

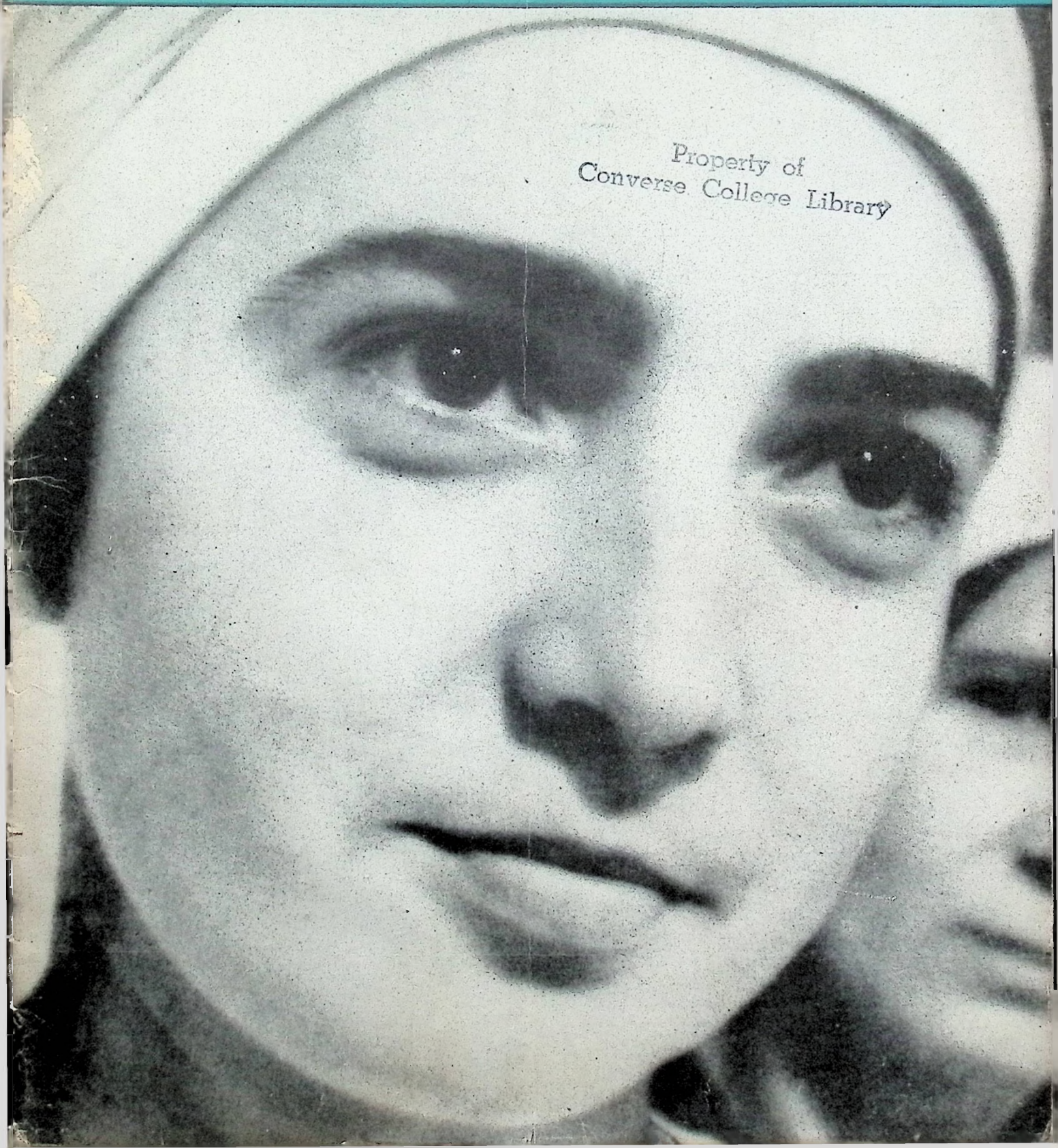
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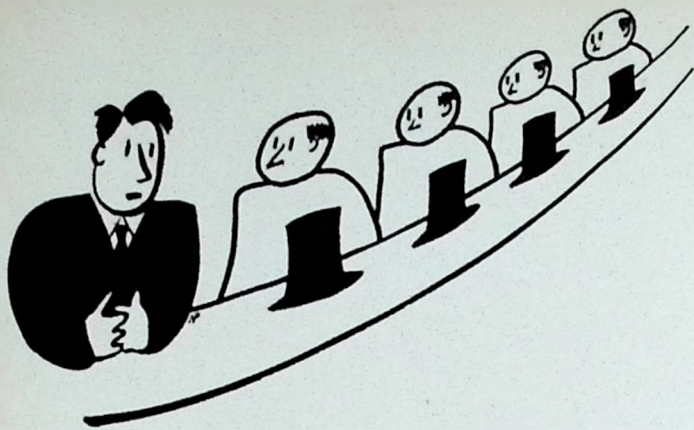
SOVIET RUSSIA

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Let Us Reason Together

TO SOVIET RUSSIA TODAY:

The Russian Revolution had no half measures, and the whole-hearted recognition of women as individuals with rights and aspirations which must be respected, was something new in this war-weary world. To those of us who had been active in the cause of women's suffrage, it was a breath-taking victory. In the United States we had been brought up believing in the Rights of Man, and had lived through years of ridicule of the "rights of women." And now, the Russian women achieved freely that which had been fought with a great price in this Republic.

When the women of Colorado, USA, were enfranchised in 1893, we (it is my home state) joined hands metaphorically with the women of New Zealand, enfranchised that same year, half the world away. Some of the Scandinavian states had preceded us. Australia, and much later Britain and Canada—the roll-call grows with the years. Turkish women no longer see through a veil darkly, and the minds of Chinese women are no longer bound. Japanese women have elected more women to their new parliament than English or American women have ever been able to choose to represent them. And recently, French women have voted for the first time.

For the first time in history women have the power to bring about the better earth which is their desire. Of the two billion people on earth, more than half are women, and more than half of them have a voice in the government of the world. This means that it is possible to mobilize the woman-power for peace on earth, for no one who knows the heart of woman can doubt that this is her most profound desire, even when it seems to be a flickering hope. This is so without regard to race, creed, previous condition or place upon this map of misery to which this globe has been reduced.

What shall we do? Something quite simple, to begin with, for the first step is to know each other better, to get acquainted, to think of each other as neighbors and to try to understand that to differ in many things does not necessarily imply disagreement on fundamentals. There are enough problems on which we do agree to take all our time for fifty years. The peace women desire is no mere "armistice," no truce, but a permanent refusal to spend our lives, the flower of our youth and a mortgaged future for mutual destruction.

Gen. Dwight D. Eisenhower has given us our cue for action. He says: "If world opinion were organized for peace there would never be another war."

If there is one thing women understand, it is organization. Come on, let's go!

Ellis Meredith

Washington, D. C.

Muriel Draper's article, on page 8, describes how women of the world are organizing for peace. In connection with the suggestion in this letter, on getting better acquainted, it should be of interest to know that the Committee of Women of the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship, 114 E. 32nd St., New York, on the initiative of Soviet women over a year ago, has a correspondence project to help the women of that country and of ours to conduct correspondence. For further information, write to the Committee of Women.—Ed.

From Two Army Men

TO SOVIET RUSSIA TODAY:

We are soldiers in the U. S. Army. One evening recently we were content to remain in the quiet and solitude of our NCO room. One of us, suffering from an eye malady, requested the other to read to him from your magazine, which has been sent to him through the courtesy of some unknown friend.

Typical of the men in the street we have, until now, known about the USSR only that which appears in a biased system of newspapers and periodicals. We are happy to see at last a periodical giving the true view of the international situation.

To say that we enjoyed the magazine is an understatement. It brought to us a clarified picture of American-Soviet relations; what they are and what they could be.

Two American Army Servicemen
North Carolina

A Plug for Our "Face-Lifting"

TO SOVIET RUSSIA TODAY:

It is with pleasure that I herewith renew my subscription. Your "face lifting" job is an excellent idea. I've noticed the several changes with this issue and it is a change for the better. There is a little more variety and more interest. May I suggest that it would be of great interest if we were advised of coming Russian events, such as concerts, operas, lectures, dances. Many of us would like to "see" a little bit of Russia or "feel" it in some way, if possible.

You are doing a grand job, and I wish you success.

Molly Bathin

Brooklyn, N. Y.

Wants to Exchange Letters

TO SOVIET RUSSIA TODAY:

I would like to correspond with some Russian youth for better understanding of the people of that country. I am fourteen years old, a student in my first year in high school, and am interested in history, science and language.

Helen Lehotzky

Linden, N. J.

Orchids for Our Covers

TO SOVIET RUSSIA TODAY:

I used to think, as I passed the newsstands, that the *New Yorker* had the nicest covers. Recently, someone in my family subscribed to *Soviet Russia Today* and I have revised my opinion. You have the most beautiful covers. I especially like the one with the skater on the ice.

Sophie Naimon

Bronx, N. Y.



Our Cover shows a Moscow candy factory worker—photo courtesy National Council of American-Soviet Friendship. Photos on pages 17, 18 and 19, courtesy Armenian Progressive League. Other photos, except where specified, are from Ssofoto.

Review and Comment

How Real Is the War Danger?

ANSWERING ELLIOTT ROOSEVELT'S QUESTION "TO WHAT DO YOU ascribe the lessening of friendly relations and understanding between our two countries since the death of Franklin Roosevelt?", Premier Stalin, in an interview published in *Look* magazine for February 4, 1947, declared:

I feel that if this question relates to relations and understanding between the American and Russian peoples, no deterioration has taken place, but on the contrary relations have improved.

As to relations between the two governments, there have been misunderstandings. A certain deterioration has taken place and then a great noise was raised that their relations would even deteriorate still further. But I see nothing frightful about this in the sense of a violation of peace or a military conflict.

Not a single great power, even if its government were anxious to do so, could now raise a large army to fight another Allied power, another great power, because now one cannot possibly fight without one's people—and the people are unwilling to fight. They are tired of war. And besides, there are no understandable objectives to justify a new war.

One will not know for what he has to fight and, therefore, I see nothing frightful that some representatives of the United States Government are talking about the deterioration of relations between us.

In view of all these considerations, I think that the danger of a new war is not real.

This is consistent with a number of other statements in recent months in which Premier Stalin and other Soviet leaders have sought to allay the fears of people everywhere that the danger of a new world war is imminent, and have emphasized the determination of the USSR to maintain peace.

The Soviet Ambassador to this country, Nikolai Novikov, speaking before the Miami chapter of the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship, on February 2, expressed deep confidence that "the shadow which has lately been darkening our relations is not the reflection of the real state of affairs between the two peoples." He declared that the fear of a new war that had arisen during 1946 resulted from the activities of groups "deliberately propagandizing a new war and sowing uncertainty and mistrust so they could fish in troubled waters."

Voicing the friendship of the Soviet Union for the United States, Mr. Novikov said:

The Soviet people . . . highly appreciate and will never forget the help and the splendid military efforts of the American people. The friendship of our peoples, which played such an important role in the achievement of victory over the common enemy, can and must play a far greater role now, in time of peace, when mankind is laying the foundation for a universal, durable peace. . . . The success of this important task depends mainly upon the cooperation of the great powers—the Soviet Union, the United States of America and Great Britain.

These statements of Soviet leaders have been borne out by Soviet behavior in the United Nations. The conciliatory attitude of the Soviet representatives was admittedly the chief

factor in the great measure of success achieved in the recent New York meetings of the United Nations Assembly and the Foreign Ministers. The get-tough policy has failed. The Anglo-American bloc has begun to show signs of weakness and the Soviet Union, far from being relegated to a minor position, has grown in strength and prestige, taking from America the moral leadership which it could maintain only by pursuing the policies of Franklin D. Roosevelt.

But the warmongers are not satisfied. Since there is no real reason for war, they are compelled to create an artificial one. Last year it was the Canadian spy scare whipped up, a year after the events it so hysterically publicized had been known, in order to provide the setting for the launching of the anti-Soviet policy and to pre-determine the results of the Paris conference. Now they are trying to undo the great gains of recent months and poison the atmosphere in which the Moscow conference will take place by a fantastic new spy scare and "discoveries" of Kremlin-engineered plots to overthrow the United States Government.

Bernard Baruch, who at the time of his resignation from the United Nations atomic energy commission had declared that the United States should continue its stockpiling of atom bombs, chose the moment when the Security Council was taking up the question of disarmament, to provide new ammunition for the warmongers. Testifying before the joint Congressional Atomic Energy Commission, Mr. Baruch supported the leading role of the military in atomic energy development and voiced deep concern over "leaks" in atomic energy secrets. Then in a closed session whose proceedings somehow "leaked" to the press he gave "testimony" purportedly showing that Moscow has obtained important atomic information. This seems to have been based largely on the use of some mysterious code word by the Soviet representative on the UN atomic energy sub-committee—although Mr. Baruch further revealed that the Russians apparently did not understand the information they were supposed to have secured! The Canadians were somewhat irked by the suggestion of flaws in their security measures so that in the end Mr. Baruch was compelled to admit that he had nothing new to go on and was still talking about last year's stale spy scare.

Whipping Up a New Spy Scare

NOW THE HOUSE UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES COMMITTEE HAS leaped into the breach. This Committee is not at all concerned over the much-heralded arrival in this country for an extended lecture tour of an Austrian who turned his country over to Hitler, because they are too busy pillorying another Austrian who has spent most of his life fighting Hitler. They see nothing un-American in the spreading of his monarchist and pro-fascist ideas by Dr. Kurt von Schuschnigg, former chancellor of Austria, who tells the press he "had no choice" in yielding to Hitler, that he "was treated relatively well by the Gestapo" after 1940, insists that fascism is not based on racism, and defends the shooting down of Austrian workers in 1934 and the dependence of Dollfuss and himself on Mussolini's fascist Italy.

This fascist-monarchist ideology, clearly revealed in Schuschnigg's recently published *Austrian Requiem*, was no bar to his entry in this country. But when in 1941, the Austrian-born German Communist, Gerhard Eisler, and a group of other anti-fascists imprisoned in a concentration camp in Vichy France, were offered sanctuary in Mexico, he could not have secured the necessary transit visa through a United

States port on the way to Mexico had he written on his visa application that he was a Communist, although he has subsequently never denied that fact. His alternative was death at the hands of the Nazis. The boat on which he set out for Mexico, not even intending to come ashore in the United States, was captured by a Dutch cruiser and taken to Trinidad in the West Indies. From there he was brought by American boat to New York. Due to an emergency law directed against German Bundists and Italian Fascists, (but not making any distinction between them and anti-fascists) prohibiting their departure from the United States to any Latin American country during the war, permission was refused by the American authorities for him to continue his trip to Mexico. All this is shown by the record, as well as the fact that all during the war Eisler had attempted to go on to Mexico and, as soon as the war ended, to return to Germany. He finally secured that permission and was packed and ready to sail last October, when the FBI took him off the boat, his exit visa was cancelled, and subsequently he was asked to appear before the Un-American Activities Committee in November, although when he appeared they did not take his testimony.

Called again to appear before the Committee on February 6, he was preparing to go to Washington when he was arrested, taken to Ellis Island, and finally taken to Washington under guard. J. Edgar Hoover, chief of the FBI, issued a statement accusing Eisler of being an active Soviet agent engaged in espionage activities. A careful reading of this document reveals the flimsy basis of this charge. It abounds with such phrases as "strongly suspected of," "raise the definite possibility of," etc. and, in fact, definitely states that it "is not completely clear," whether he is an actual operating Soviet agent. When Eisler appeared before the committee he was denied an opportunity to read a preliminary statement, whereupon he refused to take the oath to testify further. A succession of witnesses were heard, chief among whom were his venomous sister, Ruth Fischer, well-known Trotskyist, who used the hospitality of this country during the war to carry on vicious propaganda against the heroic anti-fascist resistance movements in Europe, and whose advocacy of world revolution does not in the least disturb the un-American committee; and Louis Budenz, a renegade Communist who recently joined the Catholic Church. The un-American committee held a field day listening to the hysterical denunciations of these and other equally prejudiced persons. Ignoring the real story, which was given to newspapermen, of how Eisler happened to be in this country at all and his anti-fascist record, the committee and the press blew up the innuendoes of these untrustworthy witnesses (Eisler "might have" received spy secrets, according to Budenz) into a conspiracy to overthrow the United States Government and an atomic espionage plot.

Everything that the FBI actually knows about Eisler now they presumably knew last July when his exit visa was granted, for they apparently had him under surveillance throughout his sojourn here. The only conclusion that can be drawn from the extraordinary performance that is now going on is that, lacking any real basis for drumming up fear and suspicion of the Soviet Union, and alarmed by the overwhelming popular support for the United Nations Assembly's disarmament resolution, militarist and reactionary circles have seized upon the Eisler case to whip up anti-Soviet sentiment by a new spy scare and scuttle the disarmament program.

The American people must keep their heads. Never were

clear thinking and sober appraisal of the real facts of the situation so essential.

Senator Pepper on Foreign Policy

THE REAL DANGER TO OUR COUNTRY CAN BE FOUND IN RECENT pronouncements on foreign policy by leading Republican spokesmen.

Senator Claude Pepper directed attention to this danger in his powerful speech in the Senate on February 5, in which he warned that Republican policy seeks to rebuild Germany as a bulwark against Soviet Russia, and that if this road were pursued it would lead to war.

Senator Pepper noted that the latest declarations of Republican policy by John Foster Dulles, Senator Vandenberg and others were of special significance coming on the eve of the all-important Foreign Ministers Conference at Moscow to determine the future of Germany.

As an indication that the Republican Party has thrown off the cloak of bi-partisanship, Senator Pepper quoted from an address before the Republican Women's Organization on January 25 in which Mr. Dulles declared:

A Democratic President and his Secretary of State can propose, but a Republican Congress can dispose. Foreign diplomats know that, and they suspect that we know—that two years from now, a Republican will be in the White House. So these foreign governments will not take very seriously American proposals which are backed only by the Democratic Party.

In the light of the steady Republican pressure to force our foreign policy away from the policy of firm collaboration for peace so carefully built by President Roosevelt, Senator Pepper said, he felt the Administration had called upon to pay too high a price for bi-partisanship in our foreign policy.

Senator Pepper then analyzed the speech by Mr. Dulles before the National Publishers' Association on January 17. He declared that the policy it proposed for Germany, which Mr. Dulles announced had the support of Senator Vandenberg and Governor Dewey, would mean the complete scrapping of the Potsdam agreement, which was intended to accomplish "the industrial and military disarmament of Germany, the sterilization of Germany as a warmaking power." Senator Pepper outlined what Dulles offers in place of this policy:

First, he proposes that the Rhineland and the Ruhr, with their vast industrial resources, shall not be industrially disarmed but that instead their power be revived—a power whose only justification in the past was warfare, military and economic.

Second, Mr. Dulles proposes that this revived industrial heart of Europe be integrated in some unspecified fashion into the economy of three Western European countries, France, Belgium and Holland.

Third, he proposes a federal form of government for Germany.

Using the loose analogy of the American form of government, Mr. Dulles says that: "Such precedents suggest that it is not beyond human resourcefulness to find a form of joint control which will make it possible to *develop the industrial potentials of western Germany in the interest of the economic life of western Europe, including Germany.* . . ." I deliberately underscore the last words, for these are the heart of his proposals.

Mr. Dulles obviously proposes to nullify the spirit and letter of the Potsdam agreement. His proposals would restore to Germany the power to wage war upon the United States and the world and to dominate the economics of Western and Eastern Europe, all of necessity with American capital; they would continue the rule of the cartels in world trade; they would create a blood clot in the arteries of the United Nations by setting up a Western bloc based upon a restored Germany and directed against the assumed threat of Eastern Europe.

Now this proposal of Mr. Dulles is not basically new, al-

though it wears a new guise. It is the dangerous doctrine of all those who have been seeking for almost 30 years to pit West against East, to use Germany as the industrial and military wedge to split the world in two. . . . It is the doctrine which animated Tory appeasement of Germany under Baldwin and Chamberlain. . . . And it was the doctrine of Churchill's Fulton, Missouri speech, which the American people so promptly repudiated. . . .

Mr. Dulles knows that his plan is designed to ally a reborn Germany with the West of Europe against the East of Europe. He knows the effect of such a proposal is permanently to divide the wartime allies, to give provocation to those forces in East and West who are already disposed to distrust each other.

Mr. Dulles knows that what has moved him in drawing this plan is his hatred for the Soviet Union and that, in the hope that Germany would use it again in Eastern Europe and especially the Soviet Union, he has been willing to propose to put in Germany's hands another sword like that with which she was armed by the short-sighted such a few years ago and with which she has drawn rivers of blood from suffering mankind not only in the Soviet Union but in America and all over the world.

I declare that Mr. Dulles by proposing to rearm Germany for any reason threatens war to his own country and his own kind. He is opening again the shameless doors of another Munich leading to what will be the world's worst war. . . .

Senator Pepper then took issue with those who are urging the return to Germany of those eastern provinces now occupied by Poland under the Potsdam agreement.

I will not argue the historical and ethnic claims of Poland to that territory, valid as they are. I point now only to the incalculable mischief such a proposal involves—the encouragement of the always dangerous German super-nationalism, the misery, privation, and despair of millions of Poles who are now permanently settled in these provinces. A Polish industry has been painfully built up there; Polish farms are now beginning to flourish there; and historic Polish institutions of learning, laboriously transplanted from the East to Silesia, are now creating a new Polish culture in these very same provinces which once gave birth to that culture.

In the light of the recent Republican declarations with respect to China, Argentina, the reciprocal trade agreements program, and the military control of atomic energy and now capped by the open repudiation of Potsdam and the proposal to set up a Western bloc incorporating an industrialized Germany—in the light of these pronouncements, let us now ask the question that Senator Vandenberg once asked about the policy of one of our allies: What is the Republican Party up to?

Senator Pepper said he would not anticipate the influence on the course of Secretary Marshall in Moscow of Mr. Dulles' declaration of Republican policies. But he expressed the hope and belief that Secretary Marshall, knowing the price of victory over German militarism in two wars, and having himself been at Potsdam, "will go on in the spirit of Potsdam and before God and mankind—solemnly covenant and cooperate with all peace-loving nations to save the world from another war."

In that hope Senator Pepper will be joined by millions of his countrymen.

The Polish Elections

ON JANUARY 19, 12,000,000 OF THE 13,000,000 POLES ELIGIBLE to vote elected their representatives to the Sejm in the first elections of any kind in Poland since 1935, and the first elections in Poland's history based on universal suffrage. The people, with four tickets to choose from, gave the Democratic Bloc the overwhelming majority of 87 per cent. Out of the 444 seats in Poland's new Parliament this bloc, composed of the Polish Workers' Party (PPR-Communist), the Polish Socialist Party (PPS), the Peasant Party (SL—not Mikolajczyk's Party) and the Democratic Party—took 383 seats; 13 were won by the New Liberation Party (which split away from Mikolajczyk), and 4 by smaller groups. In the opposition

will be the 27 seats won by the Polish Peasant Party (PSL, Mikolajczyk's Party) and 17 by the Labor Party.

Despite the pre-election atmosphere of terror inevitably resulting from the underground's criminal activities, but laid at the door of the government by most of the foreign correspondents in their concerted effort to discredit the election results in advance, few disorders were reported. The voting was secret on the part of all except those who chose to vote openly as a gesture of complete confidence in the government. Mikolajczyk's poll watchers were in evidence everywhere but in the ten districts where PSL candidates were excluded due to their connections with the terrorist underground.

In the welter of conflicting reports on the elections in which the correspondents and editorial writers of the American press defeated their own purpose by their contradictions of each other's as well as their own statements, Ralph Ingersoll's reporting for PM was a notable exception. While by no means claiming omniscience about what went on, Mr. Ingersoll made an honest attempt to get at and present the truth. He personally covered as much ground as possible, canvassed all the correspondents already on the spot as well as foreign diplomatic opinion in Warsaw, and energetically interviewed all sides. He made no attempt to whitewash the government, and indeed charged both sides with "exaggeration, over-simplification and intense partisanship."

Here are some direct quotes of Mr. Ingersoll's conclusions, gleaned from his series of six articles on the elections:

- The picture of wholly fraudulent, rigged elections given Americans before the fact is at best a misrepresentation of a complicated political situation and at worst malicious repetition of malicious untruths.
- *Opposition poll watchers I talked to said they had nothing to complain of and that their people had not been intimidated during or before the voting period.*
- The first significant fact about the elections is that they were never meant to be free in the sense that any citizen could run for office and any other citizen vote for him. "Anti-democratic elements" were disfranchised by law. . . . In a country which has suffered as this has at the hands of the anti-democratic Nazis, the idea of permitting political activities which might lead to the revival of a fascist state is unthinkable.
- *I believe the Polish Government is sincere, patriotic, and has really tried to live up to its commitments to hold a "free" (to democratic elements only) election, and that if the Polish people had really wanted to oust them in favor of Mikolajczyk, they could have."*
- What almost everyone does agree is that it was unfortunate for Poland that there had to be any elections at all at this time, with reconstruction just begun and the country sorely in need for unity which electioneering, with or without fairness or foreign interference, could not help but disturb.
- *The extraordinary thing which is being commented on locally is not how scandalously the campaign was conducted, but how well—and how many people went peacefully to the polls and endorsed a progressive government, the like of which has never before been known in Polish history.*
- Alleged outright fraud in the counting was not substantiated.
- *The parties that have led and been most effective in rebuilding Poland won.*
- If the other side had won, the Lord knows what would have happened to Poland, but no one doubts that the terror would have been redoubled in spades.
- *What the news of the election has obscured is the wonderful drive and optimism of the coalition Socialist-Communist government in getting on with the job of making Poland liveable.*
- To a tired world, Poland's example should be an inspira-

tion, and the way to get them to hold Marquis of Queensberry elections here is to applaud them for what they are doing so courageously and well, to give them tangible help—and to criticize them less for things which are the result of forces and situations about which we, who were never occupied by the German army for more than five years, cannot understand.

• *It is in Poland that America has its greatest opportunity to make its leadership in the postwar world felt through friendship and understanding. And it is here precisely that American foreign policy is presently doing its best to bankrupt this leadership. We are doing this by playing the clumsiest kind of partisan politics in the, to me, mistaken belief that the world is best saved by making Poland into an anti-Russian outpost of Anglo-American, anti-Russian power.*

Mr. Ingersoll also, on the basis of testimony of many Polish Socialists with whom he talked, effectively disposed of the allegations that Poland represents "an unfederated republic of the Soviet Union," and that the Socialists have been forced into coalition with the Communists.

United States Ambassador Arthur Bliss Lane sent a report to the State Department purporting to prove the unfairness of the elections. Mr. Ingersoll graphically described how some twenty embassy cars dashed around to the polls on election day "sampling" the opinions of "any dissident who felt like shooting off his mouth," and how on the basis of this obviously unfair method, the American embassy told correspondents that if the elections had been fair, and free, 80 per cent of the Polish people would have voted for Mikolajczyk.

The United States Government followed up its pre-election protests by charging the Polish Government with failure to carry out the Yalta agreement on free and unfettered elections. And on receiving the new Polish Ambassador to the United States, Josef Winiewicz, President Truman answered his warmly worded greeting on behalf of the Polish people by coldly repeating this charge.

President Truman's words must have had an odd sound to the new Ambassador if he has been following the accounts in the American press of the recent fascist coup in the state of Georgia where young Herman (White Supremacy) Talmadge declared himself governor with the assistance of his storm troopers. They might seem still odder if Ambassador Winiewicz were to examine more closely election procedures generally in the South where millions of American citizens are disfranchised by the poll tax, and where candidates are sometimes elected by 2 per cent of the electorate.

Poland's new Parliament elected Boleslaw Bierut, who was President of the provisional government, to serve as President of the Republic for the next seven years. President Bierut designated as premier Josef Cyrankiewicz, secretary-general of the Socialist Party, former underground resistance leader and inmate of Nazi concentration camps, who has formed a cabinet of twenty-one ministers. The most important posts are divided between the Communists and the Socialists, the remainder to Peasant Party (SL), the Democratic and Labor parties and non-party representatives. The new government has already started to carry out its promised amnesty to political prisoners. The Government bloc issued a manifesto pledging to abolish the Ministry of Public Security, which controls the Polish security police, to guarantee freedom of speech and press and political assembly, religious liberty, increased employment, higher salaries, the development of social services, improved housing, school reforms, financial aid to farmers and guarantee for private property.

In his speech accepting the Presidency, Bierut expressed the hope that Poland could now turn undivided attention to rebuilding and to healing her war wounds. We share Mr. Ingersoll's hope that America's policy of interference and hostility will be replaced by one of friendship and understanding accompanied by the economic aid Poland so sorely needs and so richly deserves.

On Public Responsibility

AMERICAN NEWSPAPER PUBLISHERS, SOME TIME BACK, WENT TO the preposterous extent of asking for treatment for their correspondents on the same level and with the same immunities as diplomatic representatives. The obvious aim was to secure greater range for their anti-Soviet reporting. Considering the utter irresponsibility with which their correspondents had "interpreted" Soviet news, and the equal irresponsibility with which this news was headlined and doctored in the editorial offices back home, this was one of the grimmest jokes in the grim postwar farce of the American news treatment of Russia.

Book publishing is supposed to be on a higher level of public responsibility. But the respectable firm of Harper's, for example, thought nothing of the harm to American-Soviet relations when it chose to issue the postponed book by Trotsky on Stalin. Reviewers pointed out, what its own editors should have noted, that the book was a document for psychopathology, not for biography or history.

Similarly the respectable *Book of the Month Club* did not hesitate to issue the anti-Soviet ravings of the unsavory character who wrote under the alias of Jan Valtin. When some public-spirited citizens protested, the *Book of the Month Club* complained of being smeared.

Now both of these "reputable" houses have combined forces to promote a new anti-Soviet book, "The Scared Men in the Kremlin" by John Fischer. The particular viciousness of this book lies in the fact it carries the supposed authority of a former UNRRA official. Now, however, it is not ordinary citizens who are protesting, but top UNRRA officials. Here is the story as given in *Publisher's Weekly* of February 1st:

John Fischer's forthcoming "The Scared Men in the Kremlin" has been challenged as to accuracy and points of emphasis by Marshall MacDuffie, who was head of the UNRRA mission to the Ukraine, and Paul White who succeeded Mr. MacDuffie and is present head of the mission. Mr. Fischer, assistant editor of Harper's magazine, was reporting officer of UNRRA's mission to the Ukraine from March 12 to May 18, 1946, in Russia. Mr. MacDuffie told PW that much of the information is inaccurate and misleading—misleading to the American public and harmful to good relations with the Soviet Union. According to Mr. MacDuffie, John Fischer failed to comply with an agreement to discuss any of his writings on the trip with the chief of the mission prior to publication. Mr. MacDuffie questioned the "inflation and distortion of incidents observed while on the mission, which I observed, too, and know to be untrue."

And how did these reputable firms respond to this protest from most responsible sources?

Had they had any real sense of public responsibility they would have withdrawn so discredited and obviously harmful a publication. But they did not choose to do so. Some minor revisions were made. These, however, do not affect the basic misrepresentation and hostility of the work. Had these two firms deliberately sought the best means to add to the insecurity and perils of the postwar world they could scarcely have done better. They are building still higher, the iron curtain of misunderstanding, made in America, and designed to shut out the truths to which they give lip service.

THE OTHER SIDE OF FEAR

Meeting in Moscow to plan for peace, women from many lands find a people free of fear and free of hate—of all but fascists

by MURIEL DRAPER

THE Women's International Democratic Federation was founded in Paris in November-December of 1945 by a conference of nine hundred women from forty-one countries of the world, who met there during one momentous week to find ways and means of joining their human strength and together with the eighty-one million women they represented, moving forward as partners and neighbors into the adventure of world democracy.

There were women from China, from England, from Belgium, the Soviet Union, India, Greece, Argentina, France, Yugoslavia, Italy, Bulgaria, Spain, the United States, Finland, Australia and Morocco . . . from everywhere in the world where women are eager and able to share in the work of securing a peaceful and civilized way of life for themselves and their people, free from the atavistic and wicked stupidity of war.

The majority of these women had suffered the immediate and brutal impact of the most violent war in human history, during the invasion and occupation of their countries by the fascist enemy, and brought to the meetings of the conference such vivid reports of this tragic experience that those of us who had been spared it, like the delegates from the United States, could only marvel at the endurance of the human spirit that had survived it—marvel and admire.

Protected from the awful reality of death beating down on us from the skies and bursting up through the waters and from the earth beneath, from the destruction of our homes and the buildings where what we had created was sheltered and what we wanted to learn was taught, from the starvation and murder before our eyes of our families, of children and parents, from the breakdown of the ways of distribution of food and of travel between us, we had believed that we might bring a reservoir of strength and courage to the women who had lived day and night at the heart of this reality. The opposite happened. It was they who, by their exam-

ple, gave us strength and courage in full measure to take back to the women of our own country, and bring them into the work of helping to realize the simple human aims of women the world over.

These aims, developed after days and nights of discussion in Paris, are to protect the health, welfare and education of children and develop their special talents and abilities; to promote full economic, political and legal equality for women, and to strengthen international unity for the maintenance of peace and the destruction of fascism. The American delegates came home, twelve of us, and began this work with the help of many interested friends by forming a Congress of American Women, as a branch of the Women's International Democratic Federation. We had our first meeting on March 8, 1946, and now have the support of nearly 200,000 affiliated and individual members.

We are, of course, represented on the council, executive committee and the secretariat of the Women's International Democratic Federation, and it was as a member of the executive committee, which meets twice a year in different places, that I spent five thrilling days in Moscow, in October of 1946, where we had been invited to meet as guests of the Soviet Union by Mme. Nina Popova, a vice-president of the Women's International Democratic Federation and president of the Soviet Women's Anti-Fascist Committee, as well as a Secretary of the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions.

The visit began the minute we climbed into the plane that was waiting in the cold dawn at the airport outside Paris. Dr. Gene Weltfish, another vice-president of the Federation and national president of the Congress of American

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Women, and I, had flown there from New York in an excited rush, and felt we had performed a small miracle in dealing with the problems of passports, visas, plane reservations, reports, farewells and a flight across the ocean in the course of a very few days, and finding ourselves at last on a plane on our way to Moscow.

And what a plane! It was a two-motor Douglas machine owned by the Soviet Union, and used like a community bus to carry the men and women of the Soviet Union who were busy with the conference of the foreign ministers in 1946 back and forth between Moscow and Paris. It was, in itself, a proof of the fact that a socialist and capitalist economy can co-exist with mutual benefit; it had been furnished as no other American plane I have ever sat in.

On the floor was a frail rug of lovely design, cut out extravagantly to fit the sturdy steel supports of the seats. A section at the front of the plane, usually securely partitioned by metal doors that close behind the pilots as they move forward into their positions of power and skill on a plane operated by American companies, was here curtained in voluminous red plush hanging from a decorated valance, and caught back at either side to show a divan covered in the same red plush, and piled high with huge soft pillows. Facing the divan were two deep arm chairs and a table large enough to write a treaty on.

Our host on the plane—not an efficient and ravishingly made-up young woman, in a chic uniform, but a young soldier in a worn uniform of the Soviet Army—explained to us volubly and with dramatic gestures that this section was planned for the use of women and their children, born, or about to be, and, if so it happened, for conferences and discussions concerning peace. The two events seemed to occupy naturally the same place in his scheme of life. He urged us to explore it further, but as neither of us had a child with us nor were about to have one, and could dis-

cuss peace where we sat—or anywhere we found ourselves together, for that matter — we declined. Whereupon a handsome and very tall officer of the Soviet Army flung himself down on the red plush in lordly abandon, and dozed his way over France and Germany.

We talked with everyone on the plane, and by the time we arrived at Moscow, at five o'clock in the afternoon, a trade union executive, two soldiers, a diplomat, a woman chemist and three interested civilians knew that we were the delegates from the United States coming to Moscow for a meeting of the Women's International Democratic Federation, an organization of which they spoke with optimism and enthusiastic respect. When we told the surprised trade union executive that we had only reached Paris the night before, but nevertheless had found places on what they all referred to as the "Conference Plane," he reflected a moment and then said:

"Ah—yes, you say Mme. Popova is one of the vice-presidents of your organization? . . . She is a *very* energetic woman."

She is indeed. She was the very picture of one as she stood waiting with a group of friends to welcome us when the plane arrived at the Moscow airport, and was greeted with warm friendliness by our fellow passengers as we descended from the plane, soldiers and civilians alike. This quality of Popova was something I had gratefully recognized during the years of wonderful cooperation she has given me as chairman of the Committee of Women of the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship, and which is such an encouragement in our work.

After the storm of welcome had subsided, we were rushed by motor car to the Naval Officers' Club in Moscow, which had been lent to us for the sessions of the executive committee. Would the officers of the United States Navy lend their club for a five-day meeting of an international group of women? The Congress of American Women must ask them one day, perhaps during the next world conference of the Federation, which we hope will take place in this country in 1948.

At the entrance of the club building, a young Soviet sailor stood on guard and saluted us vigorously as we passed

through on our way up to the large hall where the other delegates were already assembled and at work. They were women of all ages and types, from Mongolia to Norway, from France to Korea, seated at long tables placed along three sides of the room, the rectangular space left free in the middle for the brilliant translators, the efficient typists, messengers and secretaries, absorbed by their manifold duties.

This was already the second day of the meeting. Bad flying weather had delayed us at Gander Bay, in Newfoundland, for twenty hours on the flight, and true to form, we had arrived late, for they say of us abroad, "The Americans, hurrying to be late . . ." At one end of the hall there was a stage curtained in the evidently limitless supply of red plush and bordered by a row of potted pink geraniums—a gay and refreshing

sight after hours of travel under and above clouds, in and out of airports at twilight and dawn, and over the skeleton cities of Germany.

The work accomplished during the sessions that followed was far-reaching and heart-warming, as the work of the Federation always is and will continue to be, wherever it takes place. But it is the life of the men and women and children as it flowed around me in Moscow that made the five days spent there of such value.

What can you know of it in five days? You can know what you see in the eyes of people, what you hear in their voices, what you feel when they grasp your hand. You feel the unique assurance of an inner tested strength, of a somber pride in victory over an evil enemy, the certain confidence in the future—in the

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After a session of the WIFD, in Moscow. In the usual order, Mrs. Jai Kishori Handoo, of India; Nina Popova, vice-chairman of the Federation and president of the Soviet Women's Anti-Fascist Committee, and Mrs. Vivian Mason, of the United States.

SOVIET POLICY IN CHINA

What is there to fear?

by

ISRAEL EPSTEIN

SOVIET policy in China is properly of interest to Americans. Unfortunately it has been widely misrepresented, often in a malicious way. The large-circulation press has been particularly guilty of this. More careful and objective accounts have generally been academic in treatment and limited in distribution. So it is no wonder that misconceptions are widespread, even among honest seekers for the truth.

China is the biggest single country in which the interests of the United States and the Soviet Union come into direct contact. It is frequently, and falsely, asserted that they are in conflict. Loud voices proclaim that the conflict has always been there and will inevitably grow. This supposition has been used to justify policies of which many Americans are already ashamed. U. S. intervention in China since 1945 is one of them. It has cost the taxpayers of this country some \$3,000,000,000 and the Chinese people a great number of lives, but settled nothing. Because of its motivation, and its bearing on international agreements, it has added new clouds to U. S. Soviet relations. What is equally bad, it has gravely impaired the traditional friendship of China's own 450,000,000 people for America, a friendship that has been a major asset of U. S. foreign policy for a hundred years.

Does Soviet policy in China really threaten American national interests? To answer, we must examine the key principles on which it is based. We must also go over the main events in Sino-Soviet relations, and in Sino-Soviet-

This article deals with general issues. For a detailed consideration of the problem of Manchuria, which is a part of the general question, readers are referred to "Some Questions and Answers on Manchuria," by the same author, in the January, 1946, issue of Soviet Russia Today.

American relations where the United States has been directly involved.

The fundamental principles of Soviet policy toward China are those common to the whole foreign policy of the USSR. But they have certain special features. Let us see what conditions create these special features, and how Soviet policy orients itself to them.

1. China as Neighbor

China is a direct neighbor of the USSR. The two share a land frontier thousands of miles long. The only access of the Soviet-Siberian land mass to an ice-free Pacific port lies through Chinese territory in Manchuria. The ability of both countries to concentrate their undivided attention on peaceful construction, repair the damage of war and better the life of their peoples, demands friendly relations and the absence of any threat of war along this frontier. It is their mutual interest, beyond any transitory advantage either may gain by other means, to settle all questions by negotiation. The USSR has always tried to maintain close diplomatic links with every Chinese government that has existed since 1917, regardless of its politics. The breaks in good relations that have occurred have never been due to its initiative. Russia was the first country to send representatives of Ambassador rank to China, and to recognize her equal status as a major power. The question of transit and port facilities in Manchuria, more geographically important to the Soviet Union than the Panama Canal is to the United States, has been peacefully negotiated.

Anyone who wants to find something inimical to China, or to the United States, in these objectives and this record, will have to search a long time. In actual fact, America has worked

for them as consonant with its own interest. When President Roosevelt sent Vice-President Henry Wallace to Chungking in 1944, he specifically asked him to speak in favor of making the Sino-Soviet frontier as peaceful as the U. S.-Canadian border. President Roosevelt later played a constructive part in laying the groundwork for the Sino-Soviet Treaty of 1945, which harmonized the Manchurian issue.

2. Making China Strong

Ever since the Soviet Union began to exist, and for a long time previously, China has been a weak country. Her military and economic power has been feeble out of all proportion to her population and still untapped resources. Moreover, the foreign encroachments of the past century, in which all contemporary powers had shared, had limited her independence in both internal and foreign policy. After 1931, invasion by Japan threatened to destroy her altogether as a state.

The Soviet Union has always tried to encourage China's striving for full independence and the growth of her strength. These efforts stemmed from two sources. One was the benefit to Soviet security of a friendly neighbor able to take care of herself, instead of a weak one whose territory might be used by others for aggressive purposes, or who might be manipulated by others as a puppet. The second was the general belief of the Soviet Union that free and healthy nationhood for colonial and semi-colonial countries is necessary to world peace and progress.

In 1919, the Soviet Union released China from the "unequal treaty" obligations imposed upon her by Imperial Russia, surrendering all Russian concessions and leaseholds and the right to extraterritorial jurisdiction in the country. In 1942, the United States gave up its own "unequal treaty" rights, which President Roosevelt recognized as unjust and unnecessary. The United States was also instrumental in securing the surrender of these rights by Britain and other countries which had possessed them. American and Russian practices on the subject of Chinese sovereignty

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SOVIET RUSSIA TODAY



The populace from the Chinese section of Harbin welcome the Red Army men who liberated their city from the Japanese.

were thus brought into closer correspondence.

In 1931, the Soviet Union and the United States had no diplomatic relations. Nonetheless, they both took a firm attitude of non-recognition toward Japanese conquests in Manchuria. Their parallel stand on this issue, and the realization of their common interest with China in the face of Japanese aggression, were instrumental in bringing about two events. Sino-Soviet diplomatic relations, broken since 1927, were restored. The United States and the Soviet Union exchanged Ambassadors for the first time.

When Japan tried to subjugate all China in 1937, the Soviet Union supported every Chinese protest to the League of Nations. It signed a pact of non-aggression and friendship with China. More than this, it aided the Chinese Government, despite the long record of the latter in presenting itself to other countries as an "anti-Bolshevik outpost," with arms and Soviet-manned aircraft. That was long before any other nation had come to China's aid. The Japanese, who had already built up a first-class military base in Manchuria, took their revenge by actually attacking the Soviet frontier in 1938 and 1939 (at Changkufeng and Nomonhan). The Red Army repelled the attacks.

The United States, at this time, encouraged China and opposed Japan only with diplomatic notes. It was several years before it stopped selling oil and scrap steel, both essential to the Japanese war machine, to China's enemy. Considering what happened later it might be said that Soviet Far Eastern policy between 1937 and 1940 was more effective in checking Japanese aggression, and therefore defending American as well as Chinese and Soviet interests, than America's own actions.

Those who charge that Soviet Russia wants to profit from a weak China might well ponder the record of those years. China was tottering on the brink of disaster. The USSR alone was assisting her, and could certainly have asked, and received, almost any price for its aid. It asked no price, financially, diplomatically, or politically.

In fact, a weak China is one of the greatest hazards the Soviet Union can face. If China had been stronger, early counter-revolutionary attempts would not have found a springboard in Manchuria. The Japanese would never have built their anti-Soviet base there. This base the Soviet Union was ultimately to clean up—in 1945. It was the removal of Japanese-built and Japanese-owned military industry there that occasioned so many journalistic attacks on the Russians. The Soviet Union is sensitive about foreign troops in China because of its previous experience. Suppose the Japanese had built such a base in Mexico or Canada?

The Soviet-Chinese Treaty of 1945 also had a bearing on the question of China's strength, and her ability to defend herself. In its essence, it was a treaty of alliance against Japan, both the Japan that was going down in defeat and any future resurgence of Japanese aggression. The thirty-year lease of naval rights at Port Arthur is reasonable in this light, but would hardly benefit Russia against America, many thousands of miles away. A Japanese revival was not mere speculation, because defeat still leaves Japan the most industrialized country in Asia. Until other countries become as strong, the menace will exist, as the menace of Germany continued to exist after 1918. The Soviet-Chinese pact provides for aid to China's postwar reconstruction, to forestall the danger.

If partisans of the "two worlds" theory

look all over the world for anti-Soviet bases, as they did between World War I and World War II, they are sure to pick Japan as they once picked Hitler. Some American officers, oblivious of history and common sense, have already spoken of the Japanese as possible future allies. That might well turn out to be treason. Hitler did not attack Russia first and there is no cause to believe that a resurgent Japan, still under Hirohito, would do so. China would be her most likely victim, because still the easiest. After that she could choose either the USSR or America.

It was because President Roosevelt deemed the Soviet-Chinese Pact of use as an insurance policy against any such eventuality that he supported its provisions. There is no conflict here, or there shouldn't be.

3. The Chinese Revolution

The third salient feature of contemporary China is that she is in the throes of the greatest revolution in history. One-fifth of mankind is fighting its way from a frozen feudalism into the modern world. The struggle has already gone on for several decades. It has not only split the country along political lines, but at various times has carved it into two or more warring armies, areas and administrations. China's foreign relations have inevitably been affected. Her inner fight has offered great temptations to other powers to pick one side as winner, back it, and extort concessions of one kind or another as a price of such support. Obviously such a situation could become extremely dangerous, both for China and international peace, if more than one element claimed recognition as the legal government.

The Soviet Union was the first foreign

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THE British public has been conditioned for more than a quarter of a century to succeeding waves of anti-Soviet propaganda. Way back in the early years of the Bolshevik revolution, papers like the ultra Conservative *Daily Telegraph* solemnly assured its readers that Lenin was nationalizing women and that many of them were being shot by their relatives or were committing suicide to escape the ordeals which presumably they would suffer under their new nationalized status. Whenever possibilities arose of closer economic or political relations between London and the young Soviet Republic, the reactionary press could always be relied upon to produce some Bolshevik bogey.

The famous Zinoviev letter forgery was used to smash the first Labor Government in 1924. The *Daily Mail* started the scare and subsequent evidence has shown that certain officials of the Foreign Office were at least aware of the plot.

Later on, there were meetings at the Albert Hall at which "victims" appeared most conveniently to tell of "slave labor" in Russian timber camps. The Conservative Central Office providentially discovered a bug in Russian butter, and dupes all over the country stuck up notices in their shops with the slogan "No Russian Butter Sold Here." That particular rumor was dropped very quickly when someone discovered that the bug involved was native only to a certain area of Britain. The *Daily Mail* led an unsuccessful attempt to boycott Russian oil.

So it went on, until it reached a peak point during the Finnish war, when we were told that the Finns, unwilling to take advantage of the poor ignorant bewildered Russian soldiers, dropped bibles on them instead of bombs, and that the Red Army went into battle accompanied by cardboard tanks.

In the organized labor, trade union and cooperative movements of Britain this propaganda had very little effect. In 1920, when far less was known about the basis of the Soviet State than today, the workers instinctively reacted against the war of intervention. They formed Councils of Action and compelled the leadership to take over the movement of protest. The dockers of London stopped the "Jolly George," sailing for Poland with arms, and the war of intervention had to be called off.

Whatever the difficulties between our two countries—and there have been many times when relations were strained

WE NEED RUSSIA'S FRIENDSHIP

A British journalist tells why any policy aimed at war against the USSR is doomed to failure in his country

by

Gordon Schaffer

not only between the British and Soviet Governments but also between the British labor movement and the Soviet Union—this basic sense of loyalty to a Socialist country remained in the ranks of organized labor. During the years when rearmament was under discussion, I remember a Trade Union Congress at which Sir Walter Citrine urged support for rearmament, against delegates who feared the use the Chamberlain Government might make of the arms. He asked the Congress "Do you think we would ever allow these arms to be used against Russia?" The delegates roared "No."

When Russia came into the war, the

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comradeship in arms with our Soviet ally found an immediate expression in the arms factories. Lord Beaverbrook organized a "Tanks for Russia" week and the response was so spontaneous that some six weeks supply of spare parts were used up!

The general public reacted rather differently. The almost invariable question which was asked at meetings was "Why were we not told about Russia?" "Why weren't we allowed to know the things the press are telling us today about Russia's strength?"

It is against that background that the present anti-Soviet propaganda drive must be estimated. In the organized labor movement the old propaganda stories have had no effect. There is, however, a certain amount of disquiet. The labor movement has a deep-seated sense of loyalty. Ernest Bevin gained their admiration and support by his record as a trade union leader and as the best Labor Minister in British history.

When they feel like criticizing foreign policy, there is always a conflict between their loyalty and their desire for closer friendship with Russia.

That is a very different thing from securing their support for an open anti-Soviet policy. The view was expressed at the recent Trade Union Congress that the British workers would never be induced to go to war with Russia.

I am certain that it is true and that any policy which has as its ultimate objective possibility of war with Russia is doomed, for modern war is not fought only on the battlefields; it is waged in the factories and the mines and it cannot be waged without the full backing of the working people.

What about the millions of citizens outside the ranks of organized labor? In this section, the present propaganda has had a bigger effect. Admiration for the achievements of the Red Army was widespread, but there was little real knowledge of the economic and political foundations on which the Soviet society was built. So, many people, formerly friendly with Russia, eagerly accept the idea that all the difficulties of peace-making arise from Russian intransigence.

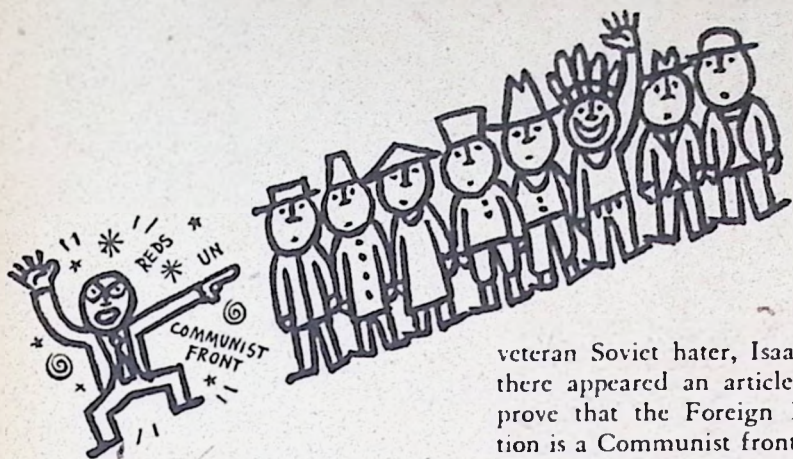
In looking at Europe, they are quite ready to work on the principle that Stalin invented Karl Marx, or, in other words, that every move in the border states to divide the land, to nationalize industry, or to smash the quislings and pro-fascists is dictated in Moscow. There

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WHEN LIBERALS SEE RED

by

CORLISS LAMONT



THROUGH coincidence and the dire decree of fate, I found myself talking at a supper party recently to a serious-minded lady from Boston who had apparently been learning Hearst editorials by heart. Finally, I said to her jokingly, "Why, you talk as if the United Nations itself were just a Communist front." With the half-hysterical yet solemn look of a Dorothy Thompson sounding off on Yugoslavia, she shot right back: "That's exactly what it is and the American Government should immediately cease all cooperation with Communist Russia!"

Well, there you have it! U.N. is a Communist front because there are Communist representatives in it, and the U. S. delegates are fellow-travelers who are obviously being corrupted and hoodwinked by those fearfully clever Russians. A maniac can reason quite logically on the basis of his totally unrealistic assumptions. So can others who start from false and perverted premises. The lady with whom I was conversing was simply carrying through the full logic of current red-baiting and of the attempt to smear as Communists, Communist-fronters or fellow-travelers all who show some sympathy toward the Soviet Union or wish to cooperate with that country. Her position was the natural result of political insanity at the very core of her thinking.

Let me give another example or two. In a recent issue of a new magazine called *Plain Talk* and edited by that

veteran Soviet hater, Isaac Don Levine, there appeared an article purporting to prove that the Foreign Policy Association is a Communist front and that Mrs. Vera M. Dean, head of its Research Department, is another of Stalin's agents in America. The editors of this vicious journal sent out this article to hundreds of prominent Americans in an effort to oust Mrs. Dean and other alleged fellow-travelers in the F.P.A. and to pressure that organization into a definitely anti-Soviet position.

Now I by no means agree with everything that Mrs. Dean and her research staff write about Soviet Russia and American-Soviet relations. But on the whole they have done a fair and impartial job, often critical of Soviet policies, yet not uncritical of America's own conduct. The Foreign Policy Association itself is an old and well-established organization, with many genuine conservatives on its Board of Directors and National Council. It is fantastic to claim that this group and its employees have suddenly become part of the so-called Red network. And the absurd charge of *Plain Talk* shows to what incredible extremes the anti-Soviet diehards are willing to go.

Perhaps even more vicious is a long editorial entitled "The 'Liberal' Fifth Column" in a recent issue of *Partisan Review*, a magazine founded under Trotskyite auspices and still under strong Trotskyite influence. The main argument of this piece is that a considerable group of American liberals form "a powerfully vocal lobby willing to override all concerns of international de-

mocracy in the interests of a foreign power. The foci of this infection are the newspaper *PM* and the liberal weeklies the *Nation* and the *New Republic*."

The "foreign power" referred to is of course Soviet Russia, toward which liberals have been far too friendly. This crime, according to *Partisan Review*, transforms them into "Russian patriots." Treasonable as are the Communist Party and its sympathizers, the magazine concludes, the liberals "have become a more potent and dangerous Fifth Column since they succeed in deceiving a good many more people." Then, the editorial, gloating with sadistic satisfaction over the victims on which it has put the finger, predicts that these liberals would be the first Americans to fall beneath "a terror of the Right."

I have cited these particular sources not because they carry much influence in themselves, but because they indicate the terminal point of a most menacing trend in American thinking. Take, for example, the recently formed Americans for Democratic Action. This organization dedicates itself to the monstrous untruth that communism and fascism are fundamentally the same, and it

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CORLISS LAMONT, philosopher, teacher and writer, has long been active in the promotion of American-Soviet understanding and friendship. He has written extensively on the USSR, his latest book being *The Peoples of the Soviet Union*.

Drawings by Ad Reinhardt

In Post-War Ukraine

by Mary Modell Naimark

More from the diary of a Byelo-Russian-born American woman who served as interpreter for the UNRRA mission to the Ukraine

March 20, 1946: At 5:30 a.m. we arrived in Kiev. It was quite dark. A large group of people met us, representatives of the Trade Ministry, of the Foreign Ministry, of the Department of UNRRA Supplies, and of the Intourist.

We were taken to the Intourist Hotel on Lenin Street. Before the Nazi invasion the Intourist had a first-class hotel with baths for every room. It was blown up by the retreating Nazis. The present hotel was formerly an apartment house which had been converted into a hotel by the Nazis.

There was a separate room for each of our group and for Marshall MacDuffie, head of our mission; a sitting room, too. All the rooms were massively, but comfortably furnished and steam-heated. There were potted flowering begonias in every room, and telephones in Mr. MacDuffie's room and mine. We were touched beyond words. We knew of the ravages to which Kiev had been subjected and understood what trouble they must have gone to in preparing liveable accommodations for us. We did not expect anything like this. We had, indeed, come prepared for the worst—sleeping bags, *et al.* There was only one bath on the floor, but hot water was ready for us and after our baths we were served an enormous breakfast. After a short nap we were taken to see the city.

We are actually walking the streets of Kiev. I can hardly believe it. I try to recall some of its history as I learned it, oh, about a million years ago. The Intourist guide is explaining things, and I am mentally ahead of her.

We come to Kreshchatik, the main street of Kiev. The name is derived from the verb *krestit*—to christen. It is a very wide avenue, with ample sidewalks and newly-planted young trees—but it is no longer lined with buildings and stores. Instead it is flanked by plots filled with rubble, here and there bat-

tered walls. The guide pointed out a small, neatly landscaped square. A building had stood there before the invasion. The citizens cleared away the rubble and made a little park of it. When the city was liberated in November, 1943, the returning citizens could neither ride, nor walk through Kreshchatik—their pride and joy, this modern avenue of tall buildings and beautiful stores, was in ruins. Men, women and children, Red Army men and officers turned out to clear up the debris. Most of it is now nearly ready for the new, better buildings which they intend to erect. They have a government agency called *Kreshchatikstroy*, for rebuilding the avenue. But the citizens of the city are still contributing a certain number of hours per month to this end. The Germans either chopped down the tall, old trees which formerly lined the avenue, or destroyed them as they did the buildings, before retreating. The citizens themselves planted the new trees which now line the avenue.

There is much devastation in the side streets, too. The Nazis conducted systematic, wanton demolition before retreating. They either planted time bombs in buildings or set them on fire. We saw buildings bearing the legend "free from mines" followed by the name of the inspector and the date of inspection. We were shown the monument to Bogdan Khmel'nitsky. Under his leadership the Ukraine was incorporated into Russia. I told our hosts that I saw in Stockholm a statue of Charles XII, pointing at Russia, presumably saying to his fellow-countrymen—"There is where our enemy lies." The Ukrainians told me laughingly that the statue of Khmel'nitsky is also pointing a finger at Russia, but he is saying—"There is where our friends are." They pointed out to us, on a high hill in the distance, the statue of St. Vladimir, who

had introduced Christianity into Russia.

Then we went to the Pechersky Lavra, a monastery founded in the eleventh century. Hundreds of thousands of pilgrims from all over Russia used to come here every year. After the Revolution, the Lavra was turned into a museum and art classes were conducted there. In the center stood the beautiful Ouspensky Cathedral. The first Nazis to enter Kiev looted it. Later, when some higher Nazi officials were expected, the small fry who had looted the Cathedral became panicky and blew it up to conceal their crimes. Much of the loot is now turning up in various parts of Russia and Western Europe. But the most precious icon, set with diamonds and rubies, is still missing. Excavations are now going on in the Cathedral rubble, and many objects of art are found to be intact. There were secret closets which the Nazis did not discover. The Lavra had a library of one million volumes which the Nazis either burned or stole. Some of the rarest are being found in various parts of the country and returned. The old curator of the Lavra, Chornogubov, managed to hide many valuables, and when the Nazis could not get him to divulge the hiding places, they shot him.

We descended into the caves, accompanied by monks. We carried little candles to light our way. We saw mummified, shrunken bodies of saints, some of whom lived in small cells for fifteen or sixteen years. The bodies are well preserved because of the clayey soil and climatic conditions.

In the evening we went to the Opera and Ballet Theater, and heard *Othello* in the Ukrainian. I was delighted with the performance, and was especially pleased with the way the Ukrainian language sounded. When I mentioned this to Tkachenko, the Deputy Chairman of the Arts Committee of the Ukrainian Council of Ministers, he told me that singers consider that, after Italian, the Ukrainian language lends itself best to singing. The abundance of vowels, the absence of hard consonants account for this.

It is now 12:30 a.m. and we are at last able to turn in. What a pace! I hope that after the first day we will not be expected to keep it up.

MARY MODEL NAIMARK was Director of the Russian Language School of the American Russian Institute, New York, and was with the Army Specialized Training Program during the war at the College of the City of New York.



March 21st: In the morning Vasily Vladimirovich Khomyak, Chief of the Department of UNRRA Supplies formed by the Ukraine's Council of Ministers, called for us. He is a former colonel and commanded 2,500 partisans who operated in and around Kiev and other nearby cities. He is a man of about fifty, with a shock of soft gray hair and mellow brown eyes; his good, gentle face is furrowed with deep lines which bespeak suffering.

Khomyak took us to Pavlovskaya, No. 9, the building in which our office will be housed. It has five large rooms, a bathroom and a kitchen. We knew that they were short of everything, and yet here we found for our convenience beautiful, clean, well-heated rooms. The furniture had been newly made in a reconstructed factory. There was a clean runner on the floor of every room, spotless windows, freshly calcimined walls. On the desks were inkwells, pens and pencils. Outside there is a garden well laid out with fruit trees, berry bushes, flower beds. Our caretaker will plant flowers there, any kind we want. At one end there is a small pool which will be filled for us in the summer.

Then we went to Khomyak's office to discuss the supply program. UNRRA, by agreement with the Ukrainian representatives in Washington, appropriated \$189,000,000 for the Ukraine. About three-fifths of this appropriation was allotted to the food program, the rest to industrial and agricultural rehabilitation equipment, clothing, medical supplies and seeds. This conference with Khomyak did not take long as we were scheduled to meet Senin, Deputy Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Ukraine. For our conference with him we went to the government administration building, a huge, impressive, modern structure which survived Nazi demolition only because immediately upon reentering the city, Red Army soldiers rushed for it and disconnected the time bomb fuses.

We entered Senin's beautiful office and found a young, affable, vivacious and handsome man waiting for us. We learned that he had done post-graduate

(Continued on page 34)

▲ Reading down: Kreshchatik, the main thoroughfare of Kiev as it appeared before the war • The destruction wrought by the Germans along Kreshchatik • What the Nazis did to Shevchenko University in the Ukrainian capital • Pechersky Lavra, monastery founded in the eleventh century, as the Nazis left it—in the foreground are some ruins of the Ouspensky Cathedral.

The Soviet Wage System

The role of the trade unions in determining the total wage fund as part of the economic plan

by John J. Abt

HERE are basic differences between the wage systems of the Soviet Union and the United States. These differences arise out of the difference between the socialist economy of the Soviet state and our own capitalist economy. A brief explanation of this basic difference is necessary to an understanding of the whole process of setting Soviet wage rates.

Wages in our country are usually fixed as a result of collective bargaining between unions and individual employers. In only a few instances have we as yet achieved industry-wide collective bargaining under which uniform wage scales are established throughout an entire industry. And in the many cases where plants remain unorganized, wages are fixed by the employer at whatever level he thinks will be most profitable for himself. Moreover, each employer decides for himself what products he will manufacture and—subject to his ability to secure necessary finances and to the limitations of supply and demand—how much he will produce and at what prices he will sell. Each employer chooses the course of action that he believes will yield him the largest profit. Because the levels of production, wages and prices are the result of these individual and uncoordinated decisions, they

tend periodically to get out of balance, resulting in economic cycles that swing from "boom" to "bust."

Soviet economy functions in an entirely different way. There, as we have seen, all industry, trade and transport—all of what are called the means of production (except agriculture) are owned by the state. This makes it both possible and necessary for the state to plan the national economy.

The famous Soviet five-year plans, of which three have been completed and the fourth has begun, do just that. The first objective of the five-year plan is to set production goals for each branch of Soviet economy. This requires the making of a series of basic decisions. What portion of the nation's resources shall be devoted to the production of consumer's goods—food, clothing, household furnishings, automobiles, tobacco, toys, cosmetics and the multitude of other products that people use in their daily lives? What portion of the nation's resources shall be devoted to what may be called social or collective goods and services—to such things as housing, education, recreation, and public health? What portion shall be devoted to the national defense? And what portion to maintaining and expanding the nation's means of production—to build and equip factories, railroads and ships, manufacture machine tools and agricultural implements, open up new mines and oil wells?

The preparation of the five-year plan

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is not the work of any one man or group of men. It is the result of the collective thinking of the whole nation, a process in which the trade unions play a highly important role.

The preparation of the plan is in the hands of the State Planning Commission, on which the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions is well represented. But even before a draft plan is prepared, the matter is discussed by the trade union organization of every enterprise and by the members of every collective farm in the land. In these discussions, the workers and farmers propose production goals for themselves and make suggestions as to their needs for such things as food, housing, clothing, education and other goods and services which they believe that the new plan should provide.

Based upon its own studies and on all of the proposals which are sent to it, the State Planning Commission prepares a draft plan. The draft is then submitted back to the trade union and farm organizations for criticism and suggestions. The Commission puts the plan into final form after considering these proposals. The plan then goes to the Supreme Soviet, a body corresponding to our Congress,

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WHY SOVIET WORKERS RARELY STRIKE

by ERIC PHILIPS

MOSCOW—(ALN)—Almost any Soviet labor union leader approached by an American visitor would probably be willing to bet 10 to 1 that the conversation will sooner or later turn to the question of strikes.

The union leaders never brush off these questions, though. They are very anxious that American unionists understand why the strike weapon is rarely used in the Soviet Union, even though it is a legal right.

V. D. Samossoudov, of the Railroad Builders Union, recently gave Allied Labor News a graphic description of how his union solves its grievances without having to resort to strikes.

Last summer, he said, the Ministry of Ways and Communications ordered railroad workers in certain districts to work overtime on Sundays. The local union committees refused. When the ministry repeated the order, the railwaymen's union carried the matter to the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions, whose chairman, V. V. Kuznetsov, discussed it with the Council of Ministers. The union won and the order was rescinded.

This wasn't just luck, Samossoudov explained. Soviet law, he said, is designed to protect labor's rights. The law says that a worker is entitled to rest at least one day a week and cannot be forced to work overtime if he objects.

Therefore the procedure followed by the union was to see that the law in question was observed. A strike, Samossoudov said, is a weapon to be used only when the law is not on the workers' side. In the Soviet Union, no labor law is enacted without the approval of the unions. The unions have a voice in the top councils of the government. Their voice extends all the way down to each individual factory or shop.

Because the unions have such wide authority, Samossoudov pointed out, they rarely if ever have to resort to the methods used by a labor movement which is forced constantly to fight to maintain and broaden its rights.

An Armenian Goes Back Home

"A rich gift, eagerly welcomed," is the homecoming to Soviet Armenia of Begidjanian and a million of his countrymen from many lands

by D. N. Pritt, K. C., M. P.

A YEAR ago, in the early part of 1946, Misak Begidjanian, an Armenian by race, was a waiter in a restaurant in Teheran. He lived with his wife, Nabat, and they had two daughters, Perchuki, age eleven, and Siruki, age seven. As a waiter, he was not nearly as poor materially as the general run of the large Armenian colony in Persia, who had for the most part lived there three-and-a-half centuries, working on the land in dire poverty. He was illiterate, and so was his wife, but his daughters were able to go to school. He spoke Armenian and Persian, and a smattering of European languages.

He was like many another member of an oppressed and despised national minority, and he and I would probably never have met if it were not for the remarkable movement among the Armenian exiles, forming half the world's Armenians, for repatriation to Soviet Armenia, their historic motherland from which some of them have been exiled for centuries, some for generations, some for only thirty years or so.

Begidjanian had heard of repatriation, and very much wanted to get "back home"—as a Scotsman in the Falkland Isles would put it—after being away several centuries. In January, 1946, he learnt that landworkers would probably have priority, so he took himself and his family off to one of the Armenian villages some way away from Teheran—although he was forty-four and had never worked on the land in his life. What with one thing and another, he was kept hanging about for several months, but finally in June he set off with other Armenians on the long journey organized by the Committee that had been set up in Persia to deal with the repatriation. By the time the Begidjanian family reached the Soviet frontier, one thing and another—including the rapacity of some Persian officials—had reduced their belongings to little more than their clothes, two carpets, and a



Recently a carpenter in Iran, Matevos Makyrchyan and his family have now found a new home on the Ararat Viniculture State Farm in Soviet Armenia

cigarette lighter. But they were better off than many of their fellow-repatriates, and anyway they felt they were home.

The frontier formalities were short, and a whole trainload of them went straight through to the village of High Artashak. The village was ready for them. Altogether, they added over ten per cent to the population in one afternoon; but preparations had been made to welcome them. In many cottages, one third or one half the living space had been given up to the newcomers to live in until new cottages could be built; furniture had been lent, or given, or made, either by individual collective farm workers or by the collective farm organization itself; foodstuffs for the first day or two were provided, and they started off with a feast of welcome. "Such a feast," Begidjanian said, "as I had never seen in all my life."

It was in this village that I met the Begidjanian family when I visited it in September last. They were occupying one of the two large rooms of a big cottage in a rather lovely rambling green and well-watered village in the hot and fertile area between Mount Ararat and the capital city of Erevan. Their hosts had given up this room and lent them furniture, crowding themselves into a similar room on the other side of the landing. They told me they were getting on very happily together, sharing

the cooking space and lots of other things which so many of us have to share nowadays. The Begidjanians had their two carpets on the floor of beaten earth; their hosts had no carpets on their floor, but they had a sporting gun, thirty or forty books, and a map of Europe on the wall.

I asked the Begidjanians how they were getting on, and if they were glad to have come. He and she both talked, and the daughters had a few words to say too. They were very happy, and had settled in quickly. He had begun work the very day after his arrival; he had of course been put into relatively unskilled work, water-spraying, cleaning and cutting irrigation channels, or building the cottage that was to be his in due course. He had found it hard at first, but he could manage it all right—he looked lean and well and bright, although one could picture him in a waiter's jacket. His wife worked one or two days a week. They had already built up enough "labor-days" to their credit by their work to know that they would be sure to get along all right. Their daughters were very happy at the

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Collective farmers Arakel Markosyan, Vartush Galstyan and Andronik Matevosyan are from Iran

Armenian students from Syria (loft) at Erevan University—H. Demirjian, a lathe operator



village school; they were about a year behind the local standard, as most of the repatriates are, but the teacher and other pupils were helping them, and they were catching up. (The village, incidentally, has two schools, one primary [seven year] and the other secondary [ten year] and fifty-seven teachers in all, to teach the children of this village and two or three surrounding villages.) Mr. and Mrs. Begidjanian are going to attend evening classes to overcome their own illiteracy.

The Begidjanians received, like all repatriates coming into the villages, a government loan of 25,000 rubles—it is 30,000 rubles in the towns—to enable them to build a cottage. They have to repay the loan, free of interest, in fifteen years, and the cottage is then theirs. The actual work of building is attended to by the collective farm, which sees to the supply of building materials—priority and price control is seen to by the Government, as there is naturally a shortage—and puts on to the work of construction as many hands as can be spared from time to time. This includes sometimes Begidjanian himself, who is thus not merely lent the money to build his cottage but is paid for working on it. The faster they can get these cottages built, the sooner will they be able to restore to the original occupants the rooms they have given up to welcome their repatriate guests.

But I have a shrewd suspicion that there will probably be a new batch of repatriates coming along by then, to be housed somehow, for there are nearly a million Armenians scattered about the world, longing to get home—something like eighty per cent of all exiles have registered to return—and over half of them are landworkers. And this collective farm and others like it can do with more workers; they can catch up all sorts of arrears, cultivate the land more intensively and, by extending irrigation, can take in more and more land. (I saw in the same region a very prosperous State farm growing grapes for the developing wine industry of Armenia which had been desert land less than twenty years before.)

The Begidjanians had had their private garden allotment given to them very soon after their arrival, and were working on that in their spare time. Before September was out they were to have their own cow, like most of the other families, and their passports evidencing their citizenship of the Soviet Union were due to arrive almost any day.

And there they were, free citizens of a free land, Armenians in their own Armenia, Soviet citizens in the USSR, already sharing in the modest prosperity and the native culture of their country and contributing their share to it, with no officials to rob them, no landlords to extort rent, no man's hand against them, welcome additions to a country where men and women and children are assets, precious human capital.

It was nice to meet them; they were good samples of an interesting human development. How large is the bulk of

which they are samples? Well, in the first two months, 35,000 came in—about half of them urban workers and half landworkers, with a nice sprinkling of intelligentsia, engineers, artists, actors, writers, sculptors. Work could be found at once for a million, they told me. The one limiting factor is housing; but already over a thousand homes were being built in Erevan alone, under the same loan scheme, and many more in the countryside. I was given an estimate that they might take in 15,000 more in the rest of the year; but I have

since learnt that the total of 50,000 was reached before November was out. The whole million or so that want to come, from Persia, Syria, Lebanon, Egypt, Bulgaria, Greece, France, and other countries, including the U.S.A., will take a few years, but they will come all right; except on points like housing, they present not a problem to be solved but a rich gift to be eagerly welcomed.

What a happy economy! And what a tragic contrast is the outer world of unemployment, displaced persons, racial riots, and antagonisms!



A check-up for young repatriates (left)—Kevork Gerbkyan and Suren Stepanyan (right), from Beirut, at Erevan University with their professor

Avetis Tilbyan, from Beirut, with members of a fishing collective on Lake Sevan which he has joined





A Story About Love

by

V. KARBOVSKAYA

Translated from *Krestianka*, by Rya Gabel



AUNT GRUSHA from our collective farm village aged terribly during the war, from anxiety about her son. He was in many battles. He had left as a private, and worked up to Junior Lieutenant. Probably he would have gone on further only he was badly wounded during one of the engagements. They sent Aunt Grusha a postcard from the hospital, telling her not to worry, that her son was getting better. But how can a mother not worry when she knows that her only son is lying in bed somewhere suffering?

About eight months ago, her son Grigory Ivanovich came home. But before he came, he wrote this letter:

"Mother dear, I do not wish to conceal anything from you. I am a cripple. I have lost my right arm and right leg. I am no longer a worker as I used to be and I shall be a burden to you. I don't have to come home, if you feel that things may be too hard for you. So you must make the decision yourself. I can walk, because I have an artificial leg but the business with the arm is not so good. Do as you like, mother, and write me your decision. In any case I won't be angry—I'll understand perfectly. Your loving son, Grigory. P.S. Incidentally, I'm writing this letter myself. I've learned to use my left hand, more or less."

This letter was read to Aunt Grusha by her neighbor, Valia Kopylova. While Valia was reading it, Aunt Grusha sat as though made of stone; lips pressed together, eyes staring. And when Valia said softly "That's all," Aunt Grusha just moaned and fell heavily on the bench. People came around to comfort her the best way they knew how, but with grief like that, what consolation can there be? Finally, Valia ran to fetch our chairman, Olga Vassilievna. Our Olga Vassilievna is a very wise woman and a good, kind person. She came around at once, sat down beside Aunt Grusha and put her arm around her:

"So what can we do now, Aunt Grusha? Tears won't fix anything. You've got to write and tell him to come home immediately, that's all."

Aunt Grusha raised her head, her lips quivering, her kerchief askew, and her grey hair all disarranged.

"It's just that I'm so sorry for the boy. So handsome, he was. And how he loved to work! He won't be able to stand it!"

That very evening, our Olga Vassilievna sent off a fifty word telegram to Grigory

Ivanovich at the hospital. Not a word about his disability. It just said that everyone was looking forward to seeing him very much, and that if he felt all right and wanted to start working at once, to come right ahead. The job that was offered was quite a responsible one—to take charge of the dairy farm.

Grigory Ivanovich sent no answer but showed up in person within a week. At first glance, he seemed to be just the same strapping fellow he always had been—tall, well built. He had his army greatcoat flung over his shoulders and that hid the absence of his arm, and while he walked with a limp, still, thanks to prosthesis, no one could imagine that his leg had been cut off above the knee. All our people who were expecting to see a sick, crippled man, began to feel a good deal better, and Aunt Grusha couldn't take her eyes off him, and kept holding on to his good, left hand, and crooning, "Grishenka, my darling, my little son."

Our chairman said: "Today we'll let our dear officer rest and steam himself in the bathhouse, but tomorrow, Aunt Grusha, better prepare for company!"

When mother and son were left by themselves, Grigory Ivanovich said, softly and sadly:

"Well, Mamma, here I am at last. Now, I'm no longer a complete person; just three-quarters of me is left. It will be hard on you. Maybe you'll be sorry you took me in."

Aunt Grusha started crying all over again, and said:

"You ought to be ashamed of yourself, Grishenka, saying such things to your own mother. For me, your wounds make you a hundred times more precious, and for other people it's practically not noticeable. And even if it were, it is your battle glory—that's what it seems to me, and that's what our chairman was saying."

But Grigory Ivanovich just smiled bitterly and said:

"O. K., what's the use of talking about it? You'll see yourself, later on, just how noticeable it is. You'll have plenty of chances—you'll have to dress me, you know."

And only that evening, in the steaming bathhouse, when she was helping her son get undressed and saw his scarred, tortured body, did she understand how much he'd had to endure. Cold sweat appeared on her forehead, as though now, she herself were experiencing his sufferings. And

Grigory Ivanovich looked at her and gestured with the stump of his arm: "A fine thing, isn't it?" he asked her.

She just barely managed to move her dry lips, but still she found strength within herself to answer:

"To me, you're as handsome as ever. You're the light of my eyes, Grishenka. And the most horrible part of it is behind us. Now, God willing, everything will be all right. You can start your work. Olga Vassilievna is very pleased. 'He's just the kind we need,' she said, 'smart, and honest.' And then, later on, maybe, we'll find you a nice girl and get you married. . . ."

Grigory Ivanovich looked at her severely:

"Now look," he said, "I won't talk about my injuries any more. The way I am, that's the way I'll be and that's that. But about this other thing . . . about marriage, I don't want to hear another word about it, is that clear?"

"My goodness, Grishenka, how can you say such a thing! You're a young man, and handsome. Why should you live alone? Now there's Vaniusha Starostin, he came back badly wounded, why, his face is all spoiled even, but he got married, and are they happy! He married Akshushka, you know, and she is crazy about him!"

But Grigory Ivanovich only frowned and said:

"So—that's their business. It's his good luck to have found someone like Akshushka. But I'm not going to inflict myself on any young woman. You're my mother and it's your cross, and you yourself consented to bear it. But to load it onto someone else's shoulders, nothing doing, I won't have it, and it will never happen. And please don't talk to me about it, and don't let anyone else. I guess it isn't easy for you to look at me, so how would it be for a young girl? So now that's the end of it. We won't discuss it any more. Agreed?"

Aunt Grusha sighed and said nothing. But to herself she thought: "Never mind, it'll come out all right, somehow."

So Grigory Ivanovich began working. Our dairy business is large, complicated, and on top of that, had been neglected.

"Our former manager had a good time," the milkmaids said, "anybody used to be able to get some extra milk or sour cream out of him. And he himself used to be a little on the gay side, any day in the week. From milk, no doubt. Only it

surely must have come from a crazy cow!"

"Never mind," Grigory Ivanovich told them, "you'll probably want him back again by the time I get through introducing some military order around here!"

But the new manager's severity and his methods seemed to find favor with everyone. The milkmaids were satisfied, and not only they but the cows themselves. They actually looked more contented. He saw to it that the stalls were cleaned out, and gave orders to keep the cows scrubbed. "See that they shine like cavalry horses," he ordered, "animals like to be clean."

He went after the feed problem too. He got himself all kinds of books on dairy farming and animal husbandry, and set up a strict accounting system. After the first month, our chairman boasted at a district meeting: "Rivers of milk are definitely beginning to flow, you'll see. I didn't even dare to dream of such a manager!"

And it turned out that our girls were not hopelessly lazy, as the former manager used to claim, but quite the contrary, excellent workers, and nobody was surprised when the names of the best milkers appeared in the district newspaper.

Work became fun under Grigory Ivanovich. True, he was demanding and tough, but he knew how to joke, too, and how to praise whomever had it coming to him. And Aunt Grusha seemed to grow younger, and smiled with joy whenever she heard her son praised.

But the greatest change of all came over Valia Kopylova. What a girl that was! The number one prankster in the village, you might say! What a tease! What a giggler! She could do the work of three people, just like that, if she cared to, and never tire. But under the old manager, she didn't care at all, and did her work any old way. "Oh, to the devil with him, the drunken sot," she used to say. "Work or not, it's all the same—no results, anyway. He gets everything into a mess."

But now, all of a sudden, our Valiushka was a different girl. She grew quiet as quiet—no giggling, no songs, no jokes, just worked like a horse. She got her picture in the paper, too, and she came out better than anybody because she's a really pretty girl. Everybody was talking about the change in her.

"It's not natural," people said, "There's something behind it!" And, of course, the people were right. Our Valiushka had fallen in love with Grigory Ivanovich. But so ardently that it transformed her completely. Before, she used to dress up a lot, she even went into town to buy finery. But now she walked around modestly, a white kerchief over her head, and not a sound out of her.

"What in the world is the matter with you, Valiushka?" the girls asked.

"There's nothing to get dressed up for," she told them, "there's just one man in the world I'd put on silks and laces for, girls, and he doesn't care a hang. He doesn't even look in my direction, so why should I throw myself at him? I've got my pride, too."

Well, of course, everyone understood whom she meant. And it was true, too.

Grigory Ivanovich would joke with the girls all right, and talk to them pleasantly, but he singled out no one, and altogether behaved not like a young man but an old grandfather. As though he really didn't care whether there were any girls in the world, or not. And people began to make comments:

"It's a pity he doesn't know his luck. Valiushka is a fine girl, and she's already shown the door to two suitors. Look how she grieves over him, she must love him a lot. And no wonder, any girl would be proud of such a husband."

But nobody dared to talk to him about it, because he was a serious and self-sufficient person, and everybody knew he didn't wish to marry because of his disability. And all anybody could say was: "It's wrong, it's absolutely wrong!"

Once Valiushka's mother and Aunt Grusha got together secretly, and talked together and cried a little. "It certainly would be a good thing," Aunt Grusha said. "My dear," said Valiushka's mother, "I couldn't ask for anything better. My girl simply pines for him. Not that she says anything, but I can see into her heart. Maybe, you could have a talk with him?" "No," said Aunt Grusha, "he has forbidden me to open my mouth on this subject. 'I don't want,' he says, 'to have a wife suffering at my side all her life.'" "What kind of suffering is that, Agra-fenushka, when she is mad about him?" "That's all very well—but how to make him understand it?"

And so the two old ladies parted. At this point, our chairman herself, took a hand in the affair. She called Valiushka in and talked to her:

"Look here, girl. I am no match-maker, and it isn't my business. Still, I am a woman of some years, and I understand something about these things. If he were just an ordinary, healthy fellow, playing high and mighty with you and figuring never mind, she'll throw herself into my arms anyway, I'd be the first one to tell you 'skip it, darling, stop mooning over him, it's not worth it!' But this is a different kettle of fish altogether. Here, maybe, a man is trying to stifle the love in his heart, out of concern for you. He's afraid that it would be hard for you with him. And if I were you, I'd pack my pride away and go to him first. Well, of course, it's your own business. Maybe, for all I know, it's not real love at all on your part, but just imagination."

At that, Valia just looked at her:

"You are an intelligent woman, Olga Vassilievna, and yet you can say a thing like that! So suppose I go to him, and he says to me 'Thank you for your concern about me, Val'ka Kopylova, but I need you like last winter's snow.' Then what? Then, shall I just tie a kerchief over my face and run away from village, or what?"

At that our chairman got really irritated with her.

"Then it seems you're just a fool, that's what!", she said. "So if it has come to that, I'll tell you something. Many times I've noticed the way he looks at you. With sad eyes, he looks after you and sighs. Lord knows, I'm no cry-baby, but some-

times when I see this, I feel choked up. I feel sorry for the man, after all! But once he has gotten it into his head that no girl can be happy with him, it's no use your waiting for any love-talk from him. Never! So there you are, keep your pride, my girl! Only, mind you, stay out of my way from now on!"

After this conversation, Valiushka grew more cheerful. Is it possible," she asked herself, "that he really feels that way about me? Olga Vassilievna would not lie to me, she's not that kind of woman!"

So, finally, she made up her mind. I don't know what it must have cost her. But at last, one evening she came up to her two best girl-friends and said:

"Girls, think what you like about me, all I know is, I can't stand this any more. I'm going to him, and I'll tell him what's in my heart. And if he doesn't want me, goodbye, girls, think of me sometimes."

At that, they got excited, both of them:

"What are you saying, Valiushka, have you lost your mind? Anyway we won't let you go alone, we're going with you!"

But now, the old Valia came to life again. She stamped her foot, and began to shout at them:

"Don't you dare do anything of the kind! This is my business, and I'll settle it my own way."

And she went and put on her white silk blouse, and combed her hair before the mirror, pretty as a picture only pale as a ghost. She glanced at the girls, smiled a wry little smile, "I'm off," she said.

(Continued on page 27)

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Impressions of a New Frontier Land

by EMIL LENGYEL

THROUGH RUSSIA'S BACK DOOR, by Richard E. Lauterbach. Published by Harper and Brothers. New York, 1947. 239 pp. \$2.75

RICHARD E. LAUTERBACH is the gifted young correspondent of *Time* and *Life* who gave an engaging war-time account of the Soviet people in *These Are the Russians*, a highly readable volume.

His new book is mostly an account of his trip on the Trans-Siberian from Vladivostok to Moscow. He tells about the people he met, the scenes he saw, and the drinks he had. The trip was slow, and Lauterbach had time to look around. From a young girl who got on the train at Biro-Bidzhan, he obtained some useful information about that Far Eastern Jewish settlement in the Amur River bend. He met engineers who gave him interesting information about the new Five-Year Plan and the Soviets' Siberian mineral riches. He met Dmitri, the fier who asked him whether he thought that the war was over, and he met many other people.

The train made longer stops at Khabarovsk, the metropolis of the Far East, and new industrial center, at Chita, one of the eldest Siberian settlements, at Ulan Ude, gateway toward the Mongolian Peoples' Republics. The Trans-Siberian played hide and seek with Lake Baikal, largest mountain lake in the world, as the train was puffing from one tunnel into another.

The Mid-Siberian metropolis, Irkutsk, engaged the attention of our traveler with its blend of old and new, tradition and antagonism to tradition, an illustration of the eternal Russian fight between fathers and sons. The frontier atmosphere of Krasnoyarsk reminded Lauterbach of "old" Chicago. At Novosibirsk, his thoughts turned toward the newly opened South along the Turkish Railway.

The rambling trip of twelve days enabled Lauterbach to look around at the numerous stops. He saw far more than a traveler would see on a trans-continental trip in the United States, not merely because the train was slow but also because most of inhabited Siberia is strung out along the railway, and also because Siberia lives far more on the surface than the world farther west.

People and places suggested problems, particularly where parallel problems puzzle Americans. A chat with a Soviet veteran brought out some interesting facts about the Russian G. I. Bill of Rights which the author found similar in many ways to our own.

Lauterbach ran into some bureaucratic mazes but managed to extricate himself without undue loss of time. He found much suspicion and puzzled wonderment about American policy, but hardly any outright enmity.

The pages he devotes to the crisis of the spirit in Russia are worthwhile, even though they do not go beyond brisk marginal notes. He reminds his readers that the war in Russia was total fighting, sometimes total destruction and, above all, a super-human effort. It was bound to leave a mark on the nerves of the people. The Russians are weary after the total exertions of the war, and would like to have a long rest. No sooner was the war over, however, when the Fourth Five-Year Plan was announced—heroism in peace to follow heroism in war.

What about the dangers of war between the East and West? Unequivocally he states that Russia is in no condition to conduct a major war, much less a war that would involve the United States. "The Kremlin is full of towers but none of them are

ivory." In 1941, Stalin said that the Soviets' per capita production of basic raw materials in 1957 would equal that of the United States in 1929. Instead of that, the industrial gap between the two countries has been widened further.

Mr. Lauterbach discusses our atomic bomb policy and how it affects the Soviets' future. He also expresses his opinion on double standards in diplomacy, and he does not mince his words.

He records a conversation with a Russian scientist whom he asked how he would vote if he were an American. "Roosevelt," the scientist answered quickly. Mr. Lauterbach reminded him that Roosevelt was dead. "You must not let him be dead," the Russian answered. "Lenin still lives with us."

It is with Roosevelt's words that the author ends his book. "We have learned to be citizens of the world," the late President said, "members of the human community." And the author comments: "That is the greatest task of this generation."

Mr. Lauterbach makes no claims to profundity, completeness or definiteness. He does not go in for picturesque descriptions or learned social psychology. He writes what he saw and his eyes are keen, his style pleasant. His book gives a very good impression of the new frontier land of Eurasia—Siberia.

The Conscience of Tsarist Russia

by ISIDOR SCHNEIDER



Leo Tolstoy

LEO TOLSTOY by Ernest J. Simmons. Published by Little, Brown & Co. \$5.00

FEW literary figures can rival Tolstoy as a biographical subject. He compassed the whole range of Russian society, for his count's title and aristocratic descent gave him entree into the "highest" circles, while his beliefs took him into the "lowest." Later a pacifist, in his young manhood he served, with distinction, in two of the most romantic campaigns in Russian military

history. As a writer he ranked as his country's greatest; and, by general consent, as the greatest among the world's novelists. As an educational reformer his place in Russia is comparable to that of Rousseau in France. A living "saint," he influenced ethical thinking throughout the world, counting Gandhi among his many disciples. He won eminence in many other fields, linguistics, Biblical exegesis, esthetic criticism and even as an organizer of famine relief. Finally, in his private life, he was as crossed as any character in romantic fiction.

In his biography of this great and many-sided man, Professor Simmons has had the advantage of masses of new material. When we realize that it is only in Soviet times that a complete edition of Tolstoy's works could be published, not to speak of newly discovered diaries, letters, secret dossiers from the tsarist archives and other documents, we can understand why Professor Simmons' work immediately displaces its predecessors as the definitive biography.

I would not wish, however, to give the impression that the distinction of the book is fortuitous, the result merely of access to new material. Professor Simmons' work is marked by excellent organization and effective narrative. In its first half it is, indeed, outstandingly good biographical writing; and, if the second half is slower reading, it is because Professor Simmons attempts so much—an integration of Tolstoy's complicated private life with the whole of his voluminous writing and every twist of his intricate thinking.

Where, it seems to me, the biography is most successful, is in making clear Tolstoy's astonishing role in Russian history. Tolstoy was more effective in disintegrating established authority in Russia than Voltaire in an analogous period in French history. Tolstoy was spoken of as the second ruler of Russia and his house at Yasnaya Polyana as the second court. Indeed, when William Jennings Bryan visited Russia and had the alternative of an audience at either "court," he chose Yasnaya Polyana.

In Russia and abroad Tolstoy stood as counter-authority to tsardom and its State Church. The throne gave Tolstoy's authority the negative recognition of not attempting any open challenge. It had to be content with banning his writings—a futile gesture since they were published abroad and in enormous underground editions in Russia; and with persecuting his followers—another futile gesture since one martyr inspired ten others.

When the State Church finally excommunicated Tolstoy it dealt itself an irreparable injury. It separated itself, rather than Tolstoy, from the sources of moral authority. In its losing struggle against a man revered as a saint, the Church was reduced to immoral subterfuges. Calling Tolstoy "Antichrist," priests warned famine sufferers not to accept food at relief kitchens organized by him, saying that the food that saved their lives would destroy their immortal souls. In such episodes the throne also suffered. Anxious to hide the famine conditions that reflected unfavorably on the bureaucracy, it was ready to let scores of thousands die. By his courage and tenacity Tolstoy shattered the official silence and compelled the government to act.

Yet this role did harm as well as good. It encouraged the illusion that every non-resister might have the effect of a Tolstoy. Lenin, who pointed out Tolstoy's role in stripping tsarism of its moral authority, bluntly charged Tolstoyism with the greatest single responsibility for the failure of the 1905 revolution. Lenin's judgment was reflected throughout Russia and Tolstoy's

influence declined rapidly following 1905.

The second half of the biography is devoted to Tolstoy's clash with State and Church authority and the significantly parallel clash with his wife and, as they grew up and entered their inherited stations in Russian society, with his many children. If this part of the work is harder to follow it may be due to lacks in the first part where the clues to the later mysteries might have been observed and marked.

Seldom has the life of a great man come to so sharp a turn. In his forties, after achieving a position of dominating literary prestige, Tolstoy virtually abandoned creative writing. Why? There were reasons both in the social situation, to which a man of Tolstoy's sensitiveness and insights could not help reacting, and in his personal development, which were undoubtedly responsible for the turn. But Professor Simmons fails to make them clear.

Simultaneously, after nearly a decade of an exceptionally happy marriage Tolstoy began turning from his wife, interacting with her reciprocal rejection of him in his new role as moralist. The alienation involved a platonic, but otherwise serious affair, in her fifties, with the composer Taneyev, and the final abandonment of his wife, by Tolstoy, at the age of eighty-two, in a flight that ended in his death at a railroad station.

The precipitating issues in the crises between them were almost always on matters of property and management of the complicated Tolstoyan household which became a cult center, a literary headquarters and various other sorts of establishment. Here, too, there was an inter-relationship between social and psychological factors which appears to be on the point of revelation but never completely emerges.

This is the chief drawback of an otherwise notable biography. But, if Professor Simmons fails to give all the answers to an amazing career that swarms with questions, he provides so much clear and accessible data that the speculative reader can, if he will, work out answers for himself.

Not So Strange an Alliance

by MAX WERNER

THE STRANGE ALLIANCE. The Story of Our Efforts at Wartime Cooperation with Russia, by John R. Deane. The Viking Press, New York, 1947. 416 pp. \$3.75

THE real story revealed in this book by General Deane, wartime head of the U. S. military mission in Moscow, was either ignored or misconstrued by the bulk of the reviewers. The stories and anecdotes about the frictions and inadequacies of U. S.-Soviet cooperation were largely quoted, and the retrospective pessimism of General Deane was approved. But the main and important military facts the author himself reports were not heeded—or forgotten between the reading of the book and the writing of the reviews.

General Deane is undoubtedly an intelligent military planner and an attentive ob-

server. He witnessed most interesting military events and attended the major Allied conferences from Teheran to Potsdam. He reports on them objectively and authentically. But he has no sense of proportion. He possesses no military criteria, no yardstick to measure the military facts. He piles together indiscriminately major facts, street observations, unimportant details, and arbitrary guessings. What a pity that history-making events have been diluted in this book with such a mire of second-rate reporting stuff!

The military planner Deane had no plan for his observations. He gives no analysis of the operations on the Eastern front. He is convinced that Anglo-American cooperation with the Soviet Union did not function at all, or worked badly. But he sees this cooperation with eyes of a liaison

OUR REVIEWERS

EMIL LENGYEL has contributed to leading American magazines and served as correspondent for important European journals. The best known of his books is *The Danube*. Others include *Turkey, Dakar, Hitler, The New Deal in Europe, and Siberia*.

ISIDOR SCHNEIDER, our Book Review Editor, will have a new novel published this month by Dial, *The Judas Time*.

MAX WERNER is an outstanding military commentator known for his brilliant analyses during the war. He writes a syndicated column for U. S. and Canadian newspapers, and his books include *The Military Strength of the Powers, Battle for the World, The Great Offensive, and Attack Can Win in '43*.

officer, reporting from his desk, and not with the over-all approach of a strategist.

The facts which General Deane himself presents refute his own conclusions. The space of time in which full military cooperation of the fronts in the West and in the East actually functioned was limited indeed. It could not start until the establishment of the second front in the West. Therefore such strategic coordination could be in effect only since June, 1944. But the important thing to note is that General Deane does recognize that this cooperation *did function and was successful*. The blows from the West and the blows from the East relieved and supported and strengthened each other. There *was* coordination in both Allied offensive campaigns in the over-all European theater of war, in the summer of 1944 and in the winter of 1945.

But maybe the blows happened spontaneously, without prior arrangement? No, General Deane quotes General Eisenhower's competent opinion: "When General Eisenhower visited Moscow after the war, he held a press conference at which he stated that after January, 1945, he was kept fully informed at all times of the essentials of the Red Army's plans, particularly the timing of their offensives, their objectives, and the direction of their main efforts." (p. 160). This is true, says General Deane, but it was extremely difficult to get this information from the Russians. Compared with the results achieved this difficulty cannot be taken too tragically.

General Deane gives a clear picture of American-Soviet planning for the war against Japan. Again the facts he arrays rebuke his own conclusions. Stalin had promised active Soviet help against Japan as early as the Teheran conference. Already in October 1944, Stalin presented to the Allied experts the Soviet operational plan of attack against the Japanese Kwantung Army in Manchuria. The plan was worked out in detail, and complete cooperation against Japan was arranged. When, after the Yalta conference, the public in London, Washington and New York was speculating "what will the Russians do in the Far East?" the American-Soviet war machine of planning and supply for the com-

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mon attack on Japan was already working full blast. At Potsdam, the final details were settled, and General Deane reports: "The military meetings in Potsdam thus ended in complete accord" (p. 275). The surrender of Japan earlier than expected did not cancel the value of the cooperation achieved.

There is thus no reason for General Deane's excessive lamenting about the failure of the Allied cooperation. Many of the single items of General Deane's reproaches are not too convincing. He evokes the example of the delay in the admission of U. S. and British naval experts to see the German submarine base at Gdynia: "We might have learned something of immeasurable value in defeating the German submarines had we been allowed to see Gdynia as soon as it was taken" (p. 160). But Gdynia was occupied by the Red Army only two months before the German surrender when the German submarines had already disappeared from the high seas.

Another reproach by General Deane is: "We might have defeated Germany more quickly had we shared our operational experiences by having observers on each other's fronts" (p. 161). The General obviously overrates the importance of such observers. All the tactical and operational

experience on the Eastern front was lavishly described in the Soviet military press, with unexcelled details. Thus the Russians reported more than any observer could have seen on his limited sector.

Undoubtedly, there were bureaucratic delays, technical failures and political suspicions hampering full-scale inter-Allied cooperation. But these defects had only limited nuisance effect compared with the over-all cooperation which did work. The missed opportunities had deeper roots. On the one hand the big land front in the West started only three years after the German attack on the Soviet Union. On the other hand the Western Allies as well as the Soviet Union were not trained in advance for the praxis of coalition warfare against Hitler Germany.

It is a pity that General Deane has permitted himself to obscure the real picture of the successful inter-Allied cooperation which resulted in final victory in the West and in the East, by a type of political observation for which he is not equipped, which can only furnish ammunition to those wishing to stir up hostility towards the Soviet Union, and which would be more appropriate in the pages of the Hearst press than in the report of a man who occupied his position during the war.

Brief Reviews of Recent Books

ALEXANDRA KOLLONTAY, AMBASSADRESS
FROM RUSSIA, by Isabel de Palencia, Long-
mans Green & Co., New York, \$3.50.

WHILE herself ambassadress to Sweden from Spain, Isabel de Palencia confirmed in close personal contact a long-standing friendship with the Soviet ambassadress who had been the first woman to achieve that position. There were other points of affinity. Both women were leaders of the feminist movement in their countries. Both women were active in fostering new attitudes in the family relationship. Both women were Socialists and fought to bring socialism to their countries. And both women were writers who used their books, both fiction and non-fiction, to advance the social causes to which they had devoted themselves. Consequently it is with the assurance of shared knowledge and experience that Isabel de Palencia tells the adventurous life story of the great Russian woman, who gave up the comforts and privileges of aristocratic station to work for her social ideals. It is a story that includes danger and exile and heartbreak—for Alexandra brought her untiring struggle for her ideals into the intimacies of her family life.

In the interests of plain and accurate statement the author avoids literary devices and interpretation to the point of sometimes leaving her narrative bare. But this has the compensation of making for a consistent, scrupulously careful and authentic record.

Throughout, the author writes with sympathy and understanding of the Soviet Union. Kollontay's own sympathy for Republican Spain is indicated by the letter she wrote her biographer in October, 1941,

from Stockholm: "My dear and very great friend," wrote Kollontay, "how I long for the day when your beautiful country will be free. We are fighting for the same cause, and the forces of good are sure to be victorious. When I read of the way Leningrad is defending itself, I think of Madrid."

The biography is valuable, aside from making better known to us such a vivid and inspiring life as that of Kollontay, for the light it offers on Russia before and after the revolution.

MIRROR OF THE PAST. A HISTORY OF SECRET
DIPLOMACY, by K. Ziliacius, M.P., with
an introduction by Max Lerner, A. A.
Wyn, New York, \$3.75.

HISTORY never exactly repeats itself but certain patterns recur. The situation we are now in after the second World War, has some marked resemblances to the situation following the first World War. This makes it possible to understand the dangers in the situation and to act to avoid a repetition of past mistakes. One of the most tragic of these mistakes was the attempt to isolate Socialist Russia. What those attempts were, who and what were behind them, how they fared, and how they involved the whole world in their disaster is one of the chief lessons—and warnings—that the book gives. The author writes with authority. In addition to other diplomatic and political positions he was a member of the Secretariat of the League of Nations. His material is drawn from documents from the League's archives, many of them secret until now; and from the memoirs of Lloyd George, Bruce Lockhart and other leading figures in the inner diplomatic circles that made the former "peace."
I. S.

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With UNRRA and many private foreign relief organizations winding up their activity, Americans throughout the country seek ways of helping their more needy friends and relatives overseas by sending them parcels of foodstuffs and clothing. This is made easy by a number of agencies that undertake to ship ready packages of foodstuffs, charging a fee for packing, insurance and transportation. Some of the agencies will pack and send food, new clothing or used clothing, their charges depending upon the appraised value of the parcel that they receive for shipment.

Among the companies in this field, four send parcels to all parts of the USSR duty prepaid. These agencies are: World Tourists, Henry D. Mahler, Inc., and Hearn's Department Store, all of New York City, and the Amalgamated Trust and Savings Bank of Chicago. Other firms, like United Nations Parcel Service, New York, send ready-prepared standard parcels, but duty is not prepaid.

Because of the large variety of parcels available, it is impossible to quote prices. This is especially true of such parcels where fumigation costs (in the case of used clothing) and the appraisal depend upon the amount and type of items sent. Those interested should make inquiries through the firms they will deal with.

Below are some of the companies that send parcels overseas. Those marked with an asterisk (*) do not ship to the Soviet Union:

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by **THEODORE BAYER**

On Trade and Cooperatives

Question: Is there private trading in the Soviet Union? Is there cooperative trade? S. K., Anchorage, Alaska.

Answer: The only private trade in the USSR is that of direct sale by the producer—the farmer—to the consumer at the market place. This trading is almost exclusively in foodstuffs and constitutes the unconsumed surpluses in the possession of the farmer and his family. The important thing here is that such trading leaves no room for middlemen or a class of traders. Trading for profit is non-existent.

The main channels of supply of consumer goods are government stores and the consumers' cooperative outlets. There are two retail trade systems now which may be said to be in competition with each other. The object of this competition is not greater profit, but the greatest volume of trade, supplying a maximum of consumer goods, meeting consumers' choice and tastes, and extending the best service.

The division between the two systems of trade, that of government stores controlled by the municipalities and district governments, and the consumers' cooperative stores, is that the former get their supply from state trading organizations and mainly sell the goods produced by government enterprises, whereas the cooperative stores get their supply of merchandise from the various organizations of producers' cooperatives, including the veterans' cooperatives which have grown up since the war. The consumers' cooperatives also deal directly with the collective farmers and individual farmers by buying up their available surplus and redistributing that surplus according to the needs of the city and town population, selling it through their growing chain of outlets.

The consumers' cooperatives have, since 1935, functioned primarily in the countryside, leaving the trade in the cities to the municipal and other government stores, or in some cases, to the outlets directly controlled by the manufacturing organizations. However, by decision of the government last November, the consumers' cooperatives are being encouraged to enter the trading field in the cities as well. The increased demand of the population for consumer goods of all kinds, and food stuffs, has made this step necessary.

The municipalities and other territorial subdivisions of the government are facilitating the establishment of consumers' cooperatives, warehouses and stores in all population centers. The government has increased its planned allotment of raw materials, machinery, and tools for all the producing cooperative organizations which are to supply the consumers' cooperatives with the increased volume of goods to be handled through this greatly extended trading chain.

It is expected that apart from the enlarged volume of goods that will be made available to the consumers, the competition between the cooperative trading organization and trading controlled by the government will stimulate a contest between them that will make both more sensitive to consumers' demand and preference. It will also tend to lower administrative and managerial sales costs that will in turn be reflected in lower prices to consumers.

On Soviet Bonds

Question: Will you please inform me whether the USSR issues any bonds, and, if so, what rate of interest is paid on same? W. W. A., Corning, N. Y.

Answer: The Soviet Union issues bonds which are sold internally to the citizens of the USSR. The bonds are of two categories. One is an interest-bearing bond; the other pays no fixed interest but is subject to a lottery drawing.

The total amount of prizes on the winning bonds equals about four per cent of the interest on the total amount represented by the government bond issue. The rate of interest on the interest-bearing bonds varies with the different bond issues. The average rate of interest on all bonds is about four per cent.

The Soviet Government is not at the present time selling bonds in the foreign money markets. However, any individual abroad can buy Soviet interest-bearing bonds through a bank correspondent of the Bank for Trade of the USSR in Moscow.

On Bootblacks

Question: In his articles on the Soviet Union Mr. John Strohm, of Prairie Farmer, reported on the high cost of shoe shining in the Soviet Union, which is done mostly by juveniles or by veterans. He ascribed the high cost to the very high tax which the government levies on shoe shining. My question is, why should there be private shoe shining, at such heavy cost? A. P. Somerville, Mass.

Answer: The reporting on the Soviet Union you have reference to, is one more illustration of the lack of discrimination on the part of visiting journalists. Lacking as they do the proper background to enable them to report significantly on their experiences in the Soviet Union, they report hastily, placing equal emphasis upon the chance and the isolated, as well as on what is important and typical of the Soviet Union. And, of course, all of the correspondents, especially those who are new or staying only a brief time, are very eager to report an assortment of odd facts which makes what they call a human interest story. Thus we find in a report on Soviet reconstruction and social progress

achieved in the midst of ruins left by the invasion, great emphasis given to such an odd fact as that an undisciplined veteran or a delinquent juvenile is trying to buck the collective system by his own "private enterprise." Since private enterprise in the Soviet Union is a very restricted area, this diehard individualist takes to shoe shining. But their is little justification for presenting such individuals as heroes persecuted by heavy taxation by the Government. Private shoe shining exists simply because there are still a few individuals who, for one reason or another, have not adjusted to the collective system. It is in order to discourage this private activity that the Government taxes such "enterprises," while still permitting them to exist.

The important fact to remember is, that neither veteran nor any juvenile need resort to shoe shining to make a living in the Soviet Union, and that the society of the USSR does not force these people into shoe shining, but on the contrary there is a very grave shortage of labor and a vast training system paid for by the Government to fit people for the endless variety of jobs awaiting newly trained people.

On Mr. Gromyko's Biography

Question: Can you please supply some biographical data on Mr. Gromyko? B. A., Tarrytown, New York.

Answer: Andrei Gromyko was born in the village of Gromyki, in Byelo-Russia, on July 18, 1909. In 1937, Mr. Gromyko graduated from the Moscow Economic Institute and subsequently taught in the Institute for two years. Early in 1939 he was appointed head of the American section in the Foreign Ministry of the USSR. Later in 1939 he was appointed counselor in the Soviet Embassy in Washington. In 1943, he became Charge d'Affaires and, in August 1943, he was appointed Ambassador to the United States.

Mr. Gromyko represented the USSR at the Dumbarton Oaks Conference and at the San Francisco Conference of the United Nations. In 1945, he was relieved of the post of Ambassador at Washington to become the permanent delegate to the Security Council. In December of 1946, the Soviet Government named Mr. Gromyko to the post of Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs of the USSR.

For outstanding services to his country Mr. Gromyko was twice awarded the Order of Lenin.

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A STORY ABOUT LOVE

(Continued from page 21)

By then it was evening, and you could just see her white blouse gleaming down the street. The girls looked at each other, and said:

"No matter what, we've got to go after her. You can't tell what will happen." So they put on dark kerchiefs and ran out of the house and went slinking after her, keeping close to the fences. They saw Valia reach the office and stop. The window was open and the light on, for Grigory Ivanovich was working in the evening, as always. The girls saw her climbing the porch steps, so they scrambled off into the bushes under the window, and began to comfort each other in whispers.

"It's not nice to spy on people and eavesdrop, but after all, we're not doing it out of curiosity, but only to help her, in case of anything. After all, both of them have awfully positive characters!"

In the meantime, Valia was knocking on the door. Grigory Ivanovich lifted his head from his papers, and said: "Come in."

Valiushka entered the room and stopped at the threshold. Further, she could not go.

"What's the matter, Valia," he said, his voice quiet and business-like, "something happen in your department?"

And she, poor girl, tried to answer but could not. Finally, she gathered herself together, blushed red as fire, and said:

"Yes something happened."

"Well, what specifically?"

But just about here he began to understand that something was wrong not with the calves or the cows, but with Valia herself. So he blushed, too, and lowering his eyes to his book, asked:

"Perhaps it's not anything too important?"

Then Valiushka began kneading her handkerchief between her hands:

"Maybe it's not too important for you, Grigory Ivanovich," she said, "but so far as I'm concerned, what has happened is so important that I can no longer keep living."

And suddenly the tears spilled over from her eyes, and began to flow. There she stood crying, sobbing and trying to wipe her eyes with her lump of a handkerchief.

He got out of his chair—it was very difficult for him to get up—passed his hand over his hair, and said, very softly:

"I don't understand."

And Valka answered through her tears, "Of course, you don't understand. Why should you understand? I'm the same for you as the grass under your feet, you walk on it, crush it, and go on about your business not noticing anything. While I . . . while I . . ."

The girls crouching down in their bushes were crying, too, they were so sorry for her. But he only grew very pale, and said:

"Valia, you and I must not talk about that."

Then Valia thrust her handkerchief between her teeth and ripped it in half and threw the pieces under the table.

"Ah so, we mustn't!" she said. "All right, then I mustn't live either. Because, without you I cannot live! Because I love you, that's what! And you have no feelings anyway, you're like a stone. You say you have no arm. It's a lie! You do more work with your one arm than most people can manage with both. You haven't any heart, that's what's missing! All right, that's all, good-bye!" And she flung herself towards the door.

At this point, the girls got really frightened and sprang to their feet, why, they did not know, but just then, Grigory Ivanovich let out a great shout: "Valia!"

And she froze on the door-step, without turning around. She just stood there, and quivered all over and put her face into her hands. He walked over to her, took her hands away from her face, looked into her eyes.

"Valiushka," he said, "darling! Try to understand me!"

The moment he said "darling," our Valiushka seemed to glow all over, and she began to laugh and to cry all at once:

"Darling?", she said, "Darling! Am I really dear to you?"

Then he said gently.

"But I should be a burden to you, you must understand that . . . you'll be sorry that you took such a cross upon your shoulders. Just look at yourself, how lovely you are, and I . . ."

"And you—well there is just no one better in the whole world!" Valiushka said, and laid her head against his chest.

At this point, the two girls in the bushes looked at each other and whispered:

"So there it is. We didn't have to come to anybody's help, and things were all fixed up without us. And now, we'd better beat it, because this is no moving picture, there's no need to stare at people kissing each other."

And they crept away.

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RESULTS OF 1946 PLAN

We publish below an official statement issued by the State Planning Commission of the USSR (Gosplan), translated from the Moscow Izvestia, of January 21, 1947.

In 1946, the restoration and development of the national economy of the USSR proceeded in accordance with the program of the first year of the postwar Five-Year Plan.

The Central Statistical Administration of Gosplan of the USSR, has issued the following data on the work of industry, agriculture and transport, the extent of capital work and of retail trade turnover, the training of the labor forces and the cultural development in the USSR for 1946, the first year of the postwar Five-Year Plan.

I

The production plan of 1946 for the gross output of industry of the separate ministries was carried out as follows:

Ministry of	per cent of fulfillment of annual plan for 1946
ferrous metallurgy	99.5
non-ferrous metallurgy	99
coal industry, western regions	105
coal industry, eastern regions	97
oil industry, southern and western regions	103
oil industry, eastern regions	105
electric power stations	99.7
chemical industry	105
electrical industry	106
industry for production of means of communications	103
heavy machine construction	105
automobile industry	92
machine tool industry	98
agricultural machinery construction	77

transport machine construction	81
machinery and instruments construction	98
building materials and industries USSR	105
lumber industry, USSR	98
cellulose and paper industries	110
rubber industry	96
textile industry, USSR	103
light industry, USSR	99.6
meat and dairy industries, USSR	110
food industry, USSR	98
gustatory industry, USSR	102
fish industry, western regions, USSR	100.6
fish industry, eastern regions, USSR	85
local industry and local fuel industry of Union Republics	102

In accordance with the tasks of the Five-Year Plan, in the course of 1946 industry of the USSR in the main completed the postwar reorganization of industrial production.

II

Production of the main industrial products changed in 1946, in comparison with 1945, as follows:

	1946 Output (1945 as 100)
pig iron	112
steel	109
rolled steel	113
copper	106
zinc	108
lead	119
coal	110
oil	112
natural gas	114
electric power	110
main line locomotives	30 times

main line freight cars	29 times
motor trucks	138
light automobiles	126
auto buses	118
metallurgical equipment	140
steam turbines	130
electric motors, up to 100 kw.	169
electric motors, over 100 kw.	138
special and aggregate metal-cutting machine tools	134
spinning looms	243
weaving looms	32 times
tractors	172
combines	449
tractor plows	175
tractor drills	429
tractor cultivators	17 times
threshing machines	378
caustic soda	109
calcinated soda	109
mineral fertilizer (superphosphate, nitrate and potassium)	152
synthetic dyes	129
logging	106
saw mill production	110
paper	161
cement	185
slate	198
window glass	165
cotton cloth	117
wool cloth	130
leather footwear	128
rubber footwear	197
stockings and socks	148
meat	118
animal fats	169
vegetable oils	119
fish	110
sugar	100
bread and bakery products	124
spirits	127

On the whole, the gross output of all industries of the USSR in civilian products increased by 20 per cent in 1946 over 1945. Furthermore, in enterprises of the civilian machine construction industry, production amounted to 18,400,000,000 rubles more than in 1945.

III

Unfavorable weather conditions in 1946, a severe drought over a considerable territory of the European part of the USSR, seriously affected agriculture. Beginning in the early spring (the end of March) in Moldavia, the drought spread quickly to the southwestern regions of the Ukraine, then embraced all the regions of the central Black Soil Center, including the northern regions of the Ukraine. By about the middle of May, the drought extended to the right bank regions of the lower Volga area.

There has been no such drought on the territory of the USSR for the last fifty years. The extent of the territory affected was greater than in 1921, and approached that of 1891. Despite this, the gross harvest and marketable production of grain in 1946 were incomparably higher than the 1921 level, which was possible only as the result of the socialist organization of production, with its machine and tractor stations and the collective farm system, created during the years of the five-year plans.

In those regions which did not suffer from drought, especially in western Siberia

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and Kazakhstan, production of agricultural crops in 1946 was considerably greater than the preceding year. The grain harvest in Kazakhstan and western Siberia increased 50 per cent, in comparison with 1945, and in the Altai region, 2.3 times. Production of cotton in the USSR in 1946 was 34 per cent greater than in 1945.

However, in connection with the severe drought in many regions, the production of grain crops, sun flower seeds and sugar beets in the USSR as a whole was considerably lower in 1946 than in 1945. The government of the USSR took measures to extend government aid in food, seeds and forage to the suffering regions and also took measures for economies in the consumption of foodstuffs.

IV

The average daily carloadings on the railroads, in 1946, was 113 per cent of 1945. In coal loading, it was 116 per cent; in metal, 115 per cent. The carrying of passengers on the railroads increased 1.3 times over 1945.

Freight carried by river and marine transport also increased in 1946 over 1945.

Freight carried by the airplanes of the civil aviation fleet in 1946 was 118 per cent, and passengers, 187 per cent in relation to 1945.

Total freight carried by motor transport in 1946 was 145 per cent of 1945.

V

The extent of capital work in 1946 in the national economy as a whole was (in comparative prices) 117 per cent in relation to 1945. In the coal industry it was 120 per cent; in ferrous and non-ferrous metallurgy, 116 per cent; in electric power stations, 110 per cent; in civilian machine construction, 112 per cent; in light and food industry, 167 per cent; in transport, 114 per cent; in housing construction, 155 per cent.

In 1946, 800 government enterprises were built, restored, and put into operation. The following were restored and put into operation within going enterprises: 6 blast furnaces, 18 open-hearth furnaces, 9 steel rolling mills, a powerful blooming mill, 11 coke batteries, 36 large coal mines, 117 electric power station turbines including 2 turbines of 100,000 kw. In 1946, navigation was opened on the restored White Sea-Baltic Canal. In textile enterprises about 300,000 spindles were put into operation. The capacity for processing beets in the sugar factories increased by more than 10,000 metric tons a day.

Government enterprises and institutions and local Soviets during 1946 built, restored and made available 6,000,000 square meters of living area.

VI

Retail turnover in 1946 was (in comparative prices) 130 per cent of 1945; 15 per cent more food products and 85 per cent more manufactured goods were sold than in the preceding year.

In 1946, a series of measures were taken for the development of Soviet trade and the strengthening of money circulation. New government retail prices were established for rationed food goods, on the basis of which the ration card system will



subsequently be eliminated. In connection with this the Soviet Government increased the wages of the low- and medium-paid industrial and office workers.

Measures were taken to increase production by the cooperatives and for the development of cooperative trade in the cities in consumers' goods and foodstuffs.

VII

The number of industrial and office workers in the national economy of the USSR increased during 1946 by 3,000,000; regular vacations for all industrial and office workers were fully reestablished, and the mass overtime work permitted during the war was eliminated.

In 1946, 382,000 young skilled workers were graduated from the trade and railroad schools and the factory schools. In addition, 2,500,000 new workers received training through individual teaching, brigade teaching, and special courses, and 3,400,000 workers were taught higher skills by the same methods.

The number of pupils in the primary and intermediate schools increased by 2,400,000 over 1945. The number of students in the technicums and other intermediate special educational institutions increased by 137,000 and the number of stu-

dents in higher educational institutions by 109,000.

By the beginning of 1946, the number of scientific research institutions amounted to 113 per cent and the number of scientific workers in them to 124 per cent in relation to the prewar year of 1940. During 1946 the growth of scientific research institutions and scientific workers continued to increase.

In 1946, the system of medical institutions, sanitariums and rest homes was increased; 530 sanitariums accommodating 84,000 people simultaneously and 300 rest homes accommodating 34,000 simultaneously were either restored or newly opened.

VIII

The execution of the Five-Year Plan for the restoration of the economy of those regions which were subjected to occupation, and the carrying out of capital construction in these regions in 1946 to the extent of 17,500,000,000 rubles, made it possible to increase the production of the industry of the formerly occupied regions by 28 per cent in comparison with 1945.

In 1946, the smelting of pig iron in these regions increased by 59 per cent over 1945; steel, by 67 per cent; rolled steel, 57 per cent. Mining of coal in the Donbas in 1946 was 30 per cent greater than in 1945.

At the same time, in 1946, the growth of industrial production and railroad freight transport continued throughout all regions of the USSR and a tremendous amount of construction work was done everywhere.

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SOVIET POLICY IN CHINA

(Continued from page 11)

power to build a *constructive* policy on these facts. In its developed form, as practiced in recent years, this policy has been to do nothing to sharpen China's disunity, but at the same time to place no obstacle in the way of necessary historic change. The USSR has given its recognition exclusively to whatever central government ruled from China's capital, but at the same time made clear its sympathy for progress. During periods of civil war, it has pursued a strict policy of non-intervention. Its non-intervention has been impartial. For instance, it has given no material aid whatsoever to the Chinese Communists. This has been confirmed by all observers, most recently by General Marshall in a statement to the press at Honolulu on January 11, 1947. On the other hand, the Soviet Union has also withheld from reactionaries in possession of the government all supplies destined for use against their own people. The political sympathies of the Soviet Union are naturally with the anti-feudal forces in China, but they have not been expressed in interference in the country's internal affairs. Having taken this stand, the Soviet Government is in a position to demand equal non-interference from other powers whose political sympathies might lie on the opposite side. This agrees with the interest of the Chinese people, who want to take care of their own affairs, as the people of any fully independent state must. The Soviet Union believes that China is bound to achieve progress if not meddled with.

The United States has also come to recognize, in its statements, the *indivisible necessity* of governmental unity, non-intervention by foreign powers, and anti-feudal progress in China. These principles were first integrated in the later policies of President Roosevelt and later announced, on various occasions, by President Truman and General Marshall. The President, on December 15, 1945, promised that no aid would go to China for civil war—only for purposes of peace and reconstruction. A few days later the Moscow Conference of Foreign Ministers (of the U. S. A., the Soviet Union and Great Britain) issued the following declaration:

The three Foreign Secretaries . . . were in agreement as to the need for a unified and democratic China under the national government, for broad participation by democratic elements in all branches of the national government, and for a cessation of civil strife. They reaffirmed their adherence to the policy of non-interference in the internal affairs of China. . . .

The two Foreign Secretaries (Byrnes and Molotov) were in complete accord as to the desirability of withdrawing Soviet and American forces from China at the earliest

practicable moment consistent with the discharge of their obligations and responsibilities.

The Truman statement and the conclusions of the Moscow Conference were the broad directives under which General Marshall undertook his mediation. It is noteworthy that the early stages of his activity were welcomed by the Soviet Government as well as by the great majority of Chinese. The mediation was vitiated, however, by the fact that American aid to the Kuomintang continued even while it went on. U. S. Army and Marine units have only just commenced their evacuation. The Navy, and a large training mission, still remain. As we have already pointed out, the U. S. Government itself recognizes that no Soviet aid has gone to the other side.

What has been the motive for this American aid? If we are to believe a considerable section of the U. S. press, it was to "stop Russia." A reading of this article will persuade any fair-minded person that this is absurd—not only absurd but provocative considering the relative geographical positions of China, the Soviet Union and the United States. Or perhaps it has been to stop Communism in China? But as a writer in the *New York Times* recently remarked—Communism is an idea and you cannot shoot an idea. It can only be defeated by a better one. Moreover, the issue in China today is not Communism but feudal fascism versus democracy. The Communists are only one section of the anti-feudal camp.

The Chinese people, in their majority, now believe that the purpose of American intervention is to subjugate China to U. S. aims through a government dependent entirely on American support. This conviction plays its part in frustrating the purposes of the intervention, since the resulting growth in armed popular opposition to Chiang Kai-shek more than offsets the material aid he has received.

The forthcoming Moscow talks on Germany, which Secretary of State Marshall will attend this month, should offer an opportunity to discuss the Far East also. With goodwill, parallel American and Soviet pronouncements can be implemented. As we have already said, there is no necessary conflict of interest to prevent this. On the contrary, real observance of agreements already reached could not only improve Soviet-American relations but help to bring peace to China—perhaps through joint mediation. The latter course has been suggested by such eminent Far Eastern experts as Dr. Owen Lattimore and by Senators Murray (Democrat) and Flanders (Republican).

The opportunity is there. Will it be taken? Powerful men like Senator Vandenberg and Mr. John Foster Dulles evidently don't want it to be. They have spoken for increased U. S. intervention in China, through stepped-up material aid to Chiang Kai-shek's Kuomintang even after U. S. Marines withdraw.

That is the counsel of "two worlds"—not of One World leading to peace.

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THE OTHER SIDE OF FEAR

(Continued from page 9)

ability to perform the enormous tasks that face them in the reconstruction and development of their great country.

You see that whatever work is being done, the citizens of the Soviet Union perform the tasks to which they are suited with a sense of equal importance. This is true of the pretty young girls in elegant dark blue gold-buttoned uniforms with lapels faced in scarlet, who manage the crowds in the subway with dexterous and intelligent determination; of a small orphan boy from the Ukraine who is singing lustily in a welcoming chorus of children; of an old woman who cherishes a warmly wrapped and healthy child in her arms as she walks by you on the street; of a young man who, with other young men and girls from a Moscow factory, dances with tireless and beautiful vitality after a day of hard work; of an old man who takes your overshoes and overcoat into the safety of the "wardrobe" before you go in to watch and listen, enchanted, to an incomparably superior performance of *Prince Igor* in the Bolshoy Theater; of Mme. Popova as she conducts a session of women meeting from all over the world to discuss problems that affect the life and death of each and every one of us, and challenge our ability to solve them.

Human relations, even those established in the most casual familiar way during the few days and nights of ordinary living I spent there, were startlingly free of the tensions caused by frustration, defeat and disunity, and of the disturbing, pressing servility of those who must strive and connive for a chance

to expand their otherwise restricted lives. In the Soviet Union, they are not deceived by promises of what they can not get, nor do they romanticize what they know they cannot expect. No one I met in Moscow, in referring to their government, ever spoke of the men and women who compose it as "they." They always said "we." They believe that in due time their system will give to them all education, food, shelter, clothing and culture, and are prepared to work for it, however great the cost.

And though the women delegates, their friends, assistants and observers, who came from twenty-seven different countries, doubtless experienced the same degree of friendliness which prevailed at all our meetings and the banquets—oh, those banquets!—the delegates from the United States, because of the hostility against the Soviet Union which is being manifested with such frightening skill in our own country, were particularly happy to spend five days in a place where people seemed free of fear of their fellow-man. To be free of fear is to be free of hate. Among the people we saw and knew there, only fascists are hated.

They greet as friends the men and women of all countries who wish to maintain peace, who want to think and work and live together as human beings in the civilized world which, after centuries of catastrophic trial and error, it is at long last reasonable to expect and possible to achieve. They have faith in the people, and believe us capable of joining in this adventure of democracy, which like all great adventures, must begin on the other side of fear.

WE NEED RUSSIA'S FRIENDSHIP

(Continued from page 12)

are sincere people who believe that Russia is spreading rapidly to the West. These ideas lead to the acceptance of various plans for a Western bloc and play into the hands of men like Churchill, who have returned to their pre-war creed of building alliances and *cordons sanitaires* against Bolshevism. This sort of propaganda is being constantly peddled in most of the newspapers.

But here again it is a far cry from this sort of opposition to active support for a hostile policy against the USRR, with the possibility of war in the background. Moreover, there is undoubted-

ly a fear, by no means confined to the ranks of the Left-wing, of too much reliance by Britain on the United States, which appears to many people in London to be more and more coming under the control of Wall Street.

British industrialists have no illusions about their ability to compete with the vast productive power of America and they have shown in the past that they do not allow political prejudices to interfere with profit. Before the war, I came across a case of a firm whose chairman was a violent opponent of Russia, but which nevertheless printed a special

catalogue to try to muscle in on the Soviet market.

The head of the British machine-tool industry declared publicly during the war that but for Russian orders during the slump years machine-tool manufacture would have collapsed, leaving us unable to build a war production machine.

Today, British exports are finding a ready sale and the USSR requires most of her raw materials for her own reconstruction, with the result that pressure for positive action to build economic relations with Moscow is not making a great deal of headway.

But this is a temporary phase. In a few years time Britain, like Sweden, will face the fact that she cannot afford to ignore the vast Russian market nor the immense possibilities of Russia's steadily increasing production of primary commodities of which we stand desperately in need. When that happens, the forces fighting for British-Soviet friendship will find support in the most unexpected quarters.

I believe in the long run these factors will prove much more important than the present difficulties in Anglo-Soviet relations. No reasonable person here believes that it is going to be possible to replace the present governments in Poland, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, Rumania, and Bulgaria by administrations hostile to Russia and dependent on London and Washington. There is also a growing realization that a declared policy of the Labor Party of giving freedom to India and building up friendship with (instead of domination over) the countries of the Middle East is not only essential on moral grounds but is equally inevitable on practicable grounds, because Britain with her restricted manpower cannot afford to maintain huge armies of occupation.

The demand for the return of British troops in Greece is gathering strength.

From whatever aspect the situation is examined, the conclusion is reinforced that Britain needs friendship with the Soviet Union and that given a policy based on friendship and cooperation outstanding differences can be solved.

In the coming months there will be more tussles. Clashes will take place over Germany, for the Russians will certainly take a tough line until they are convinced that the German monopolists and landowners are not being restored in the western zones. The Italian colonies have still to come up for discussion. The Moscow claim either for joint de-

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fense with Turkey of the Dardanelles or the taking over of all strategic waterways by the United Nations will be pressed.

Moreover, while America continues to make atomic bombs and to hold on to her monopoly, the international atmosphere will be poisoned.

But serious as these problems are they give no justification to the lunatics who talk glibly of World War No. 3. Here in Britain at any rate we have no illusions about what such a war would mean to us. Nor do we believe that there is any responsible section in America which would be prepared to give the order to drop the first atomic bomb.

To those of us in Britain who pin our

WHEN LIBERALS SEE RED

(Continued from page 13)

accordingly rejects all association with the wicked Communists and their sympathizers. A number of the leaders in this assorted group of liberals, ex-liberals and professional anti-Sovieters signed the *New Leader's* cable to British Foreign Secretary Bevin attacking Henry Wallace's policy of friendship and cooperation with the Soviet Union as another manifestation of the Communist line. Other members of ADA have associated themselves with a second anti-Soviet outfit, Common Cause.

Although unfortunately Eleanor Roosevelt has seen fit to lend the prestige of her name and her active support to ADA, it is to her credit that she does not go all the way with her extremist associates. In her column in the *World Telegram* of January 11, she challenged statements made at the conference to the effect that fascism and communism are identical. Mrs. Roosevelt declared: "I think we can see the possibilities of improved cooperation between the communism of the left and the democracy of the center, but there can be no cooperation at any point, at any time, between democracy and the fascism of the right."

A strong element in ADA can, however, be depended upon to assist in the witch-hunt against so-called Communist fronts and fellow-travelers. And this organization might well take on the functions of a sort of National Committee on Un-American Activities, thus bringing much-needed aid to the discredited House Committee of similar name. Certainly there are, within Americans for Democratic Action, plenty of experts on red-baiting, intellectual Ku Kluxers as it were, who are eager to help revive

hopes on the Labor government's ability to carry out the vast economic changes necessary to prevent a return to the pre-war years of slump and depression, the tragedy of the present disagreements lies in the danger that foreign commitments and too close ties with the United States will retard the carrying out of our program. That fear was behind the revolt of the Trade Union Congress and the Labor members of Parliament.

And precisely because home and foreign policies are intertwined, I think the drive for friendship with the Soviet Union is going to gather strength in the coming months. For the fact is that we need Russia's help and friendship quite as much as she needs ours.

the flagging efforts in suppression of Martin Dies and John E. Rankin.

As for the liberals, those in ADA or in other groups that are obsessed by the red menace, are hardly doing a service to their own cause. Liberals who violate the spirit of democracy and whip up fake Communist scares are giving support to a reactionary movement which, if it succeeds, will make short shrift of the liberals themselves. For instance, liberals on the Board of Directors or National Council of the Foreign Policy Association who signed the smear cable against Mr. Wallace should take careful note that their own FPA is now being branded as a Communist front. Liberals who are critical of some Soviet policies, but also sympathetic toward others, ought to think hard about the editorial in *Partisan Review* calling all such persons Fifth Columnists.

For the fact is that the slightest friendliness toward the Soviet Union, the slightest failure to denounce the Russians day in and day out, is sufficient to arouse the cry of American reaction that one is a Communist, a Communist sympathizer, a fellow-traveler, a fifth-columnist, or a Communist-fronter. These terms, like the Un-American Committee's favorite words, subversive and un-American, are so broad, vague and ambiguous that they constitute a catch-all for anti-democratic forces to hurl indiscriminately against liberals, progressives and radicals, whether non-Communist or even anti-Communist. Yet these are the very terms that certain liberals themselves are so fond of using. In so doing, they play directly into the hands of those who would bring fascism to America.

SOVIET WAGE SYSTEM

(Continued from page 16)

which is elected directly by the people at a secret ballot every four years. The Supreme Soviet approves the plan with such modifications as it may introduce, and enacts the state budget which embodies its provisions.

Price levels and the size of the wage fund (i.e., the approximate total amount of money to be paid out in wages and salaries) are then established by the Council of Ministers. These determinations are made in close consultation with the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions and its constituent unions. The determining factor in making these decisions is the level of production which will be reached under the plan. The wage fund and prices are fixed on a basis which will yield the Soviet people the purchasing power to buy the consumers' goods and services which they will produce under the plan, plus a surplus for savings.

The five-year plan is not a static affair. It is examined and revised quarterly and annually based upon production results and upon the changing needs and demands of the people. Since the total wage fund is based upon estimated production, the overfulfillment of production schedules (and each one of the three plans has been overfulfilled) or a decrease in production costs permits an increase in living standards and hence in wages. Thus, when I was in the Soviet Union it was estimated that a one per cent decrease in the level of production costs would make available a fund of 600 million rubles, the great bulk of which would be used for wage increases.

It is with this background in mind that the process of establishing wage rates must be considered.

The basic principles which govern wages are set forth in Article 118 of the Constitution:

"Citizens have the right to work, that is, are guaranteed the right to employment and payment for their work in accordance with its quality and quantity."

This constitutional provision does two things. First, (like President Roosevelt's proposed Economic Bill of Rights), it guarantees every citizen the right to a remunerative job. This guarantee has been fully carried out. Since 1933, there has been no unemployment in the Soviet Union.

Second, it establishes the two principles on which wages are determined:

quantity and quality of production. By "quantity," the Constitution means that as among workers performing the same job, those who produce more shall receive higher wages. By "quality" it means that skilled workers shall be paid higher rates than those with less skill; that heavy jobs shall be more highly paid than light ones, and that workers in remote and newly opened-up industrial areas where living conditions are difficult shall receive a premium over the rates paid in established industrial centers. The Constitution allows no other basis for determining wages. Women are required to be paid at the same rates as men for comparable jobs and, of course, discrimination against racial or national groups is both prohibited by law and unknown in practice.

As indicated above, the total wage fund is established for each quarter-yearly period by the Council of Ministers in consultation with the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions. The same bodies then proceed to apportion this total fund among the various branches of industry and trade. In the next article, we shall see how the fund for each industry is translated into wage rates and applied on the factory and job levels by trade unions and management.

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IN POST-WAR UKRAINE

(Continued from page 15)

engineering work at Columbia in 1933; he had participated in the San Francisco Conference.

Senin began by saying that today we would not discuss business, but devote the time to meeting with the Ministers. And then, courteously asking our permission each time, he called for his Ministers one by one. Our circle widened with each arrival, and after the last, we settled down to an informal chat. A number of them told of the destruction, of the needs of their departments, and asked intelligent questions about America. Kononenko, Minister of Health, spoke at great length about education. He told of the difficulties confronting scientific institutions whose fine instruments had all been destroyed or pilfered, and the universities with their libraries, textbooks and equipment gone. He told us that 18,000 school buildings had been destroyed in the Ukraine alone. And yet classes are conducted everywhere, even in private dwellings. Our host attempted to stop him, saying that we were not to discuss business today, but he went on; telling us their scientists, mentioning for example Filatov and Bogomolets, had to work with almost no equipment. The Assistant Minister of Social Security explained the work of his department. It not only takes care of pension matters but has a tremendous rehabilitation program for veterans, training them for new jobs and higher skills. He told us that one group of veterans, in view of the shortage of artificial limbs, had fashioned their own and that they proved so good that they are now used as models. He told us about special work with blind veterans. We told him about the seeing-eye dog, which was news to him. He said that they must adopt it. This minister is himself a war veteran: his left eye is half-closed, he has scars on the left side of his mouth, wears a glove on his left hand.

All the Ministers spoke of Americans in the most complimentary terms and expressed great appreciation of American help in the war and in relief work.

March 24th: Pobedonostsev, who is in charge of shipments at the Department of UNRRA Supplies, came to the hotel to work with Paul White. I was asked to help the two men converse. Pobedonostsev, with his bright blue, honest and wondering eyes, would intersperse his business conversation with reminiscences of the war. He had been a major in the Army. He is still wearing his uniform because the tailor is working on his civilian suit. He marched to Berlin on the heels of the retreating Nazis. The Nazis took with them the remaining Ukrainian livestock. When they were pressed the hardest by the advancing Red Army, the cattle were in their way, and so they slaughtered them. The Red Army men could not even save the carcasses for meat for they deteriorated quickly in the heat.

Pobedonostsev told us of the joyous meeting with the American armies. The GI's, in their exuberance, twisted buttons

off the coats of the Red Army men and officers, to take home as souvenirs. At one time a number of Red Army officers returned to their stations minus buttons. The General asked: "What has happened to you?" He smiled indulgently when he heard the answer.

Pobedonostsev told us that there are no horses left in the Ukraine. The farmers will have to use cows for plowing this spring. He spoke about the food shortage. He said last night he and his wife were quite hungry so they decided to open one of their precious cans of American food. He thought he could find out what it contained with the aid of a dictionary. But the writing was not clear, so they took a chance and opened it in the hope that it would contain meat, which they wanted so badly. But, to their disappointment, it contained string beans and they felt they had no right to open another.

March 25th: Jack Fischer and I took a walk. My first sight of the city on foot. Horrible destruction everywhere. We nudged our way through a Gastronom—a commercial store. Kiev has 300 ration stores and 5 commercial stores. The latter serve a dual purpose: to draw off some rubles and thus control inflation and to serve as an incentive to greater effort, greater production, since these stores carry a few luxuries which are not available in the ration stores, such as caviar, a little fresh meat, chocolates.

Everybody stares at us. Little boys follow us around. I guess we are as good as any Wild West show. Last night we stopped to read a billboard near our hotel. Within two minutes a crowd gathered around us and everyone on the street seemed to become suddenly engrossed in the billboard.

March 26th: We again took a long walk—just the four of us. No Ukrainian accompanies us on these walks. The crowd fascinates me. They are dressed in all sorts of things: quilted jackets, *valenki* (felt boots), leather boots, shawls. Their cheeks are red, their eyes are bright and gay. Generally, Kiev has a warm, friendly face, the destruction notwithstanding.

In the evening we went to see a film, *Sylvia*. The story, the photography, the sound—were all of ancient vintage. But the audience ate it up. They are apparently tired of war and war pictures, and anything, any love story, that takes them away from it, is great entertainment.

The most interesting part of the outing was the crowd. The theater was in an industrial part of the city. People came in their quilted jackets, in shawls, and working clothes. As usual, we were introduced to the director of the movie house. A young, intelligent chap. We stood with him in the lobby, discussing American movies, which he knew well. He invited us into his office, but we preferred to remain in the lobby to watch the crowd. And the crowd wanted to see us, judging by their friendly smiles, their eagerness to stand as close to us as possible.

March 27th: Talked with the administrator of our hotel, a slight, pretty woman of twenty-seven. She is a widow, her husband was killed during the first days of the war. She herself spent three years at various fronts, including Stalingrad, as a machine gunner. She was wounded several times. I asked how she felt about shooting men down. She said that she had no compunction about mowing down murderers of women and children. She wears several medals.

March 28th: The morning devoted to visiting some ration stores. Each neighborhood has a store which usually services about two thousand citizens. There are a number of special stores: for scientists, for teachers, physicians, pregnant women and nursing mothers, etc. UNRRA goods are sold only at ration stores, at very low prices. The proceeds, in accordance with the agreement, are used for reconstruction. Before distributing new foodstuffs which arrive through the UNRRA to the stores, the Ministry of Trade sends samples to its laboratories for analysis, in order to determine their purity, nutritive qualities, etc. They thus discovered that some of the foods are of higher quality than others, and they distribute these to the stores for pregnant and nursing women, to veterans' and children's hospitals and children's homes. They admire our tomato juice very much. The stores are spotless. The attendants wear white uniforms. Since there is not enough cotton goods to make spare uniforms, the attendants are obliged to wash them every night. There is a sanitary inspector, who is a physician, attached to each district, and he visits the stores daily.

We found these stores practically devoid of indigenous products: only a little barley, rice and sugar. For the rest, they contained UNRRA goods—K rations, U. S. Army surplus canned foods, stabilized butter, jam, peanut butter. In many stores the shelves looked rather sparse.

The managers of all stores begged us for fats and oils and meat. They said the people are hungry, there is hardly any livestock, that it consists mostly of scrawny, starved animals rounded up in the forests and swamps, and of young calves which cannot be slaughtered yet. "You will see for yourselves when you visit our collective farms. The *molodnyak* (young cattle) is so young, we must let it grow up a bit. In the fall we might be able to slaughter some of them. But in the meantime how are we to feed our people?"

They have all been expressing their thanks to Americans, for the Lend-Lease, Russian Relief, American Red Cross and now for the UNRRA help. We have had to explain to them that UNRRA is an international organization; that we represent forty-four nations, and not just the United States. But they insisted that they knew that most of the help came from the United States, during the war as well as after the liberation. In every store we visited the customers gathered around us, and invariably filed out of the stores to see us off. We hear on all sides, as a refrain, "Americans are such fine, friendly people."

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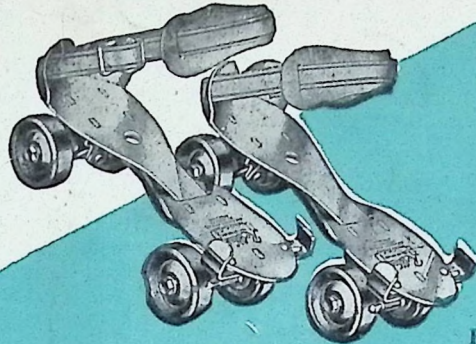
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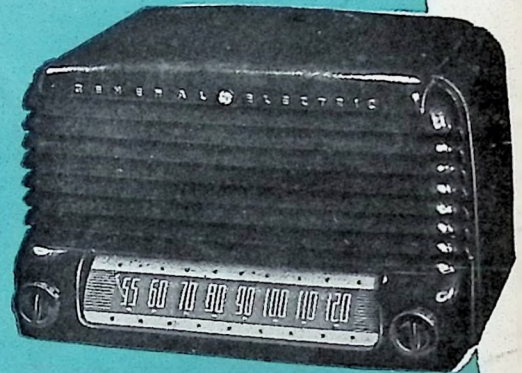
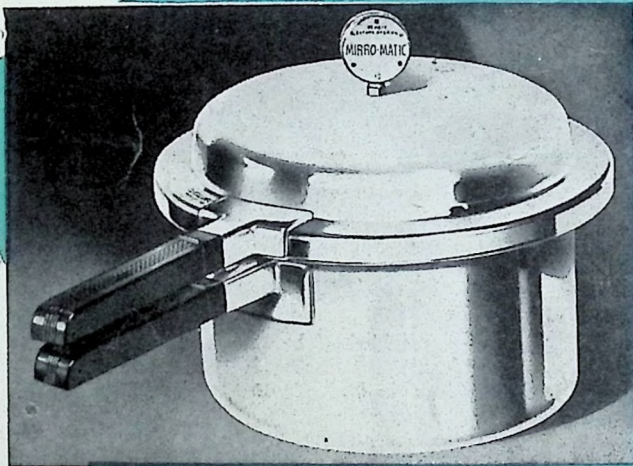
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