department today that the United States has joined the British in rejecting the appeal and in insisting on standing on the Yalta decision to broaden the base of the Warsaw Government by including democratic elements of many Polish groups in a new government.

When asked concerning the matter, a State Department spokesman said that it was the hope of the American Government that the formation of the new provisional Polish Government of National Unity in conformity with the decisions of the Crimean conference would be completed in time to send a delegation to the San Francisco conference.

In view of the current consultations respecting the formation of this new government, reorganized on a broader democratic basis with the inclusion of democratic leaders from Poland itself and from

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Poles abroad in accordance with the Crimean agreement, he added, the United States Government did not agree to the extension of an invitation to the present provisional government now functioning at Warsaw.

Soviet Government Informed

The Soviet Government was informed of our position along these lines after its appeal was received here. It is understood that we consulted with the British before sending our reply to Moscow.

When Premier Stalin agreed at Yalta to the formation of a new Polish Government on broad lines inclusive of many Polish elements, it was felt that he had made an important concession to the United States, Great Britain and many Polish groups, and it was felt that he had made the concession in good faith.

It was in that spirit that, after the Crimean conference, discussions were immediately begun in Moscow looking to the formation of a new, fully representative and democratic Polish Government, but the negotiations have dragged along and have bogged down over what is described as procedural details.

In these circumstances and with the date of the San Francisco conference approaching, Premier Stalin made his appeal for the Lublin government to sit at San Francisco, it was stated.

Previously the United States had refused a plea of the Polish Government-in-exile in London, which we and the British still recognize, to attend the San Francisco conference.

Our position has been that the contemplated new Polish Government would attend that conference. For us to accept the Lublin Government now, it is felt, would mean the upsetting of the Yalta agreement on Poland.

Conjectures Are Refused

Officials refused to conjecture on the possible significance of Russia's move but they were not inclined to connect it directly with the Russian plan for obtaining three seats in the Assembly of the world security organization projected at Dumbarton Oaks. Moreover, it was reiterated that our demand for three seats in the Assembly was being made only in view of Russia's demand and would not be pressed if the Russian request were not adopted at San Francisco.

It was, however, tacitly admitted that the Russian demand for additional seats in the Assembly and her appeal for recognition of the Lublin government regardless of the different understanding reached at Yalta, had confused the picture of the San Francisco Conference and had raised questions which had greatly disturbed the atmosphere surrounding that conference as the time approached for it to convene.

British Rejection Was Prompt

LONDON, March 31 (AP)—The Russian proposal that the Warsaw Polish Provisional Government be seated at the San Francisco conference brought the prompt reply from Britain that this was "out of the question."

Britain sent a memorandum to Russia saying that she did not agree with the Soviet suggestion, and expressed hope that the Moscow committee set up at the Yalta conference would agree on the names of Poles "from inside and outside" the country who would be asked to meet in Moscow to discuss the formation of a broadly based United Polish Provisional Government.

This rift in diplomatic harmony was first disclosed by the Soviet official news agency, Tass, which said that Moscow had made the request and "expected an early reply" from Britain and the United States.

Diplomatic quarters said that it was felt here that British acquiescence would constitute in effect recognition of the Warsaw regime and diminish hope of forming a coalition Government with representatives from Poles both at home and abroad—as agreed at Yalta.

With scant chance of such a Government being formed before the conference opens April 25, the

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Polish Exile Government in London—just as insistent as the Warsaw group in claiming Polish authority also has sought an invitation.

Baruch Sees Churchill

An accord possibility rested in the application by the Big Three of pressure on both London and the Warsaw groups to accept as their representative at San Francisco some such man as Stanislaw Mikolajczyk, former Polish Premier who is peasant born.

Bernard M. Baruch, here on a secret mission for President Roosevelt, and Ambassador John G. Winant conferred today with Prime Minister Churchill. The nature of their conference was not announced, but it appeared likely that the Polish question was discussed.

For the third successive day there was an abnormal flow of Government communications. Today, as was the case yesterday, the flow was from Washington to London. On Thursday the chief traffic was from Moscow to Washington.

Tonight the Moscow radio quoted the Belgrade Tanyug News Agency as saying the Yugoslavian Council of Ministers, under Marshal Tito's chairmanship, had decided to recognize the Soviet-supported Warsaw group as the provisional government of Poland and to establish diplomatic relations.

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Max Lerner Reports on Europe:

Can Europe Rebuild Itself?

This is the last in Max Lerner's series of seven reports on what he saw on a 15-week trip to western Europe and the battlefields of Germany, and what it means for Europe's future—and America's.

At journey's end, in this series of reports, it may be worthwhile to take a long look into the future and ask what sort of road there is ahead for Europe.

My first question is: **Can Europe rebuild itself?** This is neither an idea nor rhetorical question to anyone who has seen the devastation in western Europe —and eastern Europe must be even worse. Men need shelter, and so many homes are now rubble. Men need food, and so many farms are now wasteland. Men need health, and so many people in Europe are now tubercular, underfed, crippled. Men need machines and industry to maintain civilized life, and so much of the industrial plant of Europe has been bombed and leveled.

The people of Europe will need badly the things which we can help supply to them. They will need seed and new crops. And farm machinery—everywhere in the fields you see farm machinery fit only for the scrap pile. And livestock to replace what has been either killed in war or slaughtered for food. And industrial machinery and machine tools, to start the factories again. And raw materials, particularly textiles for clothing. And medical supplies and hospital beds.

The people of Europe also will need skilled help, technicians for industry, doctors, nurses, men and women who will administer relief and who will help organize community life again.

Remember, this will have been a 10-year war for Europe, if you go back to the Spanish campaign. And it will have been 15 years, if you think in terms of religious terrorism and political concentration camps.

We Can Do Our Part

We can help the people of Europe with material things and with technical skills. That part is relatively easy, if we have the will to it. We are a giant nation with an economic wealth and productive power such as history never has seen before. Our obvious course of action is not to give charity to the European peoples. They don't want it. We can sell them the goods and materials and skills they need, and we can help them get back on their feet economically so that they will be able to pay for it.

This involves helping set up an international bank and an international monetary fund. One of the keys to rebuilding Europe is to be found in the Bretton Woods proposals. It is a bleak thing to come back from Europe and find that American bankers have turned stony faces against these proposals. And also a disheartening thing, for a Europe which cannot emerge from its present chaos is a Europe which will become the scene of another war.

There is no question that in material and economic terms Europe can rebuild itself if it has our help. But this still leaves three important factors that are not economic.

One is the population problem. There has been a declining birth rate in western Europe for some time, and the future of both France and of Britain is deeply affected by it. I am afraid that political leaders think of this mainly from a military standpoint: a country with failing manpower cannot be strong in war. But it is just as serious for peace-time Europe.

PM
April 1, 1945
p. 2

A region with failing manpower cannot have a vigorous culture. If you look at Europe on the right kind of map, you will see that it is only a little outjutting from the vast continental plains of Asia. Without manpower it will become in history what it looks like in geography. Perhaps that shouldn't call for any tears.

But if you care for the literature and the thought and the beauty that Europe has produced, along with its warfare and wretchedness, you won't want to write it off as a culture.

Best Blood Drained Off

The terrible thing about war is what the biologists call its "negative selection." It picks out the best young men to lop off, and the best young blood to drain. It leaves a country squeezed dry, without the young manhood and the talent with which to build for the future. The worst thing that can happen to Europe is to have only its old men left to do the planning and governing.

Then there is the question of moral rebuilding. Wherever the corroding hand of fascism has touched Europe, it has left a leprous moral sore. In the case of some countries—and I am thinking particularly of Germany—there is a real question whether there is enough moral health left in the organism ever to recover. I have less doubt about the satellite regions like Italy and the Balkans and Spain. The great element of health is that those people, who fought their fascist masters bitterly all through the period of occupation and who rose against them when the Allied troops came, have shown the will to integrity which is the beginning of everything.

We can't be of much help here: every people must find its own road back or forward to moral health. But we can help by refraining from doing the things that will breed a bitter disillusionment among the ordinary Europeans who care about democracy and who believe in us as a symbol.

Can It Be Socialistic and Democratic?

In political terms, as in moral terms, Europe will need to do more than rebuild itself. It will have to find new political energies. The most crucial thing is to find political techniques by which economic tyranny can be curbed and economic planning organized within each country.

This leads to my second big question: *Can Europe become socialist and democratic?* It will be clear that this goes beyond the question of whether Europe can rebuild itself. If all that happens is the reconstruction of the old Europe, then the world will resume the old treadmill path that leads to chaos and fascism and war.

The best impulses in Europe today are those that look toward a democracy which not only has democratic political forms, but also a democratic economic base. Americans are generally hesitant about calling this "socialism," but Europeans don't regard the word as a bogey. They want economic socialism, just as they want political democracy.

In eastern Europe the impulse toward socialism is closely tied up with the enormous strength and prestige of the Soviet Union. In western Europe the people respect what Russia has accomplished and are grateful for its military strength, which spelled the beginning of the end for Nazi power, but they want their own kind of socialism, with a free press and with competition of parties.

In Britain the Labor Party is expected either to win the next general election or to come very close to it. In France the thinking of the large majority of people —at least in the cities—is basically socialist with a small "s," whether the people involved belong to the Socialist Party or the Communist Party or any of the others left of center.

p. 2

In Belgium there is now a Socialist prime minister. The deep trend of feeling in Italy is toward some form of socialism. When Franco's bloody hand is removed from the throats of the Spanish people, they, too, in all probability will want to fuse the socialist energies of the various progressive parties.

It's Question of Means

If it were only a question of what the people wanted, the path would be easy. But it is also a question of means and of power, as well as of aims and opinions. And here we run into the basic issues of the role of the Big Three in Europe, and the heavy hand of Big Industry and Big Finance.

There are two kinds of dangers that may flow from the Big Three. One is that they will not agree, and that out of their quarrel will come a new war. The second is that they will agree all too well, and out of their agreement will come a new world tyranny. Among the most articulate people with whom I talked, the first danger seemed much the more real. The chances of a joint tyranny, by social systems and structures of power as diverse as the American, British, and Russian, seem to them remote. The chances of a struggle for power among the Big Three, with the stakes of power in Germany and central Europe, seem less remote.

My own feeling is that, in this respect, the key to Europe's future lies in the outcome of the next general election in Britain, and also in the kind of postwar economy America builds up. Russia has been so ravaged by war that it will not be spoiling for another, at least for a decade to come. The Soviets have been shown to play a conservative game, especially in western Europe and the Mediterranean region, and also in whatever influence they have on the Communist Party line all over the world.

p. 2

They want peace and they want a chance to rebuild themselves. If friction is to arise among the Big Three, it will come mainly from British tories and American reactionaries. The British have a real economic problem, but it will not be solved by the kind of political maneuvering and adventurism of which the Churchill government has been guilty.

If the Labor Party wins in the general election by a sufficient margin to organize a government, and if it gets a clear enough mandate from the people, the whole atmosphere within the circle of the great powers will be far healthier.

p. 3

As for America, the only chance that we will start on imperialist adventurism lies in a postwar economic breakdown within our own borders. If we can solve the problem of postwar employment as we have solved the problem of war production, we will not feel any impulse to throw our weight around in Europe and the Far East. If reactionary business rides the American people after the war, it will try to co-operate with the same corporate and business elements in Europe which have been riding the European people and which will try to get back into the saddle. Then the chances for European freedom will be wholly snuffed out.

The Case of De Gaulle

At this point I should like to add a brief postscript to an earlier series of articles on France which I sent to PM from Paris. In the series I spoke of the trend of the De Gaulle government to the right, the postponement of structural reforms within France, the strategy of De Gaulle in foreign policy, the effort to break the strength of the Resistance movements, and the interlocking of the Soviet-French alliance with the Communist Party policy. Events in the past two months have not given me any reason for changing the basic analysis I set down in those articles. But in one important respect, the situation has changed, and calls for some comment.

The change is represented by the Yalta Conference of the Big Three. When Stalin made his pact with De Gaulle, he was still not certain whether he could reach an agreement with Roosevelt and Churchill on the basic matters of European power politics, and particularly on Poland. His treaty with France was an effort to put a sail to windward just to make sure. De Gaulle also went into it, as I pointed out, with an eye on the main chance—to get a powerful partner on the European continent so he then could approach the British and the Americans with some bargaining power.

But, at Yalta, Stalin found that he could get a meeting of minds with Roosevelt, and Churchill went far enough along with them to get a basic temporary agreement. The treaty with France became less important for the Russians than it had been. It was De Gaulle's great mistake not to discover this fact until pretty late. His diplomatic snub at Roosevelt, when he refused to meet him at Algiers, came to look like a pretty foolish gesture from a man who had none of the Big Three to back him up.

Stalin, who doesn't go in much for histrionics, also may have lost patience with the posturings of a political leader who didn't have a strong army behind him. At present, De Gaulle is more isolated than he has been for years, and he will have to find some way of getting along with the Yalta decisions and with the San Francisco meeting.

Clew Is Furnished

This furnishes one clew, at least, to the change in the Communist Party line within France itself. If you study the French Communist newspapers during the past month, you will find in them an increasing impatience with De Gaulle and his government. I pointed out in my earlier series on France that one of the keys to French Communist policy is the foreign policy of the Soviet Union. When foreign relations between the Soviet and France changed, it was natural for the Communist line to change too. The sweetness and light which Thorez had shed on De Gaulle came to an end.

An additional factor which strengthened this was the fact that the Thorez declaration at the Ivry Conference did not have a warm reception in the Resistance movements themselves. The postponement of structural reforms in the French internal economy was immensely unpopular among the workers and the Resistance leaders. Now it is possible for Communists and Socialists in France to draw closer together, and the recent declaration of common ends made by the two parties is an expression of that.

Also, both the Communists and the Socialists in the French Consultative Assembly turned a rather stony face to the statement by Lacoste, De Gaulle's Minister of Production, which received so much attention in the Paris and New York editions of the New York *Herald-Tribune* and in the New York *Times*. What seemed revolutionary talk to the New York conservative papers was recognized by the French Left for what it really was—just talk.

It may become something other than talk soon—but if it does it will be because a unified French Resistance and working-class movement, joined by the prisoners and deported workers who are now beginning to stream back into France, demands action rather than talk.

There remains a final big question: *Can Europe become unified?* Can it achieve a measure of economic unity? Can it hold together sufficiently to prevent the war and chaos which always victimizes the small nations first and ultimately weakens and destroys even the great powers?

It would be foolish to say that a new wave of internationalism is sweeping over Europe—if you say only that. Actually, there has been a real awakening

of nationalist feeling in every European country, from Britain to Russia and from Norway to Greece. I can testify to that fact for the countries I visited, and I am pretty certain it applies to the others as well.

The new European nationalism flows partly from the rising of the freedom-loving elements in Europe against their fascist masters, who had sought to impose an alien economic imperialism and an alien racist tyranny upon them. Partly also it flows from the natural impulse of a defeated people to find a sense of stature once more. In France, in Belgium, in Holland and in Czechoslovakia, men are seeking to fulfill again the dignity that was almost crushed when the Germans took over.

And their first impulse is to seek it in national pride. More than anything else, this is the key to De Gaulle's surviving popularity, even among French groups on the left who consider him a thorough-going conservative in economic terms.

Nationalism Still Alive

In short, it would be wishful thinking to write off European nationalisms. They are still alive, and in the senses I described above they have a new vitality.

But there is also a new internationalist impulse among the peoples of Europe. Many of them have suffered a common fate under the rule of the Nazis. They have worked together as industrial slaves in German factories, and have fought together against the same German enemy. But, beyond that, they know with a new certainty of knowledge that, unless they hang together, they again will hang separately.

There have for a long time been movements for a United States of Europe. But I doubt whether they have much chance, since they again would raise the question of whether Russia or Britain would have the master voice in such federation, and they would pose more sharply than ever the power struggle between the two. If an economic unity of Europe could be achieved without setting up a political unity with so much dynamite in it, it would be all to the good. But only a Europe which had become thoroughly socialist or thoroughly fascist could achieve such economic unity.

The Germans were moving toward it, and had done a good deal to weld Europe's economies together into a single fascist economy. It would have become a new and pitiless imperialism, thoroughly efficient, but with the efficiency of death. But the Germans showed that, some day, Europe can achieve this same kind of efficiency under a democratic socialism. Unfortunately, that day is still a good way ahead in the future.

In the meantime, the best elements in Europe know that their greatest hope lies in a structure of world order and world organization. For them, the Dumbarton Oaks Conference has become the symbol of the beginnings toward such structure.

FILE

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This is a clipping from
page 7 sec. 2 of
THE WORKER
Date 4-1-45
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28 APR 28 1945 30

When Soviet Citizens Go to Court

By A. S. SPECTOROV

MOSCOW.

THE Soviet Constitution and the law relating to the court system in the USSR, provide for cases in all courts to be heard in the presence of people's justices. The functions of a people's justice ordinarily occupy 10 days a year; the rest of his time he is free to devote to his usual work.

The Constitution establishes that people's justices serving in people's courts are elected, like the judges, by equal, direct, secret ballot for a term of three years, by the people of the territory within the jurisdiction of the given people's court, on the basis of the electoral districts.

Functions of People's Justices

People's justices serving in district and regional courts are elected at sessions of the Soviet of Working People's Deputies; justices to the Supreme Courts of Union and Autonomous Republics and to the Supreme Court of the Soviet Union are elected at sessions of the corresponding Supreme Soviets.

The functions, rights and significance of the people's justices are very great. A people's justice is a member with equal rights in the court throughout the entire trial. All cases are decided by the judge together with the two people's justices, whether it is a matter of establishing guilt, applying the law, fixing punishment, calling additional witnesses or satisfying a plaintiff's claims.

Should both justices hold an opinion contrary to that of the judge, the sentence or judgment will be that of the justices. In such cases the judge has a right to express his minority opinion and affix it to the sentence or judgment. This dissenting opinion is not read out in court, and serves only as material for the higher court which checks the correctness of the sentence or judgment of the lower court. Either of the people's justices, should he be in the minority, has the same right to express dissent.

Guarantee of Objectivity

Should the right of the judge be impeached, i.e., should either party claim that he is not disinterested, it is the people's justices who decide whether the impeachment is just. In such cases, should either people's justice hold that the claim is justified, the judge is held to be impeached.

During a trial the people's justices have the right to put any question to the witnesses, experts or the accused, which they may consider necessary to make the facts of the case clear or to establish the claims of objective justice. They may examine the material evidence and documents in court, as well as during the preliminary proceedings. This system guarantees the accused or the parties in the case full objectivity in passing judgment, and protects the court against errors.

In Tsarist Russia jurors were called only in the lower courts, and their rights were rigidly limited. Their only function was to decide whether or not the crime with which the accused was charged had been committed. Their answer could be only "Yes, it has been proved" or "No, it has not been proved." No discussion was permitted. In the higher courts, cases were decided without jurors.

In the Soviet Union, people's justices attend in all courts, from the People's Court to the Supreme Court of the USSR. All courts consist of a permanent judge who presides, and two justices, except in certain special cases established by law.

According to Soviet law, a people's justice has the right to substitute for the judge. In cases of his temporary absence through illness, or on vacation, the district Soviet of Working People's Deputies charges one of the people's justices with the duties of the judge.

The functions of the people's justices are varied. They take part in the trial of all sorts of cases relating to crimes committed against the life, health and reputation of citizens, charges of theft and embezzlement, civil cases relating to property claims, cases of infringement of labor laws or the theft of socialist property. Together with the judge, the people's justices receive the petitioners' applications and complaints, and give consultations. Not only do they take an active part in the work of the State's judiciary; they also receive instruction themselves in the administration of the State.

Many people's justices who have proved themselves capable and efficient, have been elected as judges. There are thousands of them working as assistant judges. For example, A. Zhuravlev, a Moscow factory worker, who was elected a people's justice in has been working as an assistant judge since the summer of 1940. In this capacity he conducts preliminary investigations of cases brought to court, interviews both parties and examines material evidence. Leonova, a school teacher, who is a deputy to the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, serves as an assistant judge at the Supreme Court of the USSR.

The People's Commissariat of Justice organizes short - term courses to help the people's justices in their work by acquainting them with the basic laws of the Soviet code. They are active in defending the rights of servicemen's families. They strive to settle cases out of court wherever possible.

A people's justice is the elected representative of the people. He knows the needs of the people well, and is in a position to judge competently in both criminal and civil cases. Like the judge, he makes periodical reports on his activities to his constituents.

The fact that he is the elected representative of the people, his extensive rights, his close connection with his constituents and the fact that he is directly responsible to them, illustrate the democratic character of the Soviet judiciary system.

M. GRETCHUKHA, a woman judge in a Soviet court, is pictured (center) reading sentence at the conclusion of a trial.

Vatican Backs Fascism, Moscow Writer Charges

By the Associated Press.

MOSCOW, Dec. 10.—Commentator P. Efimov, writing in Moscow Bolsheyik yesterday said "the Vatican is using the power of its apparatus, which is scattered all over the world, to save the remnants of Fascism."

"The Vatican is one of the centers of post-war reaction, and the Holy Father is busy, not so much with prayer as with burning international problems," Efimov asserted.

The writer stated that the Pope appeared to him to be concerned especially with the situation in Spain "and afraid of the victory of democracy in that country—that (Generalissimo Francisco) Franco, the last Hitlerite protege, will be found in the dock of trial."

Mr. Tolson .....
Mr. E. A. Tamm.....
Mr. Clegg .....
Mr. Glavin .....
Mr. Ladd .....
Mr. Nichols .....
Mr. Rosen .....
Mr. Tracy .....
Mr. Carson .....
Mr. Egan .....
Mr. Gurnea .....
Mr. Harbo .....
Mr. Hendon .....
Mr. Pennington .....
Mr. Quinn Tamm.....

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87 JAN 11 1946

Clipped from WASHINGTON EVENING STAR for 12/10/45

File

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CHARGE U.S., BRITISH PRESS SEEK WORLD NEWS CONTROL

MOSCOW, Dec. 4 (UP).—The Soviet publicist, N. Baltisky, yesterday attacked the campaign of American and British press agencies for international press freedom as a smokescreen "for not unsuccessful efforts to concentrate all newspaper business in the hands of big capital."

Baltisky contended that the great press agencies, United Press, Reuters and Associated Press, are owned or controlled by a small group of rich newspapers or individuals and that the concentration of power in the news industry was no smaller than in any other type of capitalist industry.

The United Press and Associated Press, he said, are still competing in the United States but Reuter has achieved a monopoly in the British Empire. He noted that the United Press and Associated Press are swiftly penetrating all parts of the world.

HITS FALSE PRETENSES

"The three press agencies," he said; "represent powerful capitalistic or, as they prefer to call themselves, commercial concerns of international significance. It is not surprising that these concerns are eager for expansion of their spheres of interest and monopoly.

"Is it decent for the businessmen heading these commercial establishments to palm off their economic expansion on world public opinion under the label of a struggle for international freedom of the press?" Baltisky asked.

He pointed out that AP had been charged in the American courts with monopolistic practices and that "Reuters is well known as a monopolistic enterprise not loving freedom of competition within the borders of its spheres of influence."

The important question, he said, "is the political character of the press agencies, the great newspapers and the foreign correspondents." He said that freedom of the press was enjoyed principally only by those who possessed enormous capital and charged that the Anglo-American press was politically "tendentious."

Because the owners of newspapers and agencies, he said, were primarily concerned with increasing profits they subordinate national wishes to the profit motive.

"To speak of the political independence of such commercial enterprises is a naive tale for children," he said.

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57 JAN 3 1946

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This is a clipping from page 8 of the DAILY WORKER

Date 12-5-45

Clipped at the Seat of Government.

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59 JAN 23 1946

Soviet Youth Urged To Study Foreign 'Ways'

By the Associated Press.

MOSCOW, Dec. 3. — President Michael Kalinin yesterday advised Soviet youth to become better acquainted with the languages, customs and characters of foreign people in view of Russia's expanding international contacts.

He addressed a session of the 14th plenary meeting of Comsomols, the Russian youth organization.

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A. Tamm
Clegg
Coffey
Glavin
Ladd
Nichols
Rosen
Tracy
Carson
Egan
Gurnea
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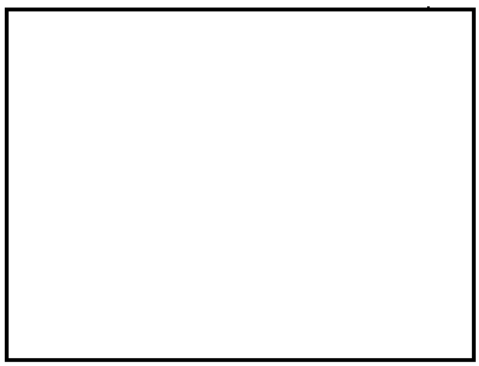

Russia - U.S.S.R. - C

Kalinin Stresses Int'l Ties to Youth

MOSCOW, Dec. 2 (UP).—President Mikhail Kalinin told the Central Committee of the Communist Youth League today that the international connections of the Soviet Union are being developed very strongly. He urged young Communists to familiarize themselves with the life and culture of foreign countries, and to learn foreign languages.

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INDEXED 12-16-45
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JAN 14 1946
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This is a clipping from page 12 of the DAILY WORKER

Date 12-3-45

Clipped at the Seat of Government.

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Russians Admit They Don't Fear U. S. Atoms

Here is the second of Mr. Churchill's articles disclosing practices of Russian censors on news dispatches given to them by correspondents for cabling to the U. S. and the rest of the world. Today's article—sent from Helsinki—carries many words and passages which the writer italicized to indicate exactly how the censors deleted his copy. These words were stricken from the copy by the censors when Mr. Churchill earlier sought to cable the dispatch from Moscow.

By RANDOLPH CHURCHILL.

HELSINKI—During my recent visit to Moscow, I was at pains to discover all I would about Russia's attitude to the Western Powers and what are her immediate political and territorial objectives.

I met Molotov, Vishinsky, Lozovsky, Litvinov and Maisky, the last of whom was an old friend of mine from the days when he was Soviet Ambassador in London. Visinsky and Lozovsky, together with Dekanozov, whom I did not meet, are all members of the Central Committee of the Communist Party.

COSTUME HORSES

Litvinov, *who is one of the few surviving old Bolsheviks,* and Maisky, *who is an old Menshevik,* have no such exalted position in the party. And tho they are also Deputy Commissars of Foreign Affairs, they don't have the same influence as their colleagues. They are regarded as technicians whose advice is sought on matters on which they are thought to be specialists. All of them are now sporting magnificent diplomatic uniforms, *which seems to be the standard practice in totalitarian countries.*

Russian *diplomatic circles* are unanimous in voicing their criticism of British Foreign Secretary Ernest Bevin. They regard him as a reactionary and all seem to think they were better off in the days when Anthony Eden presided over the Foreign Office. This criticism is not entirely based on Bevin's forthright attitude at the London conference of the five Foreign Ministers. Russian *Foreign Office officials* think that, as a trade union leader who has for years fought against infiltration of British Communists into the trade union movement, he has brought to the Foreign Office a general aversion to all Communists, *including those who inhabit the Kremlin. In support of this theory, they point to the fact that Bevin never accepted any invitation to the Soviet Embassy in London prior to 1941 and that to some Russian invitations he sent discourteous replies. They further allege that Bevin let it be known around London that it was "as a matter of principle" that he never went to Soviet receptions.*

ATOMIC DISSATISFACTION

The other main theme of Soviet dissatisfaction which I encountered was on the topic of the atomic bomb. Rusian officials with whom I talked affected to believe that the declared American intention to retain the manufacturing and engineering technique which has been perfected in the United States allows a desire to use the bomb for "imperialistic purposes." They further added that such a policy was bound to cause suspicion and hostility in the Soviet Union.

I naturally did not allow these criticisms of my Western Allies to pass without comment. I pointed out that, whatever social solecisms Mr. Bevin may have committed before the war, his firm attitude at the London Conference had received the warm approval of a large majority of British public opinion. In the matter of the atomic bomb, I tried to reassure my Rusian friends by pointing out that, tho the Americans alone prosessed the bomb, they have not dropped it on the Russians nor made the slightest use of any diplomatic pressure which might be thought to reside in the new weapon's extraordinary power.

TOO HONEST TO PRETEND

The fact that the Americans possess such a weapon without using it was the best possible guarantee of the pacific intentions of the United States. *I asked them chaffingly whether in fact anyone in the Kremlin had lost a single minute's sleep worrying about whether the Americans were about to drop an atomic bomb on Red Square. They were all too honest to pretend they had.*

I next tried to point out that all this talk of "arousing suspicions" was little considered. We, too, in the Western world, are sometimes perplexed and bewildered by the policy of the Soviets.

WHAT ULTIMATE OBJECTIVES?

"What are the ultimate objectives of Russian expansionism?" I asked. "Do you really want Tripolitania and Eritrea? And don't you think we are bound to be a bit concerned by the Communist Fifth Column which, despite the abolition of the Comintern, has grown up in every country in the world and which still takes its line directly from the Kremlin?"

I am bound to say they took all these questions in very good part. I have found Communists always when they are put by supporters of the individualist and capitalist world who are known to be fundamentally friendly to the Soviet Union and who are not thought to be blinded by ideological prejudices. Some of what I gathered was reassuring; *some of it rather less so.* Tomorrow I shall try to give a dispassionate appraisal of what I was told and what we may expect to be the main lines of development in the Soviet foreign policy of the immediate future.

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INDEXED
DEC 13 1945
60 JAN 16 1946

Clipping from page 11
Wash. Daily News
11-28-45

Five-MW

INCOME DISTRIBUTION IN THE USSR

Welfare of all depends on responsibility of each

By P. OGNEV

MOSCOW

The income of working people in the USSR is not limited to wages. A large share of the public output is set aside to meet the needs of the country as a whole in the form of schools, public health services, and so on. In the USSR all deductions made by the state from a person's private income are returned to him as a member of society either directly or indirectly.

The amount of the public output set aside for personal consumption by the population increases concomitantly with the growth of the public output and the national income.

The national income, for example, increased from 48.5 billion rubles in 1933 to 105 billion in 1938. During this same period the annual earnings of workers and office employes rose from 35 billion rubles to 98 billion rubles.

The systematic increase of that part of the public output marked for personal consumption stimulates the citizens of the Soviet Union to do everything in their power to promote the growth of the public wealth, to take a most active part in the well-being of the enterprise in which they work, to increase labor productivity and to overfulfill the plans.

Good for all

The improvement of the general welfare of the state leads to an improvement in the welfare of its citizens.

Every citizen of the Soviet Union has the right to acquire as his own private property all he requires for satisfying his personal needs. But every citizen knows that, the richer the State, the more his private property may expand.

The right to private property, as laid down in the Constitution, has no restrictions whatever. The private owner has the unlimited right of ownership, use and disposal of his property.

The owner has the right to appeal to a court for the return of his property if it has been unlawfully appropriated, or to demand reimbursement of the value of the property, if it has been lost or damaged, and also to demand reimbursement for all the costs involved.

This means that neither the state, the public, nor other persons have the right to encroach on the ownership, use or disposal of the private property of citizens. The owner has sole discretion over his personal prop[illegible].

There is only one reservation—the use of private property must conform to its social-economic purpose, as established by Article 1 of the Civil Code. This can be explained by the following example.

Example

Let us suppose that a citizen owns a home. Instead of maintaining this dwelling in suitable condition and repairing it when necessary, the owner allows it to fall into disrepair. In such a case the responsible state authorities warn the owner that he must take better care of his property. If such a warning fails to bring the desired results, the authorities may appeal to the court with a suit to take this dwelling from its owner. In the event that sufficient evidence is produced, the court will deprive the owner of the right to buy and sell private dwellings, the law provides that each citizen has the right to purchase a dwelling no oftener than once in three years. This precludes the possibility of misusing this right as a means of making profit.

Personal belongings

No limits or controls are placed on the right to the personal ownership of utensils and articles of personal use and convenience. Household linen, clothing, furniture, cutlery and china—everything that he can use—books, ornaments, musical instruments, articles needed for the practice of sports, trade or professions—in a word, everything conducive to a full cultural, professional, social and domestic life, may become his personal property. This property may be sold, mortgaged, given away or bequeathed by will.

Every citizen of the Soviet Union may acquire the commodities he needs as his own property, either individually, or jointly with other persons. Each party to such jointly owned property has the right by law to demand the part belonging to him at any time.

If the property is indivisible then the owner has the right to sell or turn over his part to other persons, the other parties to the property having the right of first option of purchase.

This right of the participants in joint property ownership to acquire shares of a common indivisible property, is established.

Family property

Family property also exists in the USSR. Only husbands and wives are recognized as owners of family property. Children may not become the owners of property acquired by their parents. Articles which belonged to the husband and wife before they contracted their marriage may continue to remain the personal property of each individually after marriage. Property acquired during their married life belongs to husband and wife jointly.

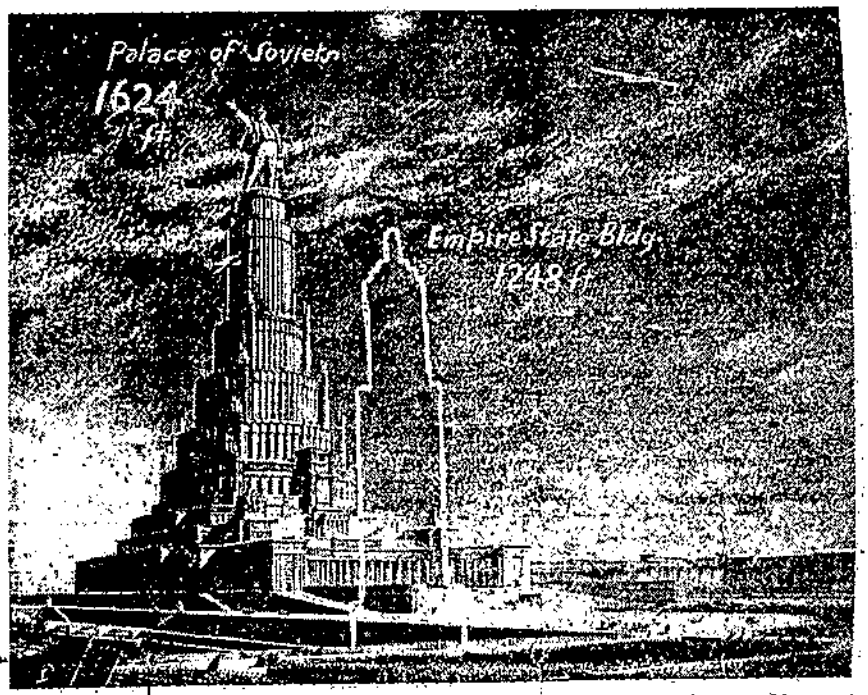
This joint ownership of property does not depend on which of the parties to the marriage earns the means by which the property is acquired. It is understood, however, that articles of personal use, such as clothing or occupational materials are considered the property of the party using them.

On the subsidiary establishment on the plot of land attached to the household of a collective farm family, the articles of private property are the dwelling, the livestock, poultry and agricultural implements. These articles are not the property of separate members of the family, but of the household in the aggregate.

The property of the household is jointly owned by its members. Prior to its division or to the allotting of any portion of it, no member has a separate share in this property. Therefore the death of one of the members of the household does not involve the question of the inheritance of his share but simply reduces the number of joint owners of the property.

Collective farms

A distinction must be made between the property of the collective farm family as represented by the property of the [illegible] (the dwelling



Only the beginning Soviet engineering feats surpass the wildest imagination. Labor isn't a task . . . it's a joy. Every achievement belongs to the builders.

inheritance, the next in line are the able-bodied parents or, in their absence, the brothers and sisters of the deceased.

Every citizen of the Soviet Union may will all his property or part of it to one or several of his legal heirs as well as to state organizations.

He cannot, however deprive his minor children or other dependent heirs of the share due to them by law. In the absence of legal heirs, the property may be willed to any person indicated by the testator.

Finally, if there are no legal heirs and the deceased dies intestate, the property reverts to the state.

Such, in general outline, are the salient features of the laws governing the ownership of private property against all infringements. Every citizen may appeal to the courts for the protection of his rights. The violation of the rights of private property by others is punishable by law.

Embezzlement, fraud, misappropriation and any other possible infringements of the right of private property are punishable by severe penalties which may include imprisonment for various terms.

Every citizen of the Soviet Union is well aware of his right to own private property. He also knows, however, that the welfare of the Soviet state is created by the labor of its citizens, of which his labor is a part. The higher the level of welfare in the state, the higher the level of his own personal welfare.

It is for this reason that Article 131 of the Constitution of the USSR states:

"It is the duty of every citizen of the USSR to safeguard and strengthen public, Socialist property as the sacred and inviolable foundation of the Soviet system, as the source of the wealth and might of the country, as the source of the prosperous and cultured life of all the working people."

Out ahead Soviet farming methods and animal breeding has already surpassed other nations. These sheep in the Krasnoyarsk region of the RSFSR produce a richness of wool hard to duplicate in any other part of the world.

Code. This can be explained by the following example.

Example

Let us suppose that a citizen owns a home. Instead of maintaining this dwelling in suitable condition and repairing it when necessary, the owner allows it to fall into disrepair. In such a case the responsible state authorities warn the owner that he must take better care of his property. If such a warning fails to bring the desired results, the authorities may appeal to the court with a suit to take this dwelling from its owner. In the event that sufficient evidence is provided, the court may grant the claim.

Only by a decision of the court and by the owner's failure to exercise his right in accordance with the social-economic purpose of the property in question, can the state interfere in the citizen's right to private ownership.

The court decides against the owner only if he intentionally and willfully allows his property to fall into disrepair.

The main source of every Soviet citizen's private property is his wages, earned by his own labor. No one has the right to interfere in a citizen's disposal of his wages. If necessary, the right may be established by appealing to a court.

Wages are also a source of savings, which the citizen may keep wherever he desires. The state guarantees the inviolability of savings bank deposits, and information on such deposits is given only to court investigators in the event a criminal charge is brought against their owner, and this information is requested by the court.

House property

An established rate of interest is paid on private deposits in savings banks. The owner has the unreserved right to dispose of his deposits and to withdraw them completely or in part from the bank.

Citizens of the Soviet Union have the right to own dwelling houses and subsidiary establishments connected with them. Each person, however, has the right to own only one home and to own it for a whole family—husband, wife and minor children.

Dwellings which are the property of private individuals may be bought, sold, mortgaged, given away or willed, as may all other forms of personal property.

To avoid possible abuses of household in the aggregate.

The property of the household is jointly owned by its members. Prior to its division or to the allotting of any portion of it, no member has a separate share in this property. Therefore the death of one of the members of the household does not involve the question of the inheritance of his share but simply reduces the number of joint owners of the property.

Collective farms

A distinction must be made between the property of the collective farm family as represented by the property of the household itself (the dwelling, livestock, agricultural implements) and the property belonging to separate members of the family (clothing, books, etc.) which is their personal property.

The collective farmer's main source of income is from the collective farm enterprise. The farming done on the subsidiary plot of the household has only a secondary significance and is a supplementary source of income for the material security of the collective farm members.

The main means of agricultural labor are pooled together as the public property of the collective farm. The statutes of the collective farm permit only minor agricultural implements to remain the property of the collective farm household.

The income which a member receives from his part in the general work of the collective farm constitutes his indivisible personal property.

Collective farmers usually sell any surplus products on the open market and purchase needed commodities with the money realized from the sale.

Inheritance

There remains the question of rights of inheriting private property in the Soviet Union. According to Soviet law property may be inherited by children (including adopted children), wife or husband and incapacitated parents, as well as other incapacitated persons who were dependents of the deceased for not less than one year preceding his death.

If any one of the children dies before the will is read his share devolves upon his children (the grandchildren of the deceased) and in the event of the death of the grandchildren, upon their children (the great-grandchildren of the deceased).

In the absence of heirs of first precedence or in the event of their refusal to accept the

SOVIET UNION TODAY

Major step in reconversion

5-year plan set for transport, rehabilitaion occupied area

By M. I. KALININ

Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet, USSR

On August 19 the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Council of People's Commissars of the USSR published a statement to the effect that it had instructed the State Planning Commission of the USSR to draw up, jointly with the People's Commissariats and the Union Republics, a Five-Year Plan for development of the national economy and transport of the USSR, and for rehabilitation of the districts liberated from German occupation.

The terms of reference given to the State Planning Commission are very far-reaching.

The prewar level of the Soviet Union's national economy must be considerably exceeded by the end of the five-year period and Nazi-devastated areas must be completely rehabilitated.

This Government decision may be regarded as an official announcement to the people about the beginning of reconversion.

I will not dwell on the complex work involved in drafting this plan. The experience accumulated in drawing up earlier Five-Year Plans, and above all their realization, lends full confidence that the State Planning Commission will cope successfully with this task as well.

I merely want to say that all Industrial Commissariats, enterprises, and local authorities must lose no time in preparing for fulfillment of this plan.

Some may ask: How is it possible to make preparations for fulfillment of a plan which has not yet been published? It is possible, for every enterprise, institution, and local administration knows approximately, or at any rate can suppose, what kind of consumers' goods it will be called upon to produce, or what restoration it must effect.

It must be borne in mind that the greater the gap between the time the plan is adopted and the beginning of work, the more difficult will be the realization of our aims in the forthcoming year.

After four years of tremendous efforts to satisfy the demands of war, and of strenuous fighting on the part of millions of the most vigorous section of the population, the Red Army soldiers, people naturally expect considerable improvement in their living standards in time of peace. This depends precisely on fulfillment of the state plan.

During the war, Soviet executives have shown themselves capable of effecting rapid and successful conversion of their enterprises to new production.

I think that Soviet industry will cope successfully with its new task as well, and not only industry, but also agriculture, the land departments, and the collective farms must achieve considerable increase in production, for the living standards of the population are based on the abundance of foodstuffs and the supply of consumers' goods.

If this were the only task confronting the Soviet Government and people, we could hope for its comparatively rapid realization, but the other tasks outlined by the Government are equally urgent.

Restoration and development of railway transport, which suffered severely during the four war years, will, of course, demand tremendous amounts of money and labor. These expenditures, it is especially important to realize, can be neither postponed nor denied. Everyone will realize that the regular operation of railways is the most essential condition for normal development of the country.

Restoration in the liberated areas devastated by the Fascists will also require enormous expenditures and efforts.

All these facts clearly indicate that workers, collective farmers and intelligentsia will have to work hard to achieve marked improvements in their living conditions. This indeed must be clear to everyone.

For four years millions of our people have been torn away from labor while other millions were obliged to work for the needs of war.

The enemy caused tremendous damage over large sections of our country's territory. We were obliged to spend a considerable share of the available stock of manufactured goods and foodstuffs. The people, too, are poorly clad and shod.

The end of the war does not mean that everything will be restored automatically. All this must be done with human hands. Only the high productivity of these hands will enable us to attain our prewar level, and to exceed it as outlined in the instructions of the CC of the CPSU and the Council of People's Commissars to the State Planning Commission.

However difficult the job ahead of us, it is nevertheless many times easier than four years of war.

There can be no doubt that the peoples of the Soviet Union will, in the course of the coming five years, succeed not only in healing the wounds inflicted by the war, but also in surpassing their prewar living standards.

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This is a clipping from page 5 of the People's World for 11-14-45
Clipped at the Seat of Government.

New Masses

Many Americans are hindered in understanding Soviet democracy as a developing process by the idea that the Soviet Union is a totalitarian state ruled by the small minority who compose the Communist Party, writes Harry F. Ward. That idea is erroneous, he says, describing the Soviet view of the state as the opposite of the totalitarian concept. Ward says Communist philosophy holds that the state is by nature repressive and therefore evil, and expects it gradually to disappear as the peoples of the world learn to control together all their affairs.

The Soviet system is a non-party state because the Communist Party is not a poiltical party in our sense of the term, Ward says. He describes it as a leadership organization designed to guide the people through the first stage of a new form of society, and says it was expected by Lenin to disappear as the capacity for leadership spread throughout the people.

There is no land where there is more political discussion than in the Soviet Union, Ward asserts—no land where so many people express themselves at such length in their press, from the wall newspapers in local institutions to the papers and magazines of their national organizations. He notes that the Orthodox Church, for example, now has its own printing plant.

N.Y. Post 11/14/45

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CLIPPING FROM THE
N. Y. POST

DATED 11/14/45
FORWARDED BY N. Y. DIVISION

Pravda Says Jap Cabinet Is Far From Democratic

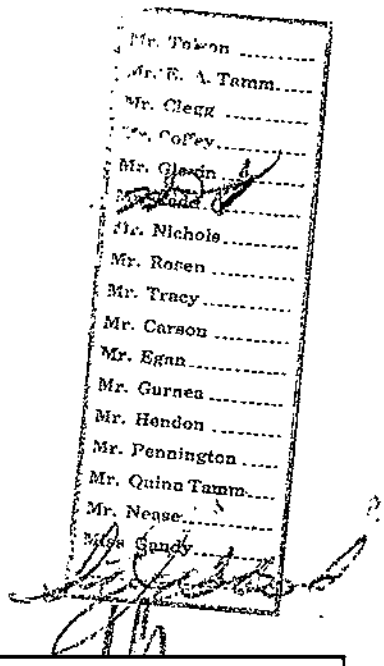
By the Associated Press.

MOSCOW, Oct. 29.—The Communist Party newspaper Pravda yesterday asserted that the present Japanese government has nothing in common with democracy.

In an article dealing mostly with European politics, a commentator declared a recent statement by Japanese Foreign Minister Shigeru Yoshida that his country's constitution was "Democratic" shows the Japanese "ruling bureaucratic caste has nothing and can have nothing in common with democracy."

Pravda said the minister's statement revealed that the present government differs "little in reality" from the peace cabinet headed by Prince Higashi-Kuni.

The article criticized also the remarks made by Pope Pius XII in his speech last Sunday and views on European politics by the London Daily Mail.



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Evening Star
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Soviets Stress Peace On 28th Anniversary

MOSCOW, Oct. 28 (UP).—The annual lists of slogans commemorating the Russian Revolution of October, 1917, have been issued by the Central Committee of the Communist Party. They were broadcast to the 180,000,000 people of the USSR Saturday night.

The first peacetime slogans in four years, this year's list of 55 included:

"Greetings to the peoples of the U. S. A., Great Britain, France, Poland, Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia, Belgium, Holland, Greece, Albania and Norway—to the Allies of the Soviet People in the winning of the victory over the German invaders"; "Greetings to the peoples of the U. S. A., Great Britain and China—Allies of the Soviet People in the winning of victory over the Japanese Imperialists"; "Greetings to the peoples of Italy, Romania, Finland and Bulgaria who broke their alliance with the Hitlerites and turned their arms against fascism."

"Glory to the great Soviet people who have gained victory over the German Fascists and the Japanese Imperialists;" "Let us be vigilant in guarding the gained peace among the peoples. Long live the Soviet Union—steadfast rampart of peace and security of the peoples;" "Greetings to the soldiers of the Red Army who are now being demobilized and who are returning to peaceful and constructive work;" "Men and women workers, engineers and technicians of military industries—perfect military equipment of the Red Army. Increase the might of the armed forces of the Soviet Union," and "Under the flag of Lenin and under the leadership of Stalin forward to new successes on the path of Socialism."

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This is a clipping from page 2 of the DAILY WORKER

Date 10-29-45

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Greek Commies Resurrect World Revolution Control

By FREDERICK WOLTMAN
Scripps-Howard Staff Writer

Plans for resurrecting the Communist International, Russian-dominated central control body for the world revolution, are under way in Europe, it became known today thru The Daily Worker, official organ of the American Communists.

The move was started last week by the Seventh Congress of the Greek Communist Party, according to a radio dispatch received by the Daily Worker from the Greek Communists convention in Athens.

HISTORICAL NECESSITY

Referring to the brilliant activity of Lenin's and Stalin's Comintern, a unanimously adopted resolution declared that the self-dissolution of that body in May, 1943, was historically necessary and contributed greatly to the victorious end of the World War.

Now a joint political organization of the working class is indispensable, said the resolution, to stop the suffering of the capitalist system.

DISSOLUTION HAILED

The dissolution of the International in Moscow more than two years ago was hailed then by Communist parties thruout the world as an act to strengthen the unity of the Allies, both for winning the war and the peace.

Cordell Hull, then U. S. Secretary of State, praised it as welcome news that would contribute greatly to wartime and post-war co-operation. And Premier Stalin asserted it "puts an end to the lie" that the Soviet Union sought to Bolshevize other nations.

COINCIDENTAL EVENTS

The Greek Communists' move to revive the Comintern came as the Soviet government stiffened its attitude toward what it regards as the formation of a western bloc of nations. It coincided with the failure of the Foreign Ministers' Council in London, which the Soviets blamed on the American and British representatives.

WORKER PUBLISHES IT

The Daily Worker published the resolution in full without comment under the headline, "Greek CP Urges New Workers' International."

Persons familiar with the international Communist movement assert the Greek action must certainly have been authorized by the Russian Communists. The fact that the sponsorship of a new international originated with the Greek party was said to be a carefully considered item. For Greece is one of the countries least influenced by Russia at present. Hence, if the proposal brings any diplomatic repercussions, responsibility could readily be disclaimed by the Soviets.

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Stalin Doubles His Party Rolls by Admitting Best Combat Men

By HENRY SHAPIRO United Press Staff Correspondent

MOSCOW, Oct. 5—Membership in the Communist Party in the Soviet Union stands today at nearly double its 1940 figure, when the party claimed 3,500,000 persons.

A recent dispatch in Izvestia said it now has 6,000,000 members. This includes adult members and alternates. To them must be added the approximately 15,000,000 Komsomols or members of the Young Communist League.

Admission of Red Army men who distinguished themselves in combat during the past war is responsible for the rapid growth. The rules of eligibility to this fraternity, which runs a nation of 200,000,000 men, were relaxed considerably during the war.

Frequently the probationary period which customarily has been imposed upon new members in the past has been waived.

Toward the end of the war, party leaders began a campaign to tighten party discipline.

The "bible" of the present-day Russian Communists is the "Short History of the Communist Party in the Soviet Union." It was published seven years ago, and Generalissimo Joseff Stalin supervised and edited the text. He even wrote a chapter, entitled "Dialectical and Historical Materialism," dealing with the practical application of Marxist theories to modern society.

Written on the eve of the war, the book re-examined the Communist position generally in the light of Soviet experience.

It proclaimed the practicability of Stalin's theory: that a socialist society is possible under conditions of capitalist encirclement. Its corollary—that capitalism and socialism can exist at the same time, provided that the Soviet state is sufficiently strong militarily—rejected Leon Trotsky's doctrine of world revolution. The war just ended as a result of a victorious coalition of the Soviet Union with the world's greatest capitalistic powers confirms Stalin's views, Communists believe.

Pravda said that the Bolsheviks will lead the Soviet people to Communism on the basis of ideas formulated in the "short history."

Observers here believe that foreign "students" of the Soviet Union who anticipated radical political and economic changes as a result of the war will be disappointed.

They think that no "new economic policy," providing for private trade and foreign concessions such as Nikolai Lenin introduced after the civil war, is in sight.

On the contrary, Soviet leaders are convinced they won the war because of the socialist character of the Soviet state, to which collectivization, industrialization, and the ideological leadership of the Communist Party contributed.

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Clipping from page 32 Wash. Daily News 10-5-45

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5 NOV 5 1945

Flame

'Red Star' Attacks Proposed Anglo-French 'Western Bloc'

MOSCOW, Sept. 14 (UP).—Konstantin Hofman, writing in the Army newspaper **Red Star**, today bitterly criticized a proposed Franco-British treaty of alliance as a violation of the aims and tasks of the United Nations.

He saw it as part of a plan to set up a bloc of western European powers and this, he alleged, would be a new "cordon sanitaire."

"The authors of the plan for the western bloc do not plan collaboration and consideration of all European democracy but, on the contrary, are trying to split it," he said. "They wish to isolate the western European countries from the Soviet Union and her eastern European states."

Hofman said British Conservatives, Gen. Charles de Gaulle and Leon Blum, Socialist, advocate an exclusive western European bloc, which was inconsistent with the objectives of the United Nations.

Discussions of Anglo-French rapprochement, he declared, began "with much noise," and "moreover, the idea of a western bloc is being advanced as the latest achievement of French national thought. The Socialist press began this campaign as soon as it learned of the failure of De Gaulle's negotiations at the White House."

"French ruling circles have deviated from the idea of collective defense for international security and consider it feasible to defend western security outside the system of general security," Hofman said.

"That French reactionary forces frankly and almost cynically again demonstrate their readiness to conspire against democracy does not surprise anybody who has followed the evolution of these groups in the past few months. But it is noteworthy that the political game of the reactionaries is facilitated by the position of the Socialist Party."

"The charter of the United Nations does not divide the world into zones and does not differentiate between the governments of western and eastern Europe regarding the matter of organization of peace," he wrote.

"Consequently it clearly follows that any western European power or other power wishing to support the United Nations charter cannot pursue a policy intended to erect blocs which violate the unity of the great nations, meaning general international unity."

Communist Party - U.S.A.

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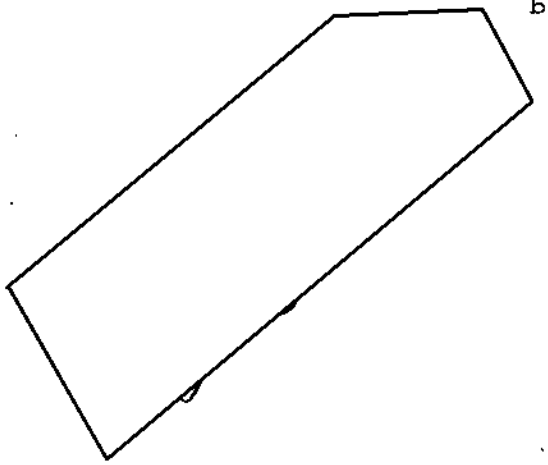

Communist Party Rules

*Leninism

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This is a clipping from pages 9 & 10 sec. Mag of THE WORKER
Date 9-9-45
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"FIVE"

Leninism Party Lies as for the Tasks Ahead
By William Z. Foster

58 JAN 5 1946

XXIII, 1918-1920. International Publishers.

Leninism Fortifies Us For the Tasks Ahead

By WILLIAM GEORGE

AMAZEMENT has been expressed at the fact that Lenin found the time, in the most crucial period of the revolution, when the very life of the young Socialist state was at stake, to concern himself with elaborate theoretical polemics against social-democratic, Kautskyist revisionism. Such superficial observers fail to see the connection between correct strategy and the struggle for the purity and integrity of the science of social development—Marxism. Lenin's exposure and rout of the revisionists and falsifiers of Marxism were the very conditions for the triumph of the October revolution, and its maintenance and consolidation. For it is incontrovertible that adherence to the social-democratic distortions of Marxism, when the objective conditions are mature for the socialist revolution, can lead only to the dissipation of the revolutionary energy of the masses, and to the triumph of the terrorist dictatorship of the most reactionary classes.

It may be said that Leninism was developed precisely because Lenin was, first of all, an indefatigable fighter against every revisionist tendency in the Second International. It is his Marxist study of the anatomy of the capitalism of the 20th century that led to his epochal work on imperialism. It is from this study of imperialism that he derived the theory and practice of the Proletarian Revolution—of Leninism, the Marxism of the epoch of imperialism and of the Proletarian Revolution.

Volume XXIII of Lenin's Works includes much of the exceedingly rich contributions he made to the Marxian theory of the state, the class nature, limitations and role of bourgeois democracy, and of the historical role of the higher quality of democracy, represented by the Dictatorship of the Proletariat. The complete unity and identity of theory and practice stands out in bold relief throughout, as a distinguishing feature of Leninism. The very heart of social-democratic revisionism, and treachery, and, consequently, the chief distinction between reformism and revolutionary Marxism, Lenin proves, lies in the attitude to the question of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat. And this is why he devotes so much attention to the most thoroughgoing and merciless exposure of Kautskyism, in this period.

Struggle for Bread—Struggle for Socialism

Integrally connected with the question of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat, which is the organization of the working class as the ruling class, is the peasant question. In this phase of the development of the socialist revolution it may be said that the peasant question assumes an extremely acute and extraordinary importance. In fact the correct solution of the peasant question, at this time (1918-1920) becomes the question of the survival of the socialist state. Lenin's battle cry and slogan, "The struggle for bread is the struggle for socialism," fully reflects the critical position of the country. But the question of bread is identical with the question of the attitude of the peasantry toward the Proletariat. History has proved that a false theoretical position on the peasant question, the position of the Trotskyites and Bucharinites would have spelled the doom of socialism in this period.

Reliance of the working class upon the village poor, an alliance with the middle peasants, and war against the Kulaks, represented then the tactical expression of the cardinal Leninist principle of the alliance. The creation by detachments of industrial workers of Committees of Poor Peasants as spearheads of the struggle against the Kulaks, was an important stage of the development of the socialist revolution in the countryside. These committees became the strongholds of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat in the villages. The struggle for bread was won. Socialism was consolidated.

Lenin in 1919, with Stalin and Kalinin

Unbounded Confidence In Working Class

The years from 1918 to 1920 were undoubtedly the darkest in the annals of the socialist state. The Social Revolutionary Party [illegible] abandoned all [illegible] resorted to full-fledged counter-revolutionary terror. Kulak uprisings and conspiracy to starve the working class and the revolution assumed critical proportions. The revolt of the Czecho-Slovak legions, financed and organized by allied imperialism, roused the hopes of all internal counter-revolutionary forces, and threw the petty-bourgeois masses into a state of despair and panic. The socialist state was completely cut off from its sources of grain, fuel and raw materials, and was being hemmed into an ever narrowing circle. Transport was paralyzed. Hunger raged in the cities. Predatory world imperialism was preparing the final death-blow. British, French, American and Japanese expeditionary forces occupied the Far East, Siberia, Vladivostok and Murmansk, the Black Sea coast, the Crimea and Georgia; while the Germans were terrorizing and looting the Ukraine, and decimating the working classes in the Baltics. Yet not for a moment did Lenin lose confidence in the ability of the working class to master and surmount the incredible difficulties. What is the basis of this unbounded confidence in the working class? What is the source of the amazing inner strength of the Party of Lenin and Stalin? What enabled the young Red Army to forge victory? The answers to these questions are clearly outlined in this remarkable volume.

The unwavering confidence of Lenin and the Bolsheviks in the inexhaustible resources of the Russian proletariat was based upon the most thorough familiarity of the Party of Lenin with the lives, needs, experiences and aspirations of the working class and all toilers.

In the Leninist style of work confidence in the masses has a scientific foundation. It is implemented in struggle. It is predicated upon the Marxist ability of the revolutionary vanguard to develop clear slogans, understandable to the masses, that give expression to their fundamental needs and aspirations at every turn of events; and to set the masses into motion to realize these demands. But a working class in motion must have reserves in order to avoid isolation and to isolate the main enemy. Thus the proper relations between the working class and its allies, the political content of the alliance, its demands and slogans of struggle often assume a decisive, determining importance. Just as in the struggle for bread we also see in the Civil War brilliant examples of Leninist strategy, and of the scientific character of the Bolshevik unbounded confidence in the working class.

In Lenin's several reports on the international situation, contained in this volume, we have another exceedingly rich lesson for Marxists: how to evaluate the relationship between and the influence of the world situation upon the internal national development and perspectives. Lenin, for instance, repeatedly emphasizes the decisiveness of the maturing revolutionary upsurge in Western Europe in that period to the crucial problem of maintaining and consolidating the position of the young, lone socialist state in the face of overwhelming odds. At the time of Brest Litovsk Lenin estimated that while the revolutionary situation had not yet matured in Germany, signs of its development were already in evidence. In fact the peace policy of the Soviet state, and its incredible sacrifices in order to break out of the imperialist war, Lenin indicated, would become the most powerful factor in stimulating and hastening the development of the German revolution. The German revolution, Lenin clearly foresaw, would entirely negate and wipe out the predatory robber peace of Brest Litovsk.

Similarly in the dark period of famine, imperialist intervention and internal counter-revolution Lenin placed his faith on the German revolution, and on the mounting revolutionary wave in Western Europe generally. This reliance of Lenin on the aid of the Western European proletariat was based upon the Marxist analysis of the growing general world crisis of capitalism, of the new inner imperialist contradictions brought about by the defeat of German imperialism, and on the effects of the war and accumulation of the indignation and revolutionary discontent of the working classes.

Question of the German Revolution

History undeniably confirms that the expectations of Lenin were fulfilled. The Western European Proletariat rallied to the aid of the struggling socialist state. The mutiny of the French Fleet on the Black Sea, led by Andre Marty, ended French intervention. Mutinies of the Amer-

(Continued on Page 10)

Leninism and The Tasks Ahead

(Continued from Page 9)

ican and British expeditionary forces compelled their withdrawal from Murmansk and Vladivostok. Committees of Action set up by British labor, and their threats of a general strike prevented direct and large-scale British intervention. Strikes of dock workers in Seattle and Philadelphia, and their refusal to load munition ships destined for Kolchak and Wrangel were of great significance in weakening imperialist intervention and internal white guard counter-revolution.

The above as well as the revolutionary events in Bavaria, the Balkan and Baltic states, in Italy, Holland and in the East are definite historical facts. What might, however, require further elucidation is the question of the German revolution.

Viewing history in the light of today, the reader may be somewhat puzzled by Lenin's reference to the inevitability of the proletarian revolution in Germany, in 1917 and early in 1918. While the 1918 revolution proved abortive, due to the treachery of Social Democracy, the fundamental point is that it did take place. And it developed, in its first stage, in a truly revolutionary way, taking the direction of a struggle for power, of a Soviet, Socialist Revolution. That in itself confirms that Germany was ripe for the Socialist Revolution, and its expectation by Lenin was thoroughly justified.

But while reckoning on the inevitability of the German revolution, Lenin, at the same time, forecast the possibility of its betrayal. He said: **"Europe's greatest misfortune and danger is that it has no revolutionary party. It has parties of traitors like the Scheidemanns, Renaudels, Hendersons, Webbs and company, or of servile souls like Kautsky. But it has no revolutionary party. Of course the mighty revolutionary movement of the masses may rectify this deficiency; but it is nevertheless a serious misfortune and a grave danger.** (Vol. XXIII, p. 238.) The conclusion Lenin draws from this great danger is fundamental. **"The most kaleidoscopic changes are possible, there may be attempts to form an alliance of German and Anglo-French imperialism against the Soviet government."** (Vol. XXIII, p. 230.) Lenin definitely reckoned then with the alternative possibility of development leading to Munichism.

The continuation of the struggle against revisionism in the American revolutionary movement urgently requires a deep study of the Leninist dialectical approach to the inner imperialist relations and their effect upon the socialist state. Leninism denies oversimplified, crude, idealist inevitables in social development. Leninism never loses sight of the violently spasmodic and extremely uneven development of imperialism. It precludes the very possibility of fixed and frozen class and state relationships over "indefinite periods." Thus in analyzing the international position of the USSR in 1918, Lenin states:

"Of course it is quite possible—and we must not forget this—that the groupings of the imperialist powers, however durable they seem, may be upset in the space of a few days, if the sacred interests of private property, the sacred right to concessions, and so on, demands it. And even the smallest spark may be enough to blow up the existing grouping of powers, and then the antagonisms which I have mentioned will no longer serve us as a defense." (Vol. XXIII; p. 17-18.)

Our notorious revisionism in the past period stemmed from an undialectical conversion of a temporary world relationship of forces, determined by the existing imperialist contradictions and momentary imperialist interests, into a stable permanent system. This distortion of Leninism led us directly to the negation of the role of the working class, and reliance upon monopoly capital to lead to progressive democratic development over an indefinite period. Never again must we lose sight of the fundamental Leninist concept that in the epoch of imperialism "the groupings of imperialist powers, however durable they may seem, may be upset in the space of a few days."

A systematic study of Volume XXIII, as well as the other classics of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, will be of immeasurable assistance to us, in completely overcoming our recent relapse into the swamp of revisionism, and will fortify us for the great tasks ahead.

Reconversion plans involve everyone

Main interest of every man, woman and child is their part in carrying out peace program

By VERN SMITH
(Daily World Foreign Editor)

Again, the Russians have a plan for it.

Labor struggles in America and Britain to get some order into reconversion.

The Soviet Union, which converted to war industry almost 100 per cent, hardly producing a pair of civilian shoes or a hat since 1941, and which suffered destruction equivalent to America's loss of all the Great Lakes-Ohio Valley industry, makes reconversion just part of a bigger job.

All the Soviet people want to do is to completely restore all destroyed industry by 1950, considerably surpass by that time the industrial capacity of 1940, before the Germans attacked, and reorganize national economy on the basis of expanded territory and friendly neighbors.

Every man, woman and child will take part in making the plan, which will be the main interest of the country from V-J Day onward.

What has happened so far is that the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet, that is, an executive committee of the Parliament, and the Council of Peoples Commissars, that is, the cabinet, have ordered the State Planning Commission and other agencies to get busy.

Probably the State Planning Commission has already a tentative plan.

COLLECTIVE FARMS

All industry of the country is operated by the government with the exception of farming, which is run by cooperative societies (collective farms). So all the main resources, all communication and transport routes, all manpower, all raw materials, are under its finger tips. The plan it makes will direct all of them, but manpower, to wherever the over-all efficiency of production requires.

Manpower will go voluntarily where there is work, and because of the plan will find housing—maybe whole new cities with city hall and theaters—all ready when it arrives. It will go in an organized manner, and the organizing will be done by the trade unions, not too many rushing too soon, but the way open for all who want to go.

However, in the Soviet Union people are not just "manpower." They are the planners, either directly or through elected agencies, or directors of industries and factories appointed by their soviets. They are also the owners, and are concerned with increased product, which in one way or another they share among themselves, and do not divide with any stockholders or millionaires.

OVER-ALL PLAN

First a general over-all plan comes down from the Planning Commission, which contains such items as: "one million tons of steel from the Cherniakhovsky Steel Combinat."

Then the directors of the whole set of steel mills, coke ovens, chemical by-products industries, power plants, and so on that form the Cherniakhovsky Combinat will meet and divide the work among themselves, figuring at the same time how much construction is needed and how many new men are required to produce it. The local city soviets in the towns that house the workers will be called in to plan their part, and to get help from the steel mills if necessary. Teachers in schools will be called in, through their union, to plan for the new workers' children. Doctors, nurses, newspaper editors, the Young Communist League, the Pioneers (something like Boy and Girl Scouts), theatrical troops, circuses, sports directors, all kinds of institutions and organizations that make up the rich and varied Soviet life are called to say what they need and what they can do.

The Communist Party branches and trade union locals discuss it.

Then the plan is published, first in general in all the papers, then in each locality, in each factory newspaper—for they all have papers.

After that it is discussed in reverse order. Each room in a factory, each factory, each mill, each of the cultural groups around the mill and in the mill town, each school and even each family considers its particular part in the plan. Sometimes they vote to cut down the proposed goal, for definite practical reasons. Much more often they find ways to raise it.

Realism is the keynote—actual feasible but maximum figures based on the resources and the time and the men now or to come. Fancy goals that can not be reached are not wanted. Goals set so low that they can be "surpassed by 100 per cent" or even by 20 per cent, are frowned upon.

COUNTER PLANS

All this discussion results in counter plans, which go back factory by factory, combinat by combinat, railroad by railroad, school or theater or hospital one after another, like tributaries to form a river, until a general counter plan accumulates in the offices of the State Planning Commission. The draft plan is corrected where necessary.

Then the work starts—and even the final draft is corrected at the end of each year, as actual concrete results show how well the possibilities were estimated.

That's state planning. This will be the fourth Five Year Plan. The first, from 1927 to 1932, built a basis of heavy industry in the Soviet Union where there was none before. The second plan, from 1933 to 1937, inclusive, more than doubled productivity of industry, over 1932, and as part of it, it collectivised the agriculture of the country, and resulted at last in a classless society. The third plan—was only half finished when Hitler struck, and then things went backward for a while. Now, with every Soviet man, woman and child involved in planning as well as working, they will go ahead again.

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This is a clipping from page 2 of the People World for 8-22-45
Clipped at the Seat of Government.

Lenin Traced the Roots Of Art to the People

By HELEN STASSOVA

(Editor-in-chief of International Literature, monthly magazine published in Moscow)

LENIN and culture has been the subject dealt with in a number of research works, memoirs and articles based on abundant documentary material. In this brief sketch I should like to introduce the reader to a few passages from Lenin typifying various aspects of his views on this question.

The great founder of the Soviet state could not and did not stand aside from any sphere of the spiritual activity and cultural development of the people.

Lenin considered that in building up a new culture it was necessary to start with a critical assimilation of the cultural heritage of the past. He called upon the young people to acquire "an exact knowledge of the culture created by the whole development of mankind." The culture which is growing up in the Soviet state is "the result of the natural development of those stores of knowledge which mankind had accumulated. . . ."

The Soviet people had to overcome their cultural backwardness, that is why Lenin paid so much attention to the question of the struggle for literacy, a struggle which laid the foundations for the further economic and cultural growth of the country.

"We must try to make the ability to read and write serve the purpose of raising the level of culture, try to make the peasant learn to read and write for the purpose of improving his farm and his state."

Is the rapid cultural progress of that state possible? Lenin answered in the affirmative. For "nowhere are the masses of the people so interested in real culture as in our country, nowhere are the problems of culture presented so profoundly and so consistently as in our country."

In Klara Zetkin's memoirs there is a record of her conversation with Lenin about art. Zetkin had a habit of writing down conversations she had had either the same evening, or the next morning, or at night; she had a splendid memory and we can be sure that her notes preserve for us what Lenin actually said. In her notes she quotes Lenin's actual words: "Art belongs to the people. It should strike its deepest roots down into the very heart of the masses. It should unite and elevate the feelings, thoughts and will of the masses. It should awaken and develop latent artistic talent among them."

Appreciated Beethoven

Lenin's interpretation of the popular nature and the humanitarian aims of art must be borne in mind when considering his appreciation of classical music, in particular his deep understanding of Beethoven and his lively interest in the forms of art more accessible to the masses.

In Gorky's memoirs we find this passage: "One evening, in Moscow, at Catherine Peshkova's flat, Lenin sat listening to Beethoven's sonatas. 'I know nothing greater than the "Apassionata." I could listen to it every day,' he said. 'It's glorious, superhuman music. And perhaps it's a bit naive and childish of me, but I always think proudly: look what amazing things people can do!'"

Nadezhda Krupskaya says that Lenin often asked Inessa Armand, his great friend and a fine musician, to play Beethoven's Sonata "Pathetique" for him.

When Lenin was living in Paris he was fond of visiting little theatres where the "chansonniers" commented on current events in witty couplets.

He loved to listen to Montegus singing the song, "We salute You, Soldiers of the Seventeenth!" These soldiers had refused to fire at strikers. Lenin himself at this time used to be always humming a song that he learned from the charwoman who came to do his flat:

"Vous avez pris Alsace et Lorraine,
Mais malgre vous nous resterons Francais,
Vous nous germaniser nos plaines,
Mais notre coeur—vous ne l'aurez jamais!"

("You have taken Alsace and Lorraine, but still we are French. You may germanize our fields, but never our hearts!")

On Literature

As for literature, in addition to Lenin's classic writings on Tolstoy, there is an enormous amount of material on literature to be found scattered throughout his works.

Before the October Revolution, when Lenin frequently had to resort to Aesopian language to outwit the tsarist censors, he had recourse to quotations from the works of the Russian satirists (Saltykov-Shchedrin, Gogol, Griboyedov, Krylov). A most interesting book, "Lenin's Library quotations," gives some very valuable data on these references. Most of them are taken from Saltykov-Shchedrin. Lenin introduces them into his polemics with political opponents, whom he labels with the names of various characters from Saltykov's works.

Lenin had a brilliant memory, and he often introduced quotations without looking them up in the original.

Alexander Pushkin was one of Lenin's favorite writers. Nadezhda Krupskaya declared that "he (Lenin) loved Pushkin best of all." In another place, recounting a visit Lenin paid to the students of the Higher Art and Technical Studios, Krupskaya writes that when Lenin asked "What do you read? Do you read Pushkin?" —one of the students answered that they read Mayakovsky, upon which Lenin remarked: "In my opinion Pushkin is better." This does not imply that Lenin meant to disparage Mayakovsky; it is well known how keenly he appreciated Mayakovsky's satiric verse directed against the bureaucrats.

Lenin's analysis of the most complex aspects of the art of Leo Tolstoy remains unsurpassed. He wrote: "The contradictions in Tolstoy's works, views and teachings are glaring indeed. On the one hand we have the brilliant artist who has produced not only incomparable pictures of Russian life, but also first-class works of world literature. On the other hand we have a country squire acting the fool in Christ. On the one hand we have a remarkably powerful, direct and sincere protest against social lies and falsehood; while on the other, the 'Tolstoyan,' i.e., the washed-out, hysterical, cry-baby known as the Russian intellectual, who beats his breast and cries: I am vile, I am wretched, but I am morally perfecting myself: I do not eat meat anymore and now feed only on rice patties."

Some brilliant pages in Gorky's memoirs help us to understand Lenin's attitude towards Tolstoy.

"Once I dropped in on him," writes Gorky, "and there on the table I see a volume of 'War and Peace.' 'Yes, Tolstoy. I wanted to read over the part about the hunt. And then I remembered that I had to write to a comrade. I can't find a moment for reading. Only last night I read your book about Tolstoy.' Smiling, his eyes wrinkled at the corners, he stretched out with obvious enjoyment in his armchair, and, dropping his voice, continued rapidly: 'What a colossus, eh? What an absolute superman! There's an artist for you! And do you know what is still more amazing about him? His mouzhik's way of speaking and thinking, the real mouzhik in him. Before this count there wasn't a genuine peasant in literature.' Then screwing up his eyes and looking at me he added: 'Can you place anyone in Europe beside him?' And himself answered: 'No one!'"

Equally valuable data is to be found in Krupskaya's memoirs concerning Lenin's estimate of the great Russian thinker and writer Chernyshevsky, of whom he was very fond.

"He loved Chernyshevsky's novel 'What Is to Be Done?' in spite of its naive and rather inartistic form. I was surprised to see how carefully he read this novel and noticed all the subtler touches there are in it. So far as that goes, he loved everything about Chernyshevsky, and had two photos of him in his Siberian album (the album Lenin kept during his exile in Siberia.—N. S.). One of the photos bears the dates of the birth and death of the writer in Lenin's hand."

Lenin had a very high opinion of Herzen. In an article, "In Memory of Herzen," Lenin quoted a passage from the writer about those who organized and led the revolt of December 14, 1825, against the regime of Nikolai I: "They were real titans, pure steel from head to foot, warriors, aesthetics, going consciously to their doom in order to arouse the young generation to new life and purity the children born in the midst of slavery and oppression. . . ." "And amongst those children," wrote Lenin, "was Herzen himself. The revolt of the Decembrists aroused and 'purified' him. In the serf-owning Russia of the forties of last century he succeeded in raising himself to such heights that he became one of the greatest thinkers of his day."

"Herzen set up a free Russian press abroad—this was the great service he rendered. 'The Polar Star' upheld the traditions of the Decembrists, 'The Bell' (1857–1867) stood firmly for the emancipation of the peasants. The servile silence was broken." And finally, "in honoring Herzen we see clearly three generations, three classes, forwarding the cause of the Russian revolution. First there were the nobles and landowners, the Decembrists and Herzen. The circle of these revolutionaries was narrow, they were far removed from the people. But their cause was not lost. The Decembrists gave rise to Herzen, Herzen stirred up revolutionary agitation.

"The revolutionaries and middle-class intelligentsia of the sixties, from Chernyshevsky down to the heroes of the 'People's Will Party,' caught up the struggle, broadened, strengthened and hardened it. The fighters were drawn from wider circles and their ties with the people grew closer. 'Young pilots of the coming storm,' Herzen called them; but as yet the storm itself had not broken.

"The storm came when the masses themselves were set in motion. The proletariat, the only thoroughly revolutionary class, rose at their head, and for the first time stirred the peasant millions to open revolutionary revolt. The first start of the storm was in 1905. . . ."

Lenin considered Gorky a representative in literature of the "storm," this mass movement; and unquestionably, "the greatest representative."

It is impossible to read without emotion the pages showing Lenin's friendship for Gorky, his wise, touching solicitude for the best writer on and champion of the Russian popular revolt.

This is how Gorky describes his first meeting with Lenin, which took place soon after Gorky had established writing his novel "Mother."

". . . a bald-headed, stocky, sturdy person, speaking with a guttural roll of his 'r's' and holding my hand in one of his, while with the other he wiped a forehead which might have belonged to Socrates, and he beamed affectionately at me with his strangely bright eyes. He began at once to speak about the defects of my book 'Mother' he had read it in the manuscript which was in the possession of I. P. Ladizhnikov. I was hurrying to finish the book, I said, but did not have time to say why before Lenin with a nod of assent himself gave the explanation. 'Yes, I should hurry up with it, such a book is needed, for many of the workers who take part in the revolutionary movement do so unconsciously, and chaotically, and it would be very useful for them to read 'Mother.'"

Thinking of drawing Gorky into the work of the literary section of the journal "The Proletarian," Lenin wrote to Anatole Lunacharsky: "That's just what I've been dreaming of doing, of making the literary and critical section of 'The Proletarian' permanent and handing it over to A. M. (Alexei Maximovich Gorki. — N. S.). But I was afraid, terribly afraid to suggest it, as I don't know the kind of work A. M. is doing, or how much he's capable of doing. If a man is engaged on a big serious work, and if taking up his time with trifles, newspaper work and journalism is going to interfere with it, it would be stupid and criminal to disturb him and distract him. I understand and feel this very well. . . . You're on the spot and can judge better. . . . If you think that we won't harm A. M.'s work by harnessing him to regular party work (and what an enormous gain it will be for party work), then try to arrange it."

Gorky in fact participated in the work of the newspaper "The Star" in which were published his Italian tales, which Lenin called "splendid."

Speaking of the value of Russian literature in spiritually uniting the peoples of our country, Lenin wanted everyone who called Russia his homeland to know the language of Turgenev and Tolstoy.

". . . the language of Turgenev, Tolstoy, Dobrolyubov and Chernyshevsky is great and powerful. We want . . . the closest possible intercourse and most fraternal unit to be established among the oppressed classes of all nations inhabiting Russia without exception. And it stands to reason that we stand for every inhabitant of Russia having the opportunity to learn the great Russian tongue."

We have already had occasion to speak of Lenin's knowledge of classical languages; he knew modern European languages—English, German and French—no less well, and had an excellent knowledge of the literature written in these languages.

In the album he kept in Siberia, along with pictures of the family and old convict-revolutionaries, were pictures of writers, as for instance, Zola. In Lenin's works we find numerous references to the works of Goethe, Dickens, Hugo, London, Hauptmann, Barbusse, Upton Sinclair and many others.

What demands did Lenin make of the culture and literature of the future? We shall answer in his own words:

"It will be a free literature, because neither greed nor careerism, but the ideas of socialism and sympathy with the working people will recruit ever new forces into its ranks. It will be a free literature, because it will serve not the sated heroine nor the upper ten thousand, bored and burdened with superfluous fat, but the millions and tens of millions of working folk, who constitute the flower of the nation, its strength and its future."

In conclusion I should like to give Joseph Stalin's estimate of Lenin as a representative of science and culture, in the words he used at the reception given in the Kremlin to the workers of the universities and institutes on May 17, 1938: "Lenin was one of the leading lights of that science . . . which has the boldness and resolution to break with old traditions, norms and principles when they have outlived their day and begun to act as a brake on progress; that science which is able to create new traditions, new norms and new principles."

V. I. LENIN

A portrait on tapestry made by the Georgian weavers Darli Natchkebia and Nabat Tagnyeva.

NEWS BEHIND THE NEWS

By PAUL MALLON

(Distributed by King Features Syndicate, reproduction in whole or in part strictly prohibited.)

WASHINGTON, June 26—A Boston reader wrote me asking what is this thing called communism and why should it not dominate Europe.

The Russians seem to be fairly agreeable peasant people. As General Eisenhower said, they like to laugh and enjoy life. They are not a warlike people.

Yet their government comes at you with the grimmest manner ever known to man, from a hole so deeply walled with censorship that it will never let escape a single verifiable statistic about itself, or even a sincere convincing statement of its purpose.

What is this thing with which we are face? What does it want?

This raises the prime question of the world today, for it is the question behind war or peace, behind the strength or weaknes of the San Francisco peace formula, behind prosperity and world trade, world politics—everything that is ahead of us economically, politically and spiritually.

If we are going to live in peace with this new world force, we must know it and handle it. What is it? Is it something to fear? To war against? To appease?

We cannot agree upon these answers until we can agree on what it is. We cannot handle it until we understand it.

An agreeable answer is therefore worth searching for, no matter how long, how much thought or how many columns it may eventually take.

The first penetrating glance at the Russian system will tell you it is not communism. It is not what it calls itself, because it practices the communal ownership and operation theory only on its farms.

In industry, where its government has always made greatest efforts, it follows a kind of socialism, but with "rents and profits" which are repugnant to socialism. So, it is not socialism.

Norman Thomas will be the first to tell you that. The American socialist is the bitterest enemy of the Russian system, although the official title of Russia is "The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics."

Apparently there are all kinds of socialism, including the late Hitler kind. The word nazi is derived from the German title of Hitler's nation socialist party. Thus we have Russian, German and American socialism, the most implacable foes of each other, all swearing death against each other. This being so, what is it?

The Russians called the German socialism "fascism," and we have accepted that term, but is it correct? Fascism," in theory, is a government by classes working together. The name was derived from the Italian word "fasces", denoting a handful of sticks held together.

This was the insignia of fascism. It symbolized the gathering together of the various class groups into a supposedly legislative (cabinet) assembly—one representative for the auto industry, one for auto labor, one for the farm, one for the manufacture of farm implements, etc.

Whereas we elected our congressmen to represent geographical districts containing all classes of people, the fascist theory advocated a national representative setup on class lines.

It was Mussolini who instituted this at first in Italy. It did not work. He took it over as dictator on a per diem theory basis. The parliament and councils tended to become a nonentity in a nation where terrorism restricted politics to one party of which there was one leader, and the individual was made the slave of the state.

These indisputable facts suggest our thinking even on this subject has been warped by semantics. There are all kinds of dictatorships around the world. Russia calls all except her own, fascist. This is no more accurate than to call Russia "communist."

Hitler borrowed methods from Musolini, but not the fascist system. Indeed Hitler had a reichstag (parliament) elected by districts, but he, too, allowed only one party to exist by force, power, terrorism.

Now both Mussolini and Hitler created their systems in opposition to an older political movement in Europe, using all the same methods, but still another form of "cell" representation under a dictatorship—variously called communism, bolshevism and Marxism.

The thory of a dictatorship of the proletariat was conceived out of the German philosopher Marx to overthrow capitalism. The Marx theory was negative and, like most philosophies, broad enough to encourage anything going its anti-capitalist way. The bolshevists favored immediate revolution for overthrow of capitalism and Lenin wrote the communal dogma, compromising the Marx bolshevist, and Stalin has compromised it further.

But the methods of secret police, absolute discipline upon the individual, no free election choices, subjection of the individual to the will of the state, purges, and single-headed dictatorship were originated by the self-styles "communists" and taken up and imitated with equal or greater violence by Mussolini and Hitler, on the plea of suppressing communism.

I suppose you might look upon the Russian system "Marxian bolshevism" but this would be true only to the extent to which you might say "Moses Christian" to describe as a forerunner of Christ.

Indeed, your justification would be less, because Russia has profits, interest and rent, which Marx described as the horrible habiliments of capitalism.

The Russian system, therefore, is something new—without a written ideology. It is an improvisation, without fixe principles. It is a negation of all existing principles outside of Russia, but it has no affirmative doctrine, except that it is control, and its control despotic.

I would say the most accurate name for it would be the despotism of the proletariat, which is the sole distinction it enjoys from other despotism carried on by other political parties and contrary groups of politicians in other countries.

I will continue the search for accurate understanding as to exactly what is this thing with which we are faced, or think we re threatened in subsequent columns from time to time in hopes of establishing a sound theory for working with it, or alongside it, in peace.

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Coffey
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Tracy
Mr. Carson
Mr. Egan
Mr. Hendon
Mr. Pennington
Miss Gandy

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Date 6-27-45

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Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Coffey
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Tracy
Mr. Carson
Mr. Egan
Mr. Hendon
Mr. Pennington
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Nease

Russia's Communists

Generally speaking, when new blood is infused into any organization, the organization itself is bound to undergo some change in character, and policies or actions are likely to be affected in one degree or another. Accordingly, there is perhaps more than a little significance in the report that the size of the Communist party in Russia has increased about 60 per cent during the past few years and that a great number of its old members have died in the war.

Prior to Hitler's attack in June, 1941, membership in the party was held down to a static total of 3,000,000 Russians, with a few hundred thousand others listed for eventual admission. An important percentage of the regular members fought in the Red Army, however, and suffered heavy casualties. These large losses have now been replaced by new personalities, and in addition the membership as a whole has been expanded to a total of 5,000,000, while the "probationary" waiting lists have been enlarged to about 1,000,000.

This great infusion of new blood, according to a New York Times dispatch, is made up principally of officers and men who have distinguished themselves on the fighting fronts and of workers and executives who have displayed special marks of ability and patriotism in war-supporting activities. As full-fledged members of the party, they now belong to the Russian elite, to the world's most exclusive political organization. In that capacity, as a small fraction of the Soviet Union's 180,000,000 people, they control their country through a pyramid-like structure of authority founded on village and town councils and ranging beyond that through councils of districts, regions and republics to the All-Union Congress of the U. S. S. R.

The policies and discipline of the Russian Communists presumably will be directed as firmly as ever from the top, but the fact that there has been an exceptional change in the personnel of the organization—literally millions of new faces and new minds—seems certain to have some effect, however slight or gradual, on the course of Soviet affairs, both domestic and foreign. There is nothing immutable in this world, and the Moscow "party line" is no exception. The extensive membership turnover is highly interesting, and its influence on events may prove to be not inconsiderable as time goes on.

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Communist Party - Russia

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WASHINGTON STAR
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Cooperation With Russia

By Col. Stanley Washburn

Vital To Permanent Peace

THE ENTIRE WORLD is at this time united in the endeavor to create an organization to make permanent peace throughout the world a possibility. It is then of primary importance that the United Nations in this long and costly struggle maintain in peace the same community of interest they have had throughout the war. For the last years this unity has been preserved by a common danger but it is essential now that mutual understanding of each others problems and necessities in times of peace be maintained. It is obvious that Europe cannot be permanently reconstructed without substituting confidence and understanding of Russia and the Russian people as against the mutual suspicion which now exists and seems to be fomented by many irresponsible speakers.

AT THIS TIME when so many are agitating distrust of our great Eastern ally it seems vital that the necessities for which Russia has been struggling and fought many wars in past generations be recognized and some understanding and agreement reached. The reiteration of the idea now being repeatedly circulated throughout this country that one day we may be forced into a war against Russia is utterly without any foundation or basis in reality.

It will be recalled that in the first World War Russia struggled practically alone on the Eastern front for three years before they finally were forced out of the war, not because of any crack in their morale but because they literally had no means of continuing the war. In 1914 the British Foreign Office, so ably presided over by Sir Edward Grey, Minister of Foreign Affairs, agreed as did France that Russia should be compensated for her sacrifices by securing an outlet to the Mediterranean through the Bosporus and the Dardanelles. In the spring of the following year this treaty was signed by the British, French, and later by the Italians when they came into the war in May 1915.

It will be further recalled that at the end of the Russo-Turkish war in 1877 when Russia had secured this outlet by the Treaty of St. Stephano, Disraeli and Bismarck at the Treaty of Berlin deprived Russia of the fruits of her victory. In May 1916 Sir Edward Grey admitted to the writer in the presence of the Permanent Undersecretary of State that the Anglo-Russian policy had been based on a fallacy, namely that Russia was a menace to British maritime power and promised that this treaty would be published at the request of the Russian Minister of Foreign Affairs.

It must be obvious now to any impartial student of Russia and Russian policy that Russia must ultimately have an outlet to a warm water port. The abortive effort by the British to open the Dardanelles in 1915 made it impossible to support our ally in the East and having then a very meager industrial system, Russia went out of the war but not until she had suffered ten million gross casualties. Had the Dardanelles been open and ports in Russia accessible and munitions furnished, Russia probably would not have gone out of the last war. Their collapse was due primarily to lack of munitions and this statement the writer makes categorically because he was with the Russian armies from 1914 to 1917, first as military correspondent for the *London Times* and later as aid to Senator Root and assistant secretary of the diplomatic mission sent by President Wilson to Russia.

It must be equally clear now to anyone that the closing of the Dardanelles in the European war which has just ended necessitated our lend-lease material and help to Russia going around the Cape of Good Hope and supplying our ally with their much-needed supplies through the Persian Gulf, and this at a time when our shipping was vitally needed. These trips covered more than ten thousand miles and required five or six weeks to reach their destination. This in turn necessitated hundreds if not thousands of additional cargo ships and crews, much of which would have been obviated had the Dardanelles been open.

That there is suspicion in this country against Russian motives is based largely on the fear of communism and we are constantly being threatened by irresponsible speakers of what is called the communizing of Europe. Certainly the time has now come to define what is meant by communism (in Europe).

WHAT MEN THINK and have thought are the only enduring things in society, and the menace to human thought 20 years ago was perhaps a danger. Now let us see exactly what has happened since then. When Germany invaded Russia in June, 1941, the first step of Stalin was to suppress the atheist paper called "Godless," close the college of atheism and invite the head of the Greek Orthodox Church to return to Moscow and broadcast to the Empire an appeal to pray to God to save them from the ruthless hordes of the invading enemy. Since then by orders of Stalin the colleges for the education of priests have been reopened. Marriage is now a religious sacrament and the divorce laws have been so tightened that it is far more difficult to get a divorce in Russia than it is in America. In 1943 Stalin took the last important step by dissolving the Third International and in retrospect it does not appear that Stalin himself ever favored world revolution. The only thing which we can now object to is the Russian economic system, which in reality is not our affair, nor is it in any way a menace to us or our institutions. It seems then to this writer that there is very little of so-called "communism" left except the name.

If one is fairly to appraise Russian policy one must put themselves in the place of the Russian people. It will be recalled that when Russia went out of the war in 1917 the treaties guaranteeing them an outlet to the Mediterranean promptly lapsed and they were not permitted to have any voice in the discussion of the Versailles Treaty. It must be clear to any fair-minded person that Russia and the Russian people will never again be willing to accept the same form of settlement as of the last peace after their enormous sacrifices in this war which it is estimated may run to nearly 20 million, including the civilian population. In theory it was idealistic for all those little countries to have their independence, but in actual reality it simply meant that when the crash came they were promptly occupied by the Germans to be used as bases from which to attack Russia. Many of us were of the opinion that the Russian invasion of Finland was harsh and ruthless, but in restrospect it must be realized that Stalin merely anticipated Hitler. Had the Germans arrived there first and taken Terioki on the Russian frontier only 14 miles from Petrograd, that city would certainly have been taken; the whole Russian right flank would have been turned, which would probably have resulted in the fall of Moscow and perhaps the complete collapse of the Russian effort. It must be realized, too, that without Russia sacrifices in this war it is quite within the realm of possibility that we would not have won at all, and had we finally achieved victory it would have taken years longer, for in the last year nearly two thirds of the German army was on the Russian Front.

The same problems exist in the Balkans. Russia has no need of these countries per se, any more than she has of Finland and the Baltic provinces, but probably they have no intention to permitting a repetition of what occurred in this war. In 1919 this writer urged the Roumanian government not to take Bessarabia or too much of Transylvania; it was then certain that within a generation both Russia and Germany would come back as military powers and that the Germans would certainly return to Romania, first for the oil, and second to use Bessarabia as a base to attack Odessa and Kieff, which, of course, they promptly did. Russia's intention not to permit this situation to occur again is certainly a sound policy on their part and should not be put down as Russian aggrandizement over small nations.

THE price of permanent peace, in the opinion of this writer, is the realization of the necessities of Russia and perhaps the most important of all of these is the permanent acquisition in perpetuity of an outlet to the Mediterranean. Any fair-minded person must concede that it is economically impossible to permanently shut off 200 million people with a rapidly growing population, from access to the outer world. As above mentioned, this policy prevented the Allies from helping Russia in the First World War and enormously handicapped the Russian effort in this war.

It is fair to assume that within a decade or at least a generation Russia will be the greatest industrial power in Europe. Nothing seems more absurd than to talk about the possibility of a future war between the United States and Russia for there is no possible reason why our interests economically, spiritually, or morally should ever come in conflict with that power.

This writer has been dealing with the Russians for 40 years and it is his considered opinion that within a generation Russia will become in reality a democracy. For more than a century there has been more local self-government in the Russian villages than in almost any other country in the world. The little organizations called "Zemstov" correspond very much to the New England town meeting and the peasants in large measure run their own local affairs by pooling their interests and functioned without molestation unless they impinged on the political situation and the autocracy. They are a kindly, simple, and democratic people. Any alliance to be permanent must be based on mutual understanding and confidence not only between governments but in the hearts of the people comprising the population of the nation. The Russian people should naturally be our allies in minds and hearts and this can only be secured by mutual confidence and awareness of each others national aspirations. It seems fair to assume that given time Russia and the Russian people will return to their traditional instincts of spiritual life, love of their church, of Holy Russia and their local self-government which means in the aggregate, ultimate democracy.

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British Barred Talks On Colonies in 1943

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MOSCOW, June 8 (UP). — The Communist Party newspaper Pravda asserted today that Britain in 1943 at the Moscow conference blocked discussion of an all-embracing American plan for earliest liberation of the entire colonial world.

In the first of a series of articles on the colonial situation, A. Leontiev, Soviet economist, said that whereas Americans are interested in the "open door" policy so as to gain access to colonial raw materials, Britain, as the biggest of colonial empires, is determined to preserve the status quo.

He stated that the Americans now have "accepted the essential British viewpoints" on the colonial question at the San Francisco conference.

Leontiev asserted that the present day colonial system is one of the causes of "economic and political rivalry between powers" and cited as an illustration the "events in Syria and Lebanon which, according to the foreign press, definitely 'smell of oil'."

The Soviets at Moscow sympathized with the American proposals on colonial liberation, Leontiev said, and recalled that the Soviet Union has "always defended the right of peoples to self determination and complete national independence."

"The American proposals in 1943," he said, "had the following characteristics: First, they embraced the colonial problem as a whole and unequivocally declared for the granting of independence to all colonial peoples as the purpose of all the Allied nations; second, they proposed a system of international trusteeships be established and applied to a definite group of dependent countries with the purpose of granting them at the earliest time the status of independence."

Communist Int'l - Russia

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EX-15

This is a clipping from page 2 of the DAILY WORKER

Date 6-9-45

Clipped at the Seat of Government.

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FILE

Izvestia Notes U. S. Criticism Of Stettinius' 'Drifting'

MOSCOW, June 3 (UP).—The San Francisco correspondent of the official publication, Izvestia, quoted American press criticism of U.S. Secretary of State Edward R. Stettinius, Jr., today and said "other American papers think that Stettinius' policy of drifting has succeeded Roosevelt's successful policy of mediation."

The correspondent, Eugeny Zhukov, quoted writer Walter Lippmann's demand for the replacement of Stettinius and his aides on the grounds of "the inconsistency of their foreign policy."

Reporting that a group of congressmen had visited Undersecretary of State Joseph C. Grew and requested that President Roosevelt's policy of friendship with the Soviet Union be continued, Zhukov wrote:

"The very fact of this visit shows that many Americans are disturbed by the numerous manifestations of anti-Soviet propaganda and insist on the necessity for stronger Soviet-American friendly relations."

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This is a clipping from page 3 sec. of the DAILY WORKER

Date June 4, 1945

Clipped at the seat of Government

The Big Difference

By FRANK C. WALDROP

ALL of a sudden a lot of people around Washington are beginning to wonder why Russian and American diplomats are gritting their teeth at one another so soon after the big joint "war of liberation" in Europe, and various spokesmen of opinion in each country are hurling barbed advice and criticism back and forth at one another.

Frank C. Waldrop

Maybe it would be of interest on this nice June Sunday of 1945 to run through a few unshakable facts about the big difference between the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics as a sort of mind-clearing pastime.

One thing these two nations have in common—each was founded in a revolution.

The revolution that made the United States was touched off formally in 1776 after a number of preliminary battles. Its purpose was very plainly stated in the Declaration of Independence and as soon as the revolution was successfully established the basic law of the country was set up in a Constitution.

THAT Constitution has endured ever since. It has survived the violence of a four-year civil war, the bloodiest ever fought in the Western Hemisphere. And it has survived the undermining attempts of a so-called "New Deal" by a President who actually once sent a message to Congress directing the passage of a law (the Guffey coal-control bill) in exactly the form he wanted it without regard for any doubts about its constitutionality, "however reasonable."

Our Constitution, therefore, has proved itself a fairly rugged set of principles to have survived all these years.

Anybody who thinks about it much will realize that the Constitution of the United States has survived because it provides for the most liberal and tolerant government in history.

IN the United States nobody can be locked up by the cops and held without the right to know what charges have been brought against him. He has the right to have a lawyer, to appeal to a judge, to see his family, and to prepare a defense against any crime with which he is charged.

Public opinion in this country remains free of the police. The Constitution provides for a free press, free speech and free assembly.

It also provides the right of the citizens to own property and provides that none of his rights can be taken away from him without due process of law.

FINALLY, the Constitution of the United States works because public officials in this country are subject to the will of a voting majority under a system of competitive elections.

It is well established by long tradition and history that public officials in the U.S.A. shall be the *servants* and not the *masters* of the people.

Just about everything in Russia is exactly opposite to this except that matter of a revolutionary start.

The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics was formed out of a revolution that exploded in 1917 while czarist Russia was at war with Germany as an ally of Great Britain, France, Italy, and the other western powers.

THE STATED object of the Communist party which seized the revolutionary power in Russia after 1917 was to kill and destroy every person or force, first in Russia and then in the world, that did not accept this Communist dictatorship without a murmur.

The Russian government is the toughest, bloodiest surviving police power in the world. No person is secure at any hour of the day or night or in any place (outside the palace of the Kremlin where the present czar is reigning). Nobody can speak, write or travel without permission of the cops. Nobody can own anything outright. There is no freedom of religion. For going on strike, a workman is lawfully punished by—death.

A TIGHT little monopoly of superior commanders today owns and operates Russia. The people work for them and nobody can escape except at the risk of his life.

And even then, as has been demonstrated time and again, the agents of the Communist bosses hunt down such fugitives all over the world and murder them as a warning and a lesson to the folks back home.

Such, in brief, is the big difference between the United States and Russia. How in the world can anybody expect two such radically contrasting governments to play patty-cake?

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Mr. Nichols
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Tracy
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Mr. Egan
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Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Nease
Miss Gandy

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WASHINGTON TIMES-HERALD
Page D-1

Allies Held to Blame If Communism Gains

Fodor Calls For Check on Anti-Soviet Extremists

By M. W. Fodor
(Copyright, 1945, by Chicago Sun and The Newspaper PM, Inc.)

PM Exclusive

SOMEWHERE IN CENTRAL EUROPE, June 1. —The Army newspaper *Stars and Stripes* carries reports of a radio address Tuesday night by Rep. Clare Luce (R., Conn.) in which she denounced the Russians because "every government in central Europe is controlled either directly or indirectly by Moscow-minded rulers."

It is essential if we want to avoid a grave conflict with the Soviet Union to go deeper into analysis of events in these parts.

Mrs. Luce in her address charged that the "groundwork already has been laid in Greece and Italy for Communistic elements to take over as soon as the Anglo-American armies leave."

To my mind, if Greece turns Communistic after evacuation by the British, it will not be due to Moscow's influence, but will be traceable to the short-sighted British policy which drove the ELAS into revolt and which encouraged rule by incompetent reactionaries in Athens.

Blame Own Policy

It was our own policy toward Marshal Badoglio that increased the influence of Leftists in Italy, although the Communists supported and still do support the incumbent administration.

Undoubtedly the Russians took advantage of this swing. We had an equal chance to exploit the situation but failed.

Prime Minister Churchill has supported reaction in every country and continues to do so. We sat back and missed the chance to direct the worlds' attention to our own inherently idealistic and traditionally progressive spirit, which Central Europe's masses would have welcomed.

Communists Rebuked

After eight weeks among the Russian troops in Yugoslavia, I am convinced that the USSR is trying hard to live down its revolutionary past. The Russians often are somewhat ashamed of their over-zealous revolutionary pupils.

They constantly wear gala uniforms with resplendent epaulettes and decorations. Officers and men eat in separate messes.

A Catholic priest who came from Budapest told us that the Russians forbade the Hungarians to arrange a demonstration on their independence day Mar. 15.

Hungarian Communists, believing that they were a privileged class under the Russian occupation, defied the order and paraded through the main streets, carrying streamers and red banners. A Russian regiment stopped them, took away their streamers and banners and took the marchers into a forced labor camp and put them to mending roads.

We must analyze these questions in a detached way. The Soviet Union—and after two German invasions in one generation I don't blame it—wants security.

Our treatment of German generals and certain moves by the British have created with the Russians an impression that the Western Allies are attempting to encourage a reactionary Germany.

The Soviet Union feels that in view of these facts, along with the American policy in Italy and British actions in Greece, it is justified in her attempts to set up a security belt by whatever means it can be achieved.

It is openly fearful of future German aggression, and intends to see, by all means, that it is well protected if it ever comes. Hence, the USSR is exploiting existing Communist sympathies in neighboring countries.

Cool Heads Needed

Britain and the U. S. A. were able to live with Czarist Russia, no matter how much we disliked its policy. It is much easier to live in friendship with present-day Russia if we will stop to study its mentality and know how to talk to it.

We must check the present hysterical, impatient attitude of some extremists, and should consider the facts calmly and with cool heads.

I saw Sens. Burton Wheeler (R., Mont.) and Homer Capehart (R., Ind.) gathering "facts" in Salzburg. They sought contact with practically nobody except some officers. It seemed that their trip was just an excuse to reassert their isolationist creed after they return to the U. S. A.

I hope nobody back home will fall for this trick this time.

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Mr. Mumford
Mr. Starke
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Nease
Miss Gandy

Communist Party Russia

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10/3/47 Material reviewed in Fodor file

JUN 1 1945

PM DAILY
Page 5

COMMUNISTS' PLANS STILL GIRD EUROPE

Dissolution of Comintern in 1943 Did Not Hamper Work of Resistance in East

By C. L. SULZBERGER
By Wireless to The New York Times.

LONDON, May 26—The Communist parties of eastern Europe, as well as in the rest of the world, have been officially on their own since the abolition of the Communist International in May, 1943.

However, as it is normal to expect, they have maintained close contact with Moscow and have been sincere admirers of the U.S.S.R. Russians point out that there is nothing more unusual in this than that the Netherland monarchic democracy should admire Great Britain.

The now dissolved Comintern at first was only an instrument to develop revolution. Then it became a factor in Russian factional struggles. Finally it became closely associated with Soviet foreign policy. It was at that stage that its death was officially proclaimed.

Communism, in eastern Europe especially, developed a dependence upon a savior from abroad. Powerful local Communist movements developed from partisan patriotic organization. But they were connected with Moscow and worked during their clandestine period with the Red Army.

Many of the more recent leaders of the Communist International still play a prominent role in Soviet affairs. The Foreign Commissar, Vyacheslaff M. Molotoff, was at San Francisco, and Dmitri Z. Manuilski, Ukrainian Foreign Commissar, is still there. While dozens of others disappeared during the purge period, it is believed that Karl Radek, who was at one time chief adviser to the Comintern in matters concerning the west, is not dead.

Former Officials Still Active

At present the U.S.S.R. is maintaining a formally very correct attitude in dissociating itself from local Communist party matters; it operates its policy through the Foreign Office. The three main lieutenants of Premier Stalin and Mr. Molotoff in European and border areas are Col. Gen. Andrei A. Zhdanoff for Finland and Scandinavia, Andrei Y. Vishinsky for eastern Europe and the Balkans, and Sergei D. Kavtaradze for Turkey and Iran.

Former Comintern officials, however, have emerged prominently in local national parties. Many of them at one time or another not only worked with Moscow but lived there.

Among these are Poland's Boleslaw Bierut, Yugoslavia's Marshal Tito and Austria's A. Fischer, who used to head the Comintern press section, and Bulgaria's Georgi Dimitroff. Dimitroff has been back in Bulgaria since its armistice but is thought at present to be in Moscow.

These men have helped to organize the national Communist movements and to build around them from nationalistic Leftist and patriotic resistance groups strong party blocs. The formula has been similar in all lands.

There was a national liberation front in Greece, Yugoslavia, Albania and Bulgaria, and similar coalitions in Rumania, Hungary, Austria, Poland and Finland, varying as local conditions demanded but always with intellectual Communist leadership and method at the top.

The best known example of how this developed was in Yugoslavia, and does not require repetition. In Bulgaria, however, according to a recent lecture in Moscow by Professor Kolaroff, an army of resistance numbering 250,000 men was developed by the Patriotic Front, which consisted at the core of an alliance between the Bulgarian Workers (Communist) party and Left-Wing Agrarians.

Land Reforms Put Through

Now it is claimed that the Workers (Communist) party numbers 200,000. Professor Kolaroff termed this "an armed uprising of the Bulgarian people and not a revolution," and asserted it in no way represented an effort to "bolshevize Bulgaria."

The policies in all the eastern European lands are remarkably harmonious, aimed at accomplishing reforms which, while greatly needed in Poland, Hungary and Rumania, were not nearly so necessary in Bulgaria and Yugoslavia.

Basically, these reforms are concerned with land distribution and the socialization of certain industries. The first step is to equalize land holdings. It is permissible to ask whether further plans are considered along the lines of Engels:

"Our task as regards to small holders will, first of all, consist in transforming their individual ownership into cooperative production and cooperative ownership, not forcibly but by the way of example."

By accomplishing land distribution, a broad class of minor capitalists—peasants—has been created. Will it be considered sound to let this develop, or will it be thought wiser—as in the Soviet Union—after land distribution to gain peasant support, to collectivize?

In most East European lands, like Rumania, there is not enough land to go around for independent small farming. In some, like Bulgaria and Yugoslavia, the ancient Slavic communal organization, or Zadruga, may be encouraged.

Ties With Moscow in Making

Meanwhile, the present eastern European regimes are not worrying about this problem, which can await demobilization of their own armies and of the Red Army units, such as those created when the Province of Ruthenia was drafted.

They are busily establishing their firm relations with Moscow, and it is evident that an interlocking treaty scheme involving them all will be built up on the framework of the bilateral pacts with Moscow. Already Prague and Warsaw are negotiating such accords.

They are eliminating opposition elements. These include collaborators and traitors. Also regarded as oppositionists are pro-Allied peasant leaders, such as Stanislaw Mikolajczyk and Dr. Juliu Maniu and Bulgaria's Georgi Dimitrov (not to be confused with the Communist leader).

Complaints are heard that entirely too many peasant leaders and liberals are nowadays being regarded as "Fascist beasts." The Russians point out that many capitalist business leaders, especially in Rumania and Austria, are playing important roles. Obviously, it is not clear for how long.

Karl Radek, prominent Soviet journalist, was arrested during the Trotsky trials in 1937 and sentenced to ten years' imprisonment on the charge of complicity in an anti-Stalin plot. Identified by the prosecution as one of the principals of the conspiracy, he pleaded guilty to the charges brought against him. He had joined the Trotsky opposition in 1924.

Subsequent reports said he had received a pardon as a result of evidence he provided against others implicated in the plot, for which thirteen were sentenced to death. According to the 1944-45 edition of The International Who's Who, Radek was released from prison in 1941 to assist the Soviet Government in propaganda work.

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5/17/45

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87 JUN 18 1945

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Red Star Says Those Who Fought Fascism Must Decide on Trieste

LONDON, May 25 (UP).—Prof. L. Zlavich, outlining the history of Trieste in the Soviet army newspaper, Red Star, asserted that the conclusion "rests with the peoples who bore the burden of the fight against fascism," Moscow radio reported today.

In one of the first expressions of Soviet opinion on the Trieste issue, Zlavich wrote:

The Yugoslav government believes that the Yugoslav Army, which is on territory liberated from enemy troops, has the same rights as other Allied armies who in the course of the war occupied certain territories, but at the same time the Yugoslav government is ready to negotiate about Trieste at the peace conference," said RED STAR.-

In tracing the history of Trieste; Zlavich said that Trieste, Istria, Slovenia, and the coast of Fiume became the springboard from which Mussolini attacked Yugoslavia, and that the port and adjoining territory formed an "armed camp of fascism" until the Yugoslavs liberated it.

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87 JUN 2 1945

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EX - 8

This is a clipping from page 2 of the DAILY WORKER

Date 5-26-45

Clipped at the Seat of Government.

56 JUN 26 1945

BORDER SECURITY KEY SOVIET POLICY

Russian Efforts in Mid-Europe Stir Irritations in Face of Negative Western Aims

CORE OF CONTINENT GONE

USSR's Diplomatic Strength Emerges as Virtually Only Positive Factor in Field

By C. L. SULZBERGER

By Wireless to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

LONDON, May 20—Although Russian diplomatic policy in the long-range sense is probably historically more important in Asia, its effects in Europe these days are far more sensationally interesting, because their dynamtic results are more easily visible and because it is in Europe that they meet Anglo-American policy face to face.

Europe is the area where Soviet thinking is of greatest immediate concern.

This inter-Allied situation comes up at a time when a brand new European phase arises: For the first time in history there is no political backbone on the Continent.

After every preceding war since the days of Frederick of Sicily there has been a strong and potentially dynamic diplomatic force in the heart of Europe, whether organized by Habsburg, Hohenzollern or Schicklegruber.

That is now dead—as planned. At this moment a powerful and dynamic population block centered on Moscow, including the U. S. S. R. and allied nations in eastern Europe, leans into a political vacuum in the spineless center. On the other side are the Atlantic seaborne countries backed by Britain and the United States.

Population Balance Shifted

The population balance as well as the political balance of the Continent has altered permanently. And in the heart of various population elements that add to the uncertainty of the political vacuum—among Poles, Serbs, Hungarians and others—are elements which, in the hopes of re-establishing their own particular national positions, would be happy to work for a war between the great allied coalition members in order to reassert their own private policies and position.

Added to this danger is the fact that, while on the one side—the east—positive and definite ideas of policy are being injected into the scene, there are very few indications from the west as to what it would regard as a satisfactory course of action.

The Anglo-American conceptions of policy in this amorphous heart of Europe appear to be purely negative and as lacking as were their ideas for Balkan reconstruction back in the days of Stalingrad.

The result would seem to be fairly predictable from a momentary viewpoint. A positive force flows more rapidly into a vacuum than no force at all.

The whole balance of Europe has been upset. To the east is a massive and galvanized bloc led by almost 200,000,000 victorious Soviet citizens who have overcome by their victories any past inferiority complex vis-a-vis the West and any possible pessimism they may have felt concerning the outcome of major Russian projects.

"Cordon Sanitaire" in Reverse

There is obviously no doubt that the Russians, supersentitive about past efforts of this century to create cordon-sanitaire concepts of policy directed against them in central Europe, have defiantly vigorously and speedily reversed any such tendencies.

They have been aided in this by their own positive conceptions, by Western Allied hesitancy, by the combination of traditional Pan-Slavic sentimentality and the common history of many Slavs as subject peoples of the Germans.

Moscow has clearly decided to avail itself of the combination of circumstances mentioned above to move with alacrity and protect its western borders —so important especially in a consideration of the whole picture including Asia—against potential aggression by lining up a set of friendly governments according to its own views and signing long-term alliances with them.

The speed and unilateral aspect of Moscow's moves have undoubtedly irritated the western Allies, who however have had no clearly visible alternative to offer. The situation is of especial concern to the western Allies because, with the absence of a backbone in Europe, the Atlantic states are real diplomatic neighbors of Russia.

The talk of blocks such as an Atlantic grouping is equally a source of irritation to the Russians, who fear the formation of cordons sanitaires farther west.

On the one hand the English speaking nations resent this Russian nervousness, because they consider that the U.S.S.R. is already forming its own coalition and minlature league of nations in eastern and central Europe.

On the other hand the Russians contend they are obeying and encouraging the instincts of nations in the past often conquered by the Germans and merely taking necessary precautions.

New War the Aim of Some

Into this intervening political vacuum is thrust the desire of some groups to develop this situation into war between the Allies.

This is the background for the uneasy clashes of diplomacy in Greece, Rumania, Albania, Yugoslavia, Austria and Poland and Trieste.

Soviet Russia is determined, backed by the de facto situation of her strength in the neighborhood of the affected regions, to assert swiftly her primary views, which she feels are just.

Moscow feels that it has made two distinct contributions to inter-Allied harmony. It has officially proclaimed the abolition of the Comintern, which was dedicated to world revolution and therefore to the unseating of other governments. It has furthermore officially advertised to the world that religion, freedom of which is guaranteed under the Soviet Constitution, is truly free in the Soviet Union.

Soviet policy in Europe today is therefore dedicated to dual and parallel objectives: To the establishment of a basically secure condition of Russia's western borders against any potential aggression for a period of decades; to working in harmony with the Western Allies—provided this does not run counter to the initial basic condition—in the cause of a world security organization.

In some of the mutual misconceptions of ideas involved and in the lack of any concrete Western Allied policy of a positive nature for the intervening areas lie trouble.

COMM. PA.
This is a clipping from page 5 of the New York Times for May 21, 1945
Russia 61-16-A clipped at the Seat of Government.
NOT RECORDED
87 MAY 23 1945

RUSSIANS CONDEMN OUR USE OF DOENITZ

Press Says Allies Risk Playing Into Enemy's Hands—'Soft' Treatment Criticized

MOSCOW, May 20 (U.P.)—The Soviet press charged today that the Western Allies were playing with fire in using the German regime of Grand Admiral Karl Doenitz for any purposes.

The dispatches repeated Russia's often-repeated demands for stern, immediate action against Doenitz, Hermann Goering, German Army leaders, politicians and industrialists.

[An official source in Reims said last Wednesday that an Allied military mission had taken over control of the Doenitz "Government" at Flensburg, and Allied Supreme Headquarters in Paris said that Doenitz and Goering were being held as prisoners. SHAEF also announced that Doenitz and other selected German officers were being used temporarily to carry out jobs in connection with surrendered German forces. It said they were "fully controlled."]

"The Doenitz incident has grown into a dangerous political game, causing alarm in all countries," said Izvestia. "It has ceased to be an accident or a misunderstanding. It is pertinent to inquire who is guilty. For a victorious people this is too unpleasant a gift for the first few days after victory."

Discord Among Allies Feared

Konstantin Gofman of Red Star, the Soviet Army newspaper, charged that captive Nazi leaders and German generals, "secretly or openly aided by foreign supporters," had conspired to retain important positions to escape punishment for war guilt and to sow discord among the Allies.

Mr. Gofman asserted that by threatening chaos in Germany as an alternative to their services the conspirators had managed to persuade certain Allied groups to recognize and applaud "the Doenitz administration."

[Count Lutz Schwerin von Krosigk, the "Foreign Minister" in the Doenitz regime, said in an interview last Monday that unless certain German "experts" were retained to help the Allies, there would be "chaos," which would bring a political swing "to the right or left."]

Izvestia charged that it was strange that captured German generals, whom it called "choice cannibal types," were not inside cages. Apparently referring to newspaper interviews with some of them, it said that they were "smothered with dinners, besieged by interviewers."

"Under the pressure of popular indignation, certain official assurances were given. These assurances are unconvincing, ambiguous and contradictory," Izvestia continued.

Ambiguous Attitude Alleged

The newspaper charged that, on the same day, Lieut. Gen. Lucius D. Clay, Deputy Military Governor for Gen. Dwight D. Eisenhower, had announced that Doenitz and his accomplices were being "temporarily used for certain administrative functions."

Izvestia called this attitude "ambiguous," and said that the "press alarmingly reports that in England there is skepticism about the punishment of war criminals."

Izvestia said there were some Allied quarters that appreciated the danger in the situation. It cited a statement by the American playwright Robert Sherwood that the German generals were now meeting us half way, hoping to be able within fifteen or twenty-five years again to murder Americans."

The New York Herald Tribune, Izvestia said, had warned that the Allies had had too much bitter experience with "all kinds of Francos, Pétains, Darlans and Lavals" who had blackmailed them with threats of possible disorder, to be deceived into falling into the Doenitz trap.

Yalta Agreement Recalled

Mr. Gofman said that the German General Staff would be the winners of such dealings. He alted events after World War 1, saying that the Germans, by a threat of European chaos, had freightened the Allies into prserving a German Army force, and warned that history might repeat itself.

Both Mr. Gofman and the international reviewer of Pravda said that the Yalta declaration, issued after the Big Three Crimean Conference, would be violated by any Allied recognition of Doenitz. They said that, according to the Yalta agreement, the German General Staff must be destroyed, the Nazi party and its organization wiped out, and all war criminals punished swiftly and justly.

[General Clay announced that the first objective of the American Military Government would be to smash whatever power Germany had for making war, and to eliminate the Nazi party. He also said that war criminals would pay with their lives and liberty for their crimes].

Mr. Gofman charged that "well-known reactionary groups in Allied countries, inimical to the democratization of Europe and hostile to the Crimean Declaration, are mobilizing all resources to thwart the full destruction of German militarism and fascism."

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This is a clipping from page 5 of the New York Times for May 21, 1945
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141-16-A
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27 MAY 23 1945

27 JUN 26 1945

Russia - Int'l Sec. C

SMALL POWERS HIT BY RUSSIAN WRITER

MOSCOW, May 19 (UP)—The Moscow newspaper Izvestia today attacked small powers of the world as trying to weaken the International Security Council proposed at the San Francisco Conference and said they were trying to revert to practices of the League of Nations.

The review of the conference, written by Enveni Zhukoff, Izvestia's San Francisco correspondent, asserted that opponents of world security were concentrating on attempts to weaken the council, and added:

"Under the false mask of democracy they are stubbornly trying to put obstacles into the creation of an instrument to defend the world against aggression. They are trying to change the principle of democracy with swindles, by opposing such measures for security that do not satisfy them. Those not interested in defending the whole world cannot be satisfied by such measures."

"It is a pity that there are plenty of symptoms pointing to the remarkable vitality of political organizational survivals of the League of Nations," the dispatch continued "but it is necessary to point out that it is necessary to reject once and for all the political heritage of the League of Nations."

Attacks on the "paramount rights" of the Big Five nations have been made from different sides under the cover of democratic phraseology, the Izvestia writer said, adding that "many observers feel that the so-called blocs of small countries, including some middle powers like Holland and quite small countries now not always marked on school maps, behave sometimes in such a way that it leaves a poor impression of their sovereignty."

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161-16-A
NOT RECORDED
87 MAY 23 1945

This is a clipping from page 22 of the New York Times for May 20, 1945
Clipped at the Seat of Government.

57 JUN 25 1945

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Russia Seen Shaping Parallel Policy For Security in Asia and Europe

By C. L. SULZBERGER

By Wireless to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

LONDON, May 18—The Soviet Union is the most powerful land mass and population bloc in Eurasia. The effect of this has at various times been a cause of concern to various peoples.

It is only because the European aspects of this development are so salient that the public generally tends to ignore the vast territories of Asia that border the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and are therefore of interest to it.

Nevertheless some astute observers regard the great half moon stretch of Asia starting at the Turkish straits and running across Iran, India, Tibet, Sinkiang, Mongolia and Manchuria to the Khabarovsk and maritime provinces of the Soviet Union as perhaps the primary zone with which the Kremlin's foreign policy is concerned.

It is amply evident that the U.S.S.R. wishes to prevent any sort of cordon sanitaire's being erected on its borders. This desire has been made strikingly clear in Europe by a diplomacy that has, if anything, reversed such a process.

Parallel Policy In View

It is speculative, but many competent authorities will endorse the notion that a simalar policy will, when the opportune moment arises, take form in Asia. In fact, in certain areas, especially Iran, Sinkiang and Mongolia, there are positive signs that such a policy is at work.

Paramount in Russian political thought, one might say, is the insistence on a policy of absolute security to the Soviet Union as an alternative and parallel to Moscow's efforts to join the other great powers in forming a world peace organization.

There are other things to be gained, however, by strengthening the Soviet position in all these vast areas by bilateral treaties, both diplomatic and economic, and by other means.

There are vast population blocs in Asia to which Soviet influence, contrary to portions of Europe, would introduce a higher standard of living. In such areas, where labor is inexpenside and vast, unexploited wealth is situated—iron, coal, gold, oil, tungsten—the Soviet industrial system could undoubtedly benefit.

Long-Range Policy Seen

Furthermore, it is evident that Moscow, in connection with its overall security policy would like to neutralize any potential effort in the future by some antagonistic power to utilize some of these areas as military bases.

The Russians know that some general staffs have always maintained that population masses are the key to the balance of power. Such a mass, nebulous but latent with strength, lies along central and eastern Asia.

Such basic concepts help to explain the Soviet interest in China, in the question of the development of colonial areas and in the trusteeship of bases such as the Caroline Islands. These are not merely vague interests used to bolster arguments on a guid pro quo basis, such as eastern Europe versus the Pacific.

There have been no sensational events concerning Soviet Far Eastern policies since the denunciation of the pact with Japan. This denunciation, by insisting that Tokyo had violated the accord, left Russia free to operate.

There have been little publicized developments, however. Early in the war Soviet diplomatic pressure was gradually withdrawn from the East as everything was concentrated against the eGrmans. This was typified by the withdrawal from Sinkiang.

Sinkiang Step Called Typical

Since 1943, however, the traditional Russian concern with Asia has reasserted itself. This preoccupation is centuries old. In the past Russian energy pushed east into Siberia and Manchuria and southeast across Kazakhstan and southward across the Caucasus toward the southern shores of the Caspian Sea.

As this interest began to reappear new situtions were created. In Mongolia new armies, backed by a new air force, have been built. New industries have been slowly developed. Mongolia has taken an active interest in the present Sinkiang troubles.

In neither Mongolia nor Tannu Tuva have the Russian relinquished their strong control. During the last several months a troubling series of border incidents has occurred along the Afghan frontier.

There are many who think that, basically Soviet foreign policy regards Europe as a back door, if an exceedingly important one, and Asia as a front door.

It would seem from the facts that this back door would be slammed, in a security sense, along a line roughly from Trieste to Stettin, insuring the territorial happiness of the Slavic neighbor States, with which the U. S. S. R. already has bilateral alliances, and of intervening States, including Austria, Hungary and Rumania.

The Soviet policy in Asia seems to be based on Soviet policy in Europe: probing the pressure area for weak spots.

Losses in Asia Recalled

Russia was deprived of territories and rights in Manchuria, including the Liaotung Peninsula (and a book on the battle there, entitled "Port Arthur," will probably win the Stalin Prize this year) and southern Sakhalin Island.

It is believed that Russia will wish to re-establish herself in these lost areas and perhaps to neutralize entirely Japanese efforts in Korea, although Tokyo found the Koreans a tough people.

Railways such as the Chinese Eastern and perhaps some future line through Sinkiang to China and India must be a matter of concern to the far-seeing Soviet mind.

To sum up: The Soviet Union as a European power has so far clearly indicated what the European shape of its policy is and it is not unlikely that when the second half of the picture unfolds it will be even more interesting and important.

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Russia
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