

# SOVIET RUSSIA

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*Today*

NOVEMBER

1946

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The *Review* is the official organ of the American-Soviet Medical Society, which numbers among its members some of the most distinguished figures in the field of medicine. The editors have access to the Society's extensive library of Soviet medical material, and are in close personal touch with Soviet doctors and organizations. Its chief editor, Dr. Jacob Heiman (author of *Medical Progress in the USSR*) has recently returned from an extensive visit in the Soviet Union.

But, in the spirit of real reciprocity, the *Review* also concerns itself with making American medical progress known in the Soviet Union, where the information is most eagerly and cordially received.

Founded three years ago by Dr. Walter B. Cannon and Dr. Henry E. Sigerist of Johns Hopkins University, the *Review* has won such widespread interest and welcome that it is now published also in Spanish, Portuguese, and a special British edition.

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# C O N T E N T S

REVIEW AND COMMENT.....	Jessica Smith	5
A MESSAGE.....	Sen. Claude Pepper	7
TO GAIN THAT WORLD.....	Adolph J. Sabath, M.C.	8
A MESSAGE.....	Archibald MacLeish	8
THE ROOSEVELT ROAD TO PEACE.....	Frederick L. Schuman	9
SOVIET LATVIA: AN EYEWITNESS REPORT.....	Gordon Schaffer	10
SOVIET DEMOCRACY: THE ECONOMIC BASE.....	Dr. Harry F. Ward	12
A MESSAGE.....	Jack Kroll	12
WHERE ANTI-SEMITISM IS A CRIME.....	Louis Levine	14
THE FRAME-UP OF A NATION.....	Corliss Lamont	16
A MESSAGE.....	Louis Adamic	16
THE FIRST POST-VICTORY YEAR.....	Sergei Kournakoff	17
HAVE THEY FORGOTTEN STALINGRAD?.....	Albert Rhys Williams	18
STALIN ON WORLD COOPERATION.....		21
A MESSAGE.....	Helen Keller	21
A MESSAGE.....	Mrs. LaFell Dickinson	22
AN ANALYSIS OF PROKOFIEV, <i>review</i> .....	Marc Blitzstein	23
THREE BOOKS FOR CHILDREN, <i>review</i> .....	Jerrold Beim	23
AMERICAN-SOVIET TRADE UNION COMMITTEE.....		25
YOUR QUESTIONS ANSWERED.....	Theodore Bayer	27
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*Our cover is designed by Morris Pass; our frontispiece, by Lynd Ward.*

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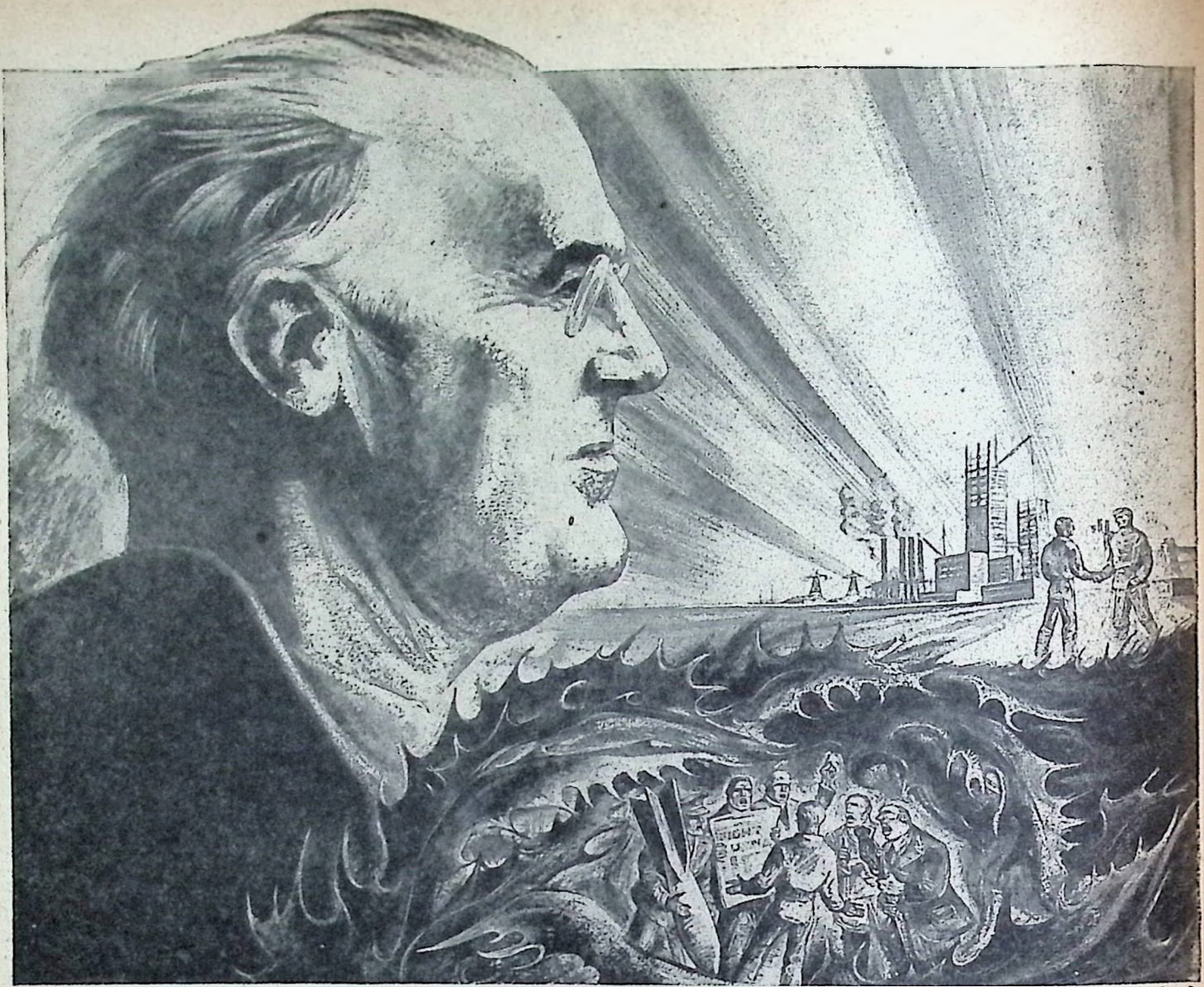
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### SOVIET RUSSIA TODAY

114 E. 32nd St., New York 16, N. Y.





Lynd Ward

**E**VER since the ten days that shook the world, sinister and powerful forces, operating on an international scale, have been conspiring to undermine and destroy Soviet Russia. Out of this conspiracy Fascism grew. Hitler rose to power on the strength of his pledge to crush the Soviet Union; and the stage was set for the Second World War, with its immeasurable suffering and losses for all mankind. For this, from the beginning, was a conspiracy directed not only against the Soviet Union, but also against the democratic aspirations of the peoples of the entire world.

The Axis lost the war, but the people have not yet won the peace. Hitler is dead, but there are others who would plunge mankind into a Third World War in the name of a new crusade against the Soviet Union.

That towering statesman of our time, Franklin Delano Roosevelt, recognized that without close friendly relations between our country and the USSR there could be no lasting peace in the world. It was largely through his efforts that such relations were established. Today

these close, friendly relations must be fully restored. Those who wish to incite enmity between the USA and the USSR rely heavily on the use of anti-Soviet propaganda. They create a jungle of slanders, lies and misinformation, in which they hope the peoples of both countries will become lost.

This anti-Soviet propaganda can be fought only with facts. The truth about the Soviet Union—its character and achievements, its domestic and foreign policy—is a vital weapon for peace.

That is why *Soviet Russia Today* has now such an urgent task to perform. Month in, month out, this magazine prints the facts about the Soviet Union, its policies and its people. And never was there more need for the American people knowing these facts, for out of this knowledge must come understanding and friendship.

To read *Soviet Russia Today* is to be provided with ammunition for the preservation of the peace. To support *Soviet Russia Today* is to contribute to American-Soviet friendship, the basis of world security.

*Michael Sayers and Albert E. Kahn*



# SOVIET RUSSIA TODAY

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## *Celebrating Two Great Anniversaries*

ON November 7, twenty-nine years ago, the world's first Socialist state was born. Weary of the cruel, corrupt regime of the tsars which impoverished and enslaved the people, the workers and farmers took their destinies into their own hands. They were able to do this because the rotten old regime fell of its own weight and because Lenin and Stalin and their other leaders taught them that the people are strong enough to do anything when they unite and act together for a common purpose.

It was this demonstration of the unconquerable power of the people, properly organized and led, that struck fear into the hearts of reactionaries throughout the world—and the Great Conspiracy against the Soviet state began. It might as well have been a conspiracy to roll back the waves of the ocean, to stop the sun in its course. For what happened in the Soviet Union was a great leap forward in human progress in the great tradition of our own American Revolution and the French Revolution.

From the very beginning our own and other nations intervened to prevent the will of the Soviet people from finding fulfillment. From the very beginning the conspirators sought to smear the Soviet Union with the tar of their own guilt. It is not the Soviet Union which has actively interfered in the internal affairs of other nations, but the other way around. Just as today it is not the Soviet Union that has embarked on a program of imperialist expansion, but her accusers.

The worldwide efforts to crush the Soviet Union by arms, by blockade, by cordon sanitaire, by inciting internal plots, by a vicious and never-ending barrage of lies and slander, failed. The Soviet people, weak and badly armed, won back their country which fourteen invading armies at one time reduced to one-sixth of its territory. Through bitter struggle and unequalled hardships the people with their own strength built their new society.

It is to America's shame that our country's representatives from the beginning took a leading part in the worldwide anti-Soviet conspiracy. Always in the forefront of these activities was Herbert Hoover who could never forget the loss of a billion dollars worth of oil and mining and other properties which in conjunction with British interests he had held in old Russia.

The democratic peoples of the world did not share the designs of their reactionary leaders. They worked incessantly to create a better understanding of the Soviet people. American workers, farmers, engineers gave active assistance in the building of the Soviet state. Forward looking business interests established trade relations despite all obstacles. And along with the official hostility of America, which for sixteen years refused even to recognize the Soviet Union, there were many Americans who understood that the friendship of these two great nations could become the most vital force for peace and progress in the world.

NOVEMBER 1946

## *A Message From* **HENRY A. WALLACE** *to Soviet Russia Today*

Thirteen years ago Franklin Roosevelt recognized that the good-neighbor policy should apply to Russia as well as to Latin America. Today, all forward looking people recognize that the peace of the world depends on cultivating such an attitude between the United States and Russia so that both peoples will think more about cooperation than they do about force. Peace based on understanding is lasting. Peace based on force can never last. Roosevelt recognized the need of understanding cooperation to win a war. We must recognize the same need for the purpose of preventing a war.

Henry A. Wallace

Franklin D. Roosevelt was one of those who understood this, and when he came to the Presidency he extended the hand of friendship which the USSR gladly grasped, and on November 16, 1933, diplomatic relations were established. This is the second great anniversary we celebrate.

While the Soviet leaders strove within their borders to create a life of security for their people, they knew there could be no real security for people anywhere while the threat of war hung over the world. They sought friendly relations with all countries ready to reciprocate and worked incessantly for collective security. But the conspiracy went on until the Hitlerite monster bred to destroy the Soviet Union turned against those who had nurtured him as Stalin had warned would happen. In the war against fascism the democratic alliance the Soviet Union had long advocated came into being—and even some of the most bitter enemies of the Soviet Union, such as Winston Churchill, had reason to rejoice that the myths they themselves had spread were so quickly exploded and that their own plans to weaken the Soviet state which was now their welcome ally had failed so utterly. (But despite all Britain owed to Soviet strength, Winston Churchill and others still tried to keep the war as much as possible within the pattern planned at Munich with Germany and the Soviet Union bleeding each other white—and as is now clear, Churchill was ever ready to subordinate the considerations that would hasten victory to those which would weaken the Soviets' post-war position.)

Seven million of the Soviet people died in the war—millions more perhaps if all the deaths attributable to the war were counted—millions more were maimed and crippled. Years of the fruits of the people's labor were wiped out, the land was devastated as no land has ever been.

But with all their untold losses, the Soviet state has emerged from the war stronger, more powerful than ever before. The people of Europe know that by bearing the brunt of Hitler's attack, the Soviet armies were the greatest force in their liberation. Today the Soviet Union stands as the supporter and friend of the new democracies in Eastern Europe which for the first time have people's governments.

Thus not only has the power of the people within the Soviet Union prevailed against intervention and famine and conspiracy and the greatest mechanized armies the



world has ever seen, but the power of the people everywhere has grown and strengthened through the decisive role in the war of the Soviet state, through its active influence in the postwar world, through the very fact of its existence.

Let those who are still plotting against the Soviet Union and against the advance of the democratic forces everywhere, ponder well on that. They could not succeed when the USSR was young and weak—what hope could they have today when despite its wounds, it is one of the two greatest nations in the world—with powerful allies among the democratic people everywhere!

It was something of this, no doubt, that Stalin had in mind in his recent statement that no real war danger exists at present. His words brought new confidence and hope to the peoples of the world. He has shown that for all their bluster and atomic bombs the forces of reaction are weaker than they ever were before and the peace forces stronger. If the united power of the people of the democratic nations was strong enough to defeat the concentrated military might of the Axis powers it can defeat the scattered though powerful remnants of fascism that remain. Stalin's purpose, it may be presumed, was not to deny the eventual danger to world peace if the activities of adventurist military circles remain unchecked, but to show that they can and must be defeated if the coalition that brought victory in the war remains united to keep the peace.

Our country has strayed dangerously in recent months from that coalition which Roosevelt labored to create. But if the people of America understand and organize their power, they can force the administration to return to that road. Henry Wallace has brought the subject of our foreign policy out into the open, and made clear where our present course is leading. In his Madison Square Garden speech and his July 23 letter he has outlined a positive program for peace around which all progressive forces can rally. In his controversy with Bernard Baruch he has clarified the dangers of an American policy based on continued stockpiling of the atom bomb, preventing the mutual trust and confidence which would make possible the development of an effective system of international control.

### *A Month of American-Soviet Friendship*

THE two anniversaries coming in the month of November make incumbent on all Americans a serious re-examination of the historic meaning of the events they mark, and an evaluation of the extent to which our country has failed to utilize their potentialities for serving America's highest national interests in her international relations.

Strong movements are afoot to mobilize the strength of the American people in support of a correct foreign policy. One of these was expressed in the National Conference of Progressives that met in Chicago, September 29-30, under the sponsorship of the CIO Political Action Committee, CIO-PAC and the Independent Citizens' Committee of the Arts, Sciences and Professions and won support from wide groups of forward-looking Americans. The conference demanded "a swift return to the course charted by President Roosevelt," called for the restoration of Big Three Unity, urged the withdrawal of American troops from China, a halt to our immense armaments program and the international outlawry of atomic weapons.

The "National Committee to Win the Peace" is conducting a national campaign for a "return to the path of peace charted by President Roosevelt."

In the specific field of American-Soviet relations, the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship has embarked on a program of expansion which has already resulted in the organization of local Councils in dozens of cities and is enlisting the support of Americans in all walks of life who understand with Henry Wallace that "for the United States and the Soviet Union to live together in peace is the most important single problem in the world today."

The National Council is marking the two anniversaries in a National American-Soviet Friendship month from November 7 to December 7.

National and local committees of prominent citizens are being formed to sponsor this month of friendship. It will be marked by special programs in civic, labor, church and other organizations, and mass rallies in all large centers.

This movement to replace the "get tough with Russia" policy by one of friendship and cooperation with our great wartime ally deserves the widest possible public support. We shall be glad to refer any inquiries received from our readers on how they can take part in this campaign, to the National Council.

### *Paris and New York*

THE Paris conference is winding up as we go to press and the spotlight shifts to New York where the Big Four gathering will take final action on the peace treaties, and the second General Assembly will convene.

Differences were sharply apparent between the Soviet Union and those nations pursuing a course of friendly relations with her on the one hand and the Anglo-American Bloc and its supporters on the other. Real progress toward the final peace treaties with Italy, Rumania, Bulgaria, Finland and Hungary was made only in those instances where the Big Four had previously come to agreement, demonstrating as Mr. Molotov pointed out, that: "When the countries that bore the greatest part of the burden during their fight against the common enemy do come to agreement, the essence of this agreement corresponds to the wishes of the entire democratic world."

Major problems remain unsolved, however. The dispute over Trieste remains one of the most knotty. The Soviet Union remains unalterably opposed to a statute for Trieste giving the governor extraordinary powers and retaining Trieste as a base for Anglo-American forces.

Senator Vandenberg led the opposition to the Soviet stand that control of the Danube should remain in the hands of the riparian states, harking back to the recognition of the principle of international administration in 1856. Mr. Molotov pointed out that this had been the period of the rise of imperialist politics of the Nineteenth Century, and that in the postwar conditions of enrichment of some nations and impoverishment of others, the idea that internationalization could lead to equality of treatment of countries in different economic categories is pure illusion.

On other economic questions, especially reparations, already scaled down to mere token payments on the actual damage done by the aggressors, the Anglo-American bloc seemed unable to grasp the extent of the devastation of those countries which suffered actual invasion.

It is to be hoped that in the coming New York meeting, attempts to make the peace settlements serve the interests of one group only will be abandoned, that the Soviet Union will be dealt with on an equal and friendly basis, and the wartime unity of the Big powers will be restored.



## *A Flagrant Breach of Hospitality*

THE action of the Department of Justice in attempting to compel registration as "agents of a foreign principal" of the five Ukrainian visitors who came to this country at the invitation of the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship, and the eleven representatives from Russia and other Slavic nations who attended the recent Slavic Congress, was an atrocious blunder. By failing to interfere in this fantastic misapplication of the Registration Act, the State Department became a party to an insult to a group of guests from a friendly nation which cannot but have the most serious effects on the development of relations between the two peoples.

William Howard Melish, Chairman of the NCASF, asked the State Department to review the potentially tragic consequences of this action, and declared that "It would be a major calamity if at this point when every possible friendly and informational exchange is so greatly needed, that this act of official discrimination should make the Soviets feel themselves unwelcome."

In the Ukrainian group were two opera singers, a poet, a professor of law, a journalist and a playwright, for whom a number of appearances before American audiences had been arranged, as well as contacts in their professional fields. The value of such contacts was attested by the enthusiastic critics' reports that appeared in all the New York press following the outstanding Town Hall recital which was given by Mme. Zoya Haidai and Mr. Ivan Patorzhinsky of the Ukrainian State Opera in Kiev. Serge Koussevitsky, Chairman of the American-Soviet Music Society, who had hoped to welcome the singers to Boston, addressed a letter on behalf of the Society to Attorney General Clark, protesting the danger to musical development in this blocking of cultural exchange between the richly endowed nations of the world.

The visitors took the only course open to them in cancelling their remaining engagements and returning home. But the American people whose guests they were cannot let the matter rest there. We believe it is in order that a wide protest be registered with both the Department of Justice and the Department of State at this flagrant breach of American hospitality and interference with the normal friendly relations of the people of our two countries. Assurance should be given that in the future, guests from the Soviet Union will be met not with an iron curtain but with an open door.

### *The Others Must Hang Too!*

GOERING cheated the hangman—but the whole world breathes more freely now that he and his ten fellow-nazis, whose crimes brought such untold horror and suffering to humanity, are no longer among us. It is a great historic step when an international tribunal condemns the makers of aggressive war as criminals against humanity.

But full justice has not yet been done. The peoples of the world were quick to support the dissenting opinion of Major General Nikitchenko, Soviet member of the International Tribunal. He found unjustified the acquittal of Hjalmar Schacht, Franz von Papen and Hans Fritzsche; the life sentence given to Rudolf Hess; and the refusal to declare the Reich Cabinet, the German general staff and high command criminal organizations.

Major General Nikitchenko laid greatest emphasis on

On this anniversary of the establishment of American-Soviet diplomatic associations it is fitting again to affirm and emphasize the policy of the good neighbor which Franklin Roosevelt brought to our international diplomacy. At a time when so many hostile forces are seeking to undermine the spirit of understanding and cooperation which are the basis of good neighborliness it is well to have such publication as *Soviet Russia Today* to present the good neighbor viewpoints.

SENATOR CLAUDE PEPPER

the guilt of Schacht as one of the chief conspirators against the peace of the world through his organization of leading industrialists and financiers in support of the Nazi party and the elevation of Hitler to the Chancellorship, through his leading role in German rearmament and the annexation of foreign lands. Von Papen, too, paved the way for Hitler's rise; as Ambassador to Austria he conspired for the invasion and occupation of that country; in Turkey he actively promoted Hitler's cause and within Germany he abetted Hitler's terror. Rudolf Hess shared fully in the guilt of Nazi crimes within and without Germany. Fritzsche served Goebbels' evil designs through Nazi radio and press propaganda.

No doubt the powerful financial connections of Schacht and the Papal connections of von Papen played a role in their acquittal, which will make more difficult the bringing to justice of equally criminal supporters of Hitler still at large. These, too, must hang!

### *A Word to Our Readers*

WE want to take this opportunity to express our gratitude to all those readers who have responded so generously to our current financial appeal and to ask all those who have not already contributed to send us whatever they can. This is literally a matter of life and death to our magazine. We are still far from the goal that has been set to insure our continued existence and make it possible for us to reach thousands of new readers. Last month Corliss Lamont told you why he felt our magazine was vitally necessary to the safeguarding of peace. This month, Michael Sayers and Albert Kahn appeal for your help in fighting "The Great Conspiracy Against Soviet Russia" which threatens not only the Soviet Union but all democratic peoples, the history of which they have set forth in their fine book by that name. Lynd Ward, in his beautiful drawing, has symbolized the purpose behind this appeal.

In this anniversary issue we have had to sacrifice precious space which could otherwise have been used to bring you more information about the Soviet Union to advertisers, who have also made an important contribution, for we must seek every possible means of support. We had hoped to be able to add extra pages to carry the advertising but the severe shortage of paper ruled this out.

We shall continue in the months to come to try to improve the quality of our magazine. In turn we ask of our readers not only financial help but a closer participation in the work of the magazine itself. We welcome your letters and comments. Please tell us not only what you like, but wherein you find us lacking. With your help we can more effectively do our part in the great work of helping America find its way back to the course charted by Roosevelt, the course of American-Soviet friendship and peace.

JESSICA SMITH



# TO GAIN THAT WORLD

by A. J. SABATH, M. C.

The Dean of the House declares we must act boldly, honestly, and in good faith to carry out Roosevelt's policies

AS one who looks with horror on wars, which history shows have been caused by brutal, selfish, avaricious rulers and could have been prevented, I have all my life hoped for the time when wars could be forever ended.

We have not yet signed the treaties of peace to bring to end formally, the most terrible and most destructive war in history; our dead are not yet buried, the homeless not sheltered, the hungry not fed. Yet there are those fat, sleek gentlemen who can talk complacently of yet another and more terrible atomic war, and always they talk of a war against our ally, Russia.

The world cannot withstand another war—not the world as we know it, with more good than evil, more decency than horror, more kindness than cruelty, with always the promise before us of a better world for the building.

War must not happen again.

I do not believe in communism: I do not want communism in America; but I believe that there is room in this world of ours for two great forces each in its manner seeking that better world of which the prophets have taught and for which all mankind has prayed—a world of peace and of prosperity and goodwill.

We have already taken mighty strides toward that world of peace—we have beaten down the Nazi hordes

bent on enslaving all mankind and destroying the human spirit; we have organized the United Nations.

All that needs to follow is for the great victor nations not only to resolve to live in peace but actively to work for peace; to settle problems at the conference table and not on the battlefield; to choose our government by ballots and not by bullets.

We cannot insure the peace of the world by tying our future to a dying empire, held together by tanks and machine-guns, fending off our trade with "empire preference."

No more should we enter into any close alliance, except through the United Nations, with any other country.

*There is a middle way—the way of Franklin Delano Roosevelt, of common purpose, of common peace, of common welfare.*

The stupid Harding-Coolidge-Hoover policy of refusing to recognize the Soviet Government deprived our people of the benefits of trade with Russia for almost sixteen years and contributed measurably to the inevitability of war. Yet the same kind of thinking is cheerfully facing the prospect of another horrible war to destroy the last vestiges of civilization, for the sake of unrestrained private greed.

We can do business with Russia, in spite of Hoover, in spite of Dulles,

in spite of Dewey. We can live peacefully in one world of many nations. When President Roosevelt formally recognized the Soviet Union thirteen years ago he performed a duty I had been urging on this country for many years.

We do not live in walled islands, self-sufficient to ourselves; we live in a world which is shrinking before our eyes.

We will live in peace in that world—or we will cease to live.

We must have friendship with other nations—with our sister Republics of Spanish America; with the British Empire; with the teeming nations of the Orient and of Africa and of Europe; and with the USSR!

Russia is starved for the materials of peace time living; and she has uncalculated stores of raw materials which the rest of the world needs. We need her commerce, as she needs ours. Is our faith in our democracy so frail that we fear our way of life cannot withstand comparison with Russia? Never; we have everything to gain, and nothing to lose, by peace and friendship.

We must win the peace—the peace of the people. We must recognize the just claims of all the victors. We cannot be blinded to our own good by British wiles to save an outmoded empire. We must act boldly, honestly, and in good faith, to carry out the policies of Franklin Roosevelt.

Our thoughts and acts must be illumined by the Roosevelt vision of a world of tomorrow free from fear, free from hunger, free from religious bigotry and racial discrimination, free from war.

To gain that world, to make real that vision, we must do away with conquest and not be misled by the lords of any power-greedy nation; strive always for the good of humanity; and put away our childish dreams of world domination. We must use our strength for the good of humanity, not for the good of the N.A.M. We must use our prestige for world peace, and not for pieces of a world.

## FRANKLIN ROOSEVELT'S CONVICTION

A Message from ARCHIBALD MACLEISH

THE great defensive achievement of the war was the military victory over fascism. The great affirmative achievement was the realization of the fundamental community of human life on this earth. The United Nations was the political and social expression of that community. It still is. Any policy in any nation which serves the ideal of a united world is good policy. Any policy which denies that ideal is bad policy. During the war people believed that one world was possible because they saw that one world already existed. Now that the war is over they doubt that one world is possible because

they think they see that the world is already divided into two. But what has changed is not the world. What has changed is the eyes with which we look at it. The need now is not for men who will weakly accept the view that the world is divided into two and that all we can do is put up with it through some policy of compromise and adjustment. The need is for men who will stand by Franklin Roosevelt's conviction that the world is one and who will make its oneness come true. That was liberal policy through the war. It is liberal policy now. It is, indeed, the only true liberal policy.



# THE ROOSEVELT ROAD TO PEACE

by FREDERICK L. SCHUMAN

Peace and plenty for all men everywhere depend on concord between the United States and the USSR

"THE mere conquest of our enemies is not enough. We must go on to do all in our power to conquer the doubts and the fears, the ignorance and the greed, which made this horror possible. . . . Let us move forward with strong and active faith."

These words, written but never spoken, were the last words of Franklin Delano Roosevelt to the American people. They were prepared for delivery on April 13, 1945, the birthday anniversary of Thomas Jefferson. The day coincided with the liberation of Vienna by the Red Army. On the preceding afternoon death came to the man and statesman who here voiced anew his abiding confidence in the unity of the United Nations and in the capacity of Americans, of Russians and of all mankind to take the road to life.

The poignant words—"If only Roosevelt had lived . . ." have time and again come to the lips of millions throughout the world in the eighteen confused months that have elapsed since his passing. They are sometimes a cry of despair. They are sometimes an expression of determination that the work he began shall yet be brought to full fruition. They are always a measure of the frustration and alarm felt by a vast and growing multitude in the face of the betrayal of the Roosevelt vision at the hands of the fearful and fumbling men who have since sat in the seats of the mighty in the capital of the world's greatest Power.

These men, with few exceptions, have little imagination and no adequate grasp of the formidable and frightening forces which science has now placed at the disposal of the war-makers. They lack knowledge of the Soviet Union and are readily victimized by hatred and hysteria. They lack perception of the enormous responsibilities and opportunities confronting America. Having no will to promote American-Soviet collaboration, they take refuge from reality in fantasies of a war of annihilation or in gestures of empty moralizing, reflecting a primitive tribal ethnocentrism whose devotees always and everywhere insist that "we" have a monopoly of virtue and "they" have a monopoly of vice. In a word, they have

no vision. And where rulers lack vision, the people perish.

It is not rhetoric but sober fact to say that the fate of America and of the world in our time depends in the final analysis upon the capacity of Americans to recapture the dream of F.D.R. He looked forward to, and strove steadily to build, an America free from fear and free from want. He planned a world dedicated to personal self-fulfillment through the practice of the arts of peace and affording to all the chance to practice those arts for the good of all. He saw with the utmost clarity that peace and plenty for all men everywhere depend upon concord between the United States and the USSR.

Roosevelt's conception of the terms of concord between the two giant communities of our world is not obscure, despite labored efforts at obfuscation indulged in by those militarists, diplomats and demagogues who are engaged in promoting discord. He perceived that the winning of the peace, even more than the winning of the war, requires unity of purpose, based upon compromise and accommodation, among the United States, Great Britain and the Soviet Union. He saw that the United Nations could be united and effective only on the basis of unanimity among the Super-Powers. He understood that America's mission was and must remain a mission of mediation

between London and Moscow. He was convinced that unity and fruitful collaboration presuppose mutual avoidance of threats and challenges, a patient quest for common goals and a willingness to grant that the Soviet Union has special security interests in Eastern Europe, the Balkans and Northeastern Asia just as Britain and America have comparable interests elsewhere which Moscow is equally bound to respect. On no other basis can the postwar world avoid becoming another prewar world and march in unison toward the horizons of tomorrow.

What has happened since V-J Day under the Byrnes-Bevin dispensation is at almost all points a repudiation of Roosevelt's policies and purposes. Truman's America, like Attlee's Britain, has become the international champion of Toryism. The United States has been led, step by step, to condone, defend and support the worst abuses of British imperialism, Iberian Fascism and Moslem and Chinese feudalism in the name of opposing the alleged abuses of Soviet Socialism. Bevin and Byrnes have devoted their energies to a frantic campaign, rationalized in terms of sanctimonious solicitude for "democracy" (but not in Greece, or Spain or China or South Carolina!), to undermine Soviet influence in Eastern and Southeastern Europe and to reconvert

*(Continued on page 28)*

The Big Three at Teheran





# Soviet Latvia: An Eyewitness Report

by GORDON SCHAFFER

British journalist finds that republic recovering from the war faster than any comparable European country

**D**URING a tour round Riga, with a Latvian university lecturer as interpreter, I got talking to a group of Latvians in a cafe.

They certainly were not afraid of expressing their views and not one of the party was anywhere near being a communist. They criticized various aspects of administration and were very keen to emphasize that Latvia was an independent Soviet Republic with just as close cultural links with the West as with the Russian Soviet Republic. But they all backed the Soviet regime.

I asked one of the men (he turned out to be an engineer) his reasons.

"We had only eleven months under the Latvian Soviet Government before the Germans came," he replied. "Within three months all the unemployed had been found jobs. New industries were started. The engineers who had been obliged to take on laboring jobs under the old government, were given skilled work. We began for the first time to develop our country."

A woman chimed in: "The old government tried to reduce unemployment by making a law to stop husband and wife both working. People used to live in sin rather than marry because they couldn't exist on a single income. I know couples who got divorced to evade that law."

Many other people to whom I talked returned to this theme of unemployment in pre-Soviet Latvia. The memory has bitten very deep and the conviction that the Soviet system will prevent a return to slumps and depressions inspires a great deal of the support enjoyed by the regime among the mass of the people.

Between the wars, Latvia became more and more an economic dependency of the Western powers, particularly of Germany. Her industrial output sank below the level of tsarist times. She relied in the main on export of timber and dairy products and consequently suffered with every economic set back among her customers.

Today, Soviet policy is directed towards producing a balance between agriculture and industry.

In this table I give the comparable figures:

<i>Production per year at 1926 prices</i>	
Industry	
1940	550,000,000 rubles
1945 (planned)	1,070,000,000 "
Agriculture	
1940	943,000,000 "
1950 (planned)	864,000,000 "

The lower figure for agriculture is explained by the devastation inflicted by the invaders. More than half Latvia's livestock was taken away or destroyed by the Germans and a big drive is now going on to persuade the peasants to rear more cows. But, although grain production is expected to pass the pre-war figure before 1950, butter, milk and bacon will not reach the 1940 figure until 1951.

This is how the vice-president of the Republic, Mr. Deglov, described to me Latvia's industrial drive:

"First we are rebuilding and developing our port and railways, because they are of importance not only to our own country, but to the whole Soviet Union. Next we are restoring our industrial plant.

"After liberation, we were without coal, metals, oil or cotton. All these things are now coming in from the other Soviet Republics. We are also receiving machines and food supplies.

"Most of our factories were destroyed but today 13,000 have been repaired sufficiently to start production. A big proportion of the machinery was taken away to Germany, but already the All-Union Government has sent us in new machinery. Thousands of tractors have arrived. Technicians have come to assist us both in our industry and agriculture.

"We cannot possibly pay for this help in goods. In fact there is no attempt to even calculate a balance of trade between us and the rest of the Soviet Union. At the moment, practically our only exports are a few pitprops to the Ukraine. For the rest we are receiving the fraternal help of our fellow Soviet Republics and they are expecting nothing in return."

Some miles from Riga I saw the ruins of the one big industrial town of Jelgava. More than ninety per cent was destroyed. The population, estimated at 7,000, is living in the surrounding countryside. Reconstruction there has begun. Already a local brick-

works is turning out 10,000 bricks a day. Factories for the production of other building materials are being put up. At the end of five years, well over half the town will be rebuilt.

The former Latvian Government hadn't finished repairing the damage of the 1914-18 war in 1940.

Back in Riga I visited factories making radio sets, bicycles and electric railway carriages. All of them were gutted in the fighting and all have been restored since liberation. I called at a brewery making beer from Ukraine hops. At an agricultural research station I found Russian and Latvian experts at work on forty-five kinds of sugar-beet seed trying to find the best variety for the Latvian soil. The benefit of all these varieties is enjoyed by the Latvian people. They will not even begin to send goods out of their country until their own needs are satisfied.

If this is "Soviet Imperialism" there has never before been an imperialism like it.

It means that Latvia is recovering more quickly than any comparable European country and that she will be able to rely on an expanding social economy unaffected by the slumps and crises of the capitalist world.

I did not visit Estonia and Lithuania but there seems no reason to doubt that conditions there are similar.

There are two big differences between the Baltic Republics and the rest of the Soviet Union. First, private trade is permitted and second, agriculture is on the basis of the small peasant farmer with no attempt at collectivization. In Riga there are 720 private shops, mostly selling food, representing about 25 to 30 per cent of the total in the city. Any citizen is entitled to apply for a license to open a shop. He is not able to buy from State trading organizations, but must find his supplies from private producers at the current market price.

In practice, the State shops supply mainly rationed goods at low controlled prices, while additional food-stuffs are available at much higher prices in the private shops. Shopkeepers are not allowed to employ labor.

Factories are all nationalized. Houses



and apartments with over 200 meters of living space have been taken over by the State but those which have a lower area—representing more than 50 per cent—remain in private ownership, although a single individual is not allowed to own more than a certain area of living space. Officially it is legal to rent accommodations but the permitted limit is so low that there is practically no landlordism.

In the division of the land following the establishment of the Soviet Republic some 70,000 peasants received holdings.

Our delegation spent one day driving through the countryside and stopping at random to talk to the peasant farmers. My inescapable conclusion is that the Soviet regime has secured support in the countryside for the same reason as in the towns—it has delivered the goods.

These peasants are being called upon to pay to the State a surprisingly low proportion of their crop. An even smaller proportion is charged for the use of tractors. The peasant can sell his produce in the open market at extremely high prices. If, on the other hand, he sells to the State at much lower controlled prices, he also receives vouchers entitling him to buy shoes, clothing and household goods at controlled prices. Farm animals are provided by the State on a ten years' loan.

Although there is no collectivization, the peasants are setting up co-operative marketing organizations, and are developing a system of mutual help under which a group band together whenever one of their number wants assistance in sowing, harvesting, or any other special job. Since no farm is bigger than 30 hectares (about 74 acres), there is no division of interest between the big and the small farmer.

It is against this background that one must examine the attempts being made from outside to foment opposition to the Soviet in the Baltic Republics. This propaganda, mostly inspired by

Training new technicians at the Riga State Technical School (upper) to man the industrial enterprises that are rapidly being rehabilitated.

Lower: After the Germans were driven from the republic, hundreds of children's institutions were opened. This is story hour in the kindergarten of a textile mill.



Below: Former farm laborers and land-hungry peasants now receive selected seed for planting their own fields.



Baltic refugees in the Western zones in Germany and in Sweden, has found some underground support in the three countries. It suggests that the Baltic should look to Britain and America, who are rich, rather than to Russia, who is poor. Although the Russian Republic has actually been supplying the grain, the story goes the rounds that shortages are due to plunder by the Russians. As in every country in Europe, Churchill's Fulton, Missouri, speech and the obvious Anglo-American alliance on foreign policy is used to spread rumors of a coming war.

All these things make difficulties for the Baltic Governments. The existence of refugee groups in the Western zones of Germany including war criminals who actually co-operated with the Gestapo, is helping to fan suspicions of Britain and America not only in the Baltic but in the Soviet Union as a whole.

But these attempts are not making headway. They will become even more puny as the Republics begin to reap the benefit of the great industrial and agricultural drive.

The Baltic States are standing on the shoulders of the Soviet revolution. They are being spared the harder struggle endured by the Russian people during the early years of their revolution.

They are leaning on the secure planned economy of the socialist sixth of the world and economic fact speaks far louder than political prejudice.



Folk dancing in celebration of the fifth anniversary of Soviet Latvia.



# SOVIET DEMOCRACY

## *The Economic Base*

by DR. HARRY F. WARD

The first of a series of articles examining the nature and scope of the people's participation in the Soviet State

**I**N the past year the Soviet press has carried on an extensive discussion of Soviet democracy—what it is and how it works. This discussion began as an educational preparation for the election of the Supreme Soviet. It continued in response to much talk here about "different ideas of democracy" that arose from disagreements in the United Nations and in the occupation of enemy countries. Soviet writers point out that underneath such differences over procedures is the historic fact that theirs is a socialist democracy. This, they tell their readers, makes it a higher form than capitalist democracy. They mean higher in the ongoing of the democratic process not merely as a form of government, but a cooperative way of life through which more and more of the people of the earth, by increasing their control over both nature and human society, emancipate themselves from famine, pestilence and war, as well as from tyranny.

The essential advance that socialist society makes in the democratic process

### **A Message From**

**JACK KROLL**

*Director of the CIO-PAC*

**T**HE foreign policy set forth by Franklin D. Roosevelt to win the war and win the peace was based on Big Three unity and was endorsed by the American people at the polls in 1944. It is unfortunate and untimely that the resignation of Henry Wallace has been requested. Mr. Wallace now has the opportunity to bring the real facts on this crucial issue to the American people. Clear thinking Americans, who abhor the thought of another conflict, will join with Mr. Wallace in the fight for world peace. American foreign policy, and the activities of the State Department, are not private affairs. They involve the well-being of all Americans and must therefore be open to critical analysis by all the people.

As Mr. Wallace said to the President in his letter of July 23, "war with Russia would bring catastrophe to all mankind, and therefore, we must find ways of living in peace." The "get tough with Russia" policy is the direct opposite of the foreign policy of Franklin D. Roosevelt. We must not be dragged into another world war which means civilization's doom.

is the extension of government of, by and for the people from political to economic affairs; it puts the people's power over the economic processes upon which their lives and their cultural advance depend.

To understand Soviet democracy it is necessary to remember that the order of its growth has been different from ours. In the days of free land, handicraft industry and travel by horse we established a political democracy adapted to individual free enterprise. Now, in the time of concentrated monopoly power, we are faced with the necessity of finding the way to the economic democracy required by the machine age if freedom is to live. The Soviet system was founded in the days of big business and its economic empires, among peoples without experience in the political procedures of democracy and with little industrial development. Its founders, followers of Marx, held that further development of political democracy was impossible except on the base of a democratic economy. So it was after this base was securely laid by the socialist ownership of the means of production, the collectivization of agriculture and successful economic planning, that an advance in political democracy was made in the adoption of the Constitution of 1936.

The drafting Commission was instructed to prepare the "most democratic constitution in the world, that is, the one best expressing the will of the people." The draft was discussed for several months in over half a million meetings that sent in 154,000 amendments, mostly duplicates of course. The few that were adopted were those which made the final document still more democratic. The uniqueness of the Constitution is the attempt to unite the economic and political aspects of democracy in an effective union for their joint continuous development. Its chapter on "Fundamental Rights and Duties of Citizens" precedes the guarantee of all the freedoms proclaimed in our

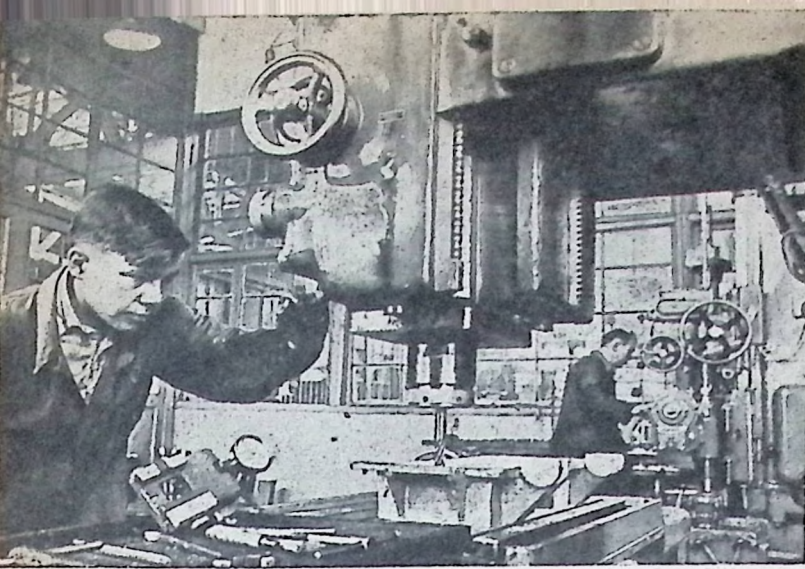
Bill of Rights, and in the French Declaration of the Rights of Man, with an economic Bill of Rights. It should be remembered that the Soviet delegation tried in vain to get the right to work inserted in the Charter of the United Nations.

Soviet writers continually point out to the people that their economic rights are constitutionally guaranteed not only in principle but also in terms of the legal measures which make the principles effective. Thus the right to work is guaranteed by the planning that eliminates the possibility of economic crises and their resultant unemployment; the right to rest and leisure by the seven-hour workday for the overwhelming majority, annual vacations with full pay and a network of sanatoriums, rest homes and clubs for the working people; the right to maintenance in old age, sickness or incapacity by universal social insurance, free medical service and a wide network of health resorts.

How much a Bill of Rights, economic or political, can be put in practice depends, as we are finding out in the case of the G.I.'s, upon what the national economy permits. A self-evident truth which the American people have yet to learn is that economic democracy can grow only from the roots of a democratic economy. The democratic nature of Soviet economy is set forth in Article I of the Constitution, entitled "The Organization of Society."

The economic foundation of Soviet society is said to consist of the socialist system of economy and the socialist ownership of the means and instruments of production. When it talks of political rights this Constitution, like its Western forerunners, speaks in part the language of desire and intent. But when it says that socialist ownership and the socialist economy are "firmly established" it is recording hard won experience. Behind the few lines recounting how these things were done is almost twenty years of terrific struggle; the hardships and heroisms, the inevitable revolutionary excesses, of the days of military communism, of the temporary restoration of the market and private profit through the NEP, of the resistance to collectivization, of the going over the top with the First Five-Year Plan. Yes, the economic foundation of Soviet society was securely laid, and now ten years after the beginning of the new political structure, despite the attempt of the anti-democratic legions of Europe led by Hitler to destroy





It's his plant on two counts—first, as socialist property it belongs to all the Soviet people, and second, because auto worker Ivan Titov is the third generation in his family to work there

the building itself is well under way.

Just how democratic is Soviet Socialist ownership and the economy it makes possible? The Constitution breaks down socialist property in the USSR into its two forms—state property and property of the collective farm or cooperative association. State property covers natural resources; industrial plants; banks; rail, water and air transport; post, telegraph and telephones; large state-organized agricultural enterprises; municipal enterprises; and the bulk of the dwelling houses in cities and industrial localities. Collective farms and cooperative organizations own in common their livestock, implements, products and common buildings. "The land occupied by collective farms is secured to them for their use free of charge and for an unlimited time, that is, in perpetuity. Every collective farm household has the right to a small plot of land for its personal use, and as its personal property a dwelling house, livestock, poultry and minor agricultural implements."

Whenever the socialist property of the state is mentioned it is specified that this belongs to the whole people. This emphasizes the communist view that the state is not a bureaucracy over the people but the whole people acting together. Article 3 declares: "In the USSR all power belongs to the working people of town and country as represented by the Soviets of Working People's Deputies"; and Article 12 proclaims that "work is a duty and a matter of honor for every able-bodied citizen." Beside his share in the socialist state property and in the common property of the collective farm or cooperative to which he may belong, every Soviet citizen has the right to personal ownership of income and savings, of dwelling houses and subsidiary household economy, household furniture and utensils and articles of personal use and

convenience, as well as the right of inheritance of personal property. Alongside the socialist system of economy, the Constitution also permits the small private economy of individual peasants and handicraftsmen "based on their personal labor and precluding the exploitation of the labor of others." In practice, as far and as fast as is possible, the handicrafts, and even such individual pursuits as fishing and hunting, are organized into producers' cooperatives.

It is obvious that this combination of forms of ownership is an extension to more people of the right to property established by capitalist society. In talking, in various parts of the Soviet Union, with workers who have lived in the USA, I found that they have a consciousness of public property being "ours" which they told me they never had while here. This explains something that puzzles many American visitors, that is the interest of Soviet citizens in graphs and charts which show the progress of the Soviet economy. Along with this goes the amount of space given in the press to reports of the work done by the people. "I should think this would interest only a few specialists," said a newly arrived American correspondent.

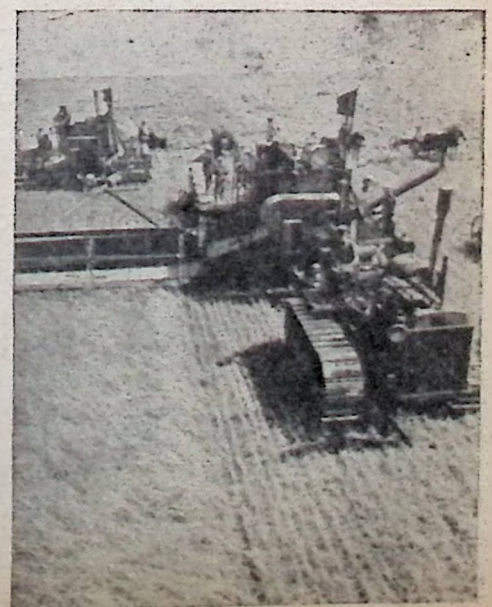
The relation of socialist ownership to the development of economic democracy is somewhat similar to the relation of universal suffrage and the secret ballot to the development of political democracy. These rights can be, and have been, used to put bosses, economic royalists and fascist dictators in power; also to put the power of the people over their economy and culture. In like manner nationalization of economic resources and processes can be used to establish a bureaucratic dictatorship or to give all power to the people. In the case of the Soviet Union the Constitution speaks again from the record and not merely from desire.

Article 11 tells us: "The economic life of the USSR is determined and directed by the state national economic plan. . . ." Note the qualifying word "national." This is to make it clear that in the Soviet mind and purpose, and in accomplished fact, economic planning is not the instrument of a bureaucratic state, but of the whole people. Socialist ownership puts economic power into the hands of the people. Socialist planning enables the effective use of this power to increase production and the well-being of all the people. On paper a Soviet Five-Year Plan is an amazing network of figures which could not have been worked out until certain equations first formulated in our time were available. In reality, as Stalin in the early days of Soviet planning told both their industrial managers and an international planning conference, the "production plan is millions of workers creating a new life."

The general aims of Soviet planning are those which any people would democratically approve, as the Soviet people did in adopting their Constitution. ". . . the aim of increasing the public wealth, of steadily improving the material conditions of the working people and raising their cultural level, of consolidating the independence of the USSR and strengthening its defensive capacity." The specific objectives of any given plan, for instance the crucial question of how much consumers' goods must wait upon capital goods, are outlined by the cabinet. The decision is

(Continued on page 30)

One of the large collective farms in the North Caucasus harvesting wheat with an aggregato of combines. Collective farms are another form of socialist property





# Where Anti-Semitism Is a Crime

by LOUIS LEVINE

Outstanding Leader of American Jewry finds no traces of the scourge in his recent visit to the Soviet Union

AT a reception this summer of the Jewish Anti-Fascist Committee in Moscow, a tall, sturdy Red Army man approached and, in faultless Yiddish, requested that I bring back a message to American Jews. "Go back," he said, "and tell the Jews of America that you spoke to and shook hands with a real Jewish general, and that this general was among his own people."

In these few words, the Soviet military leader summed up the historic story of the Jewish population, estimated at 3,000,000, of the USSR.

Anti-Semitism in any shape, form or manner simply does not exist in the Soviet Union.

I actually searched for it and searched hard. But I could not find the slightest trace of it any time, anywhere during my entire one-month, 6,000-mile tour this summer of the Soviet Union as one of seven members of a Russian Relief delegation invited by the Soviet Government and Soviet Red Cross to inspect distribution of our American relief and rehabilitation supplies and to study present-day conditions in the war-scarred areas.

As the national president of the Jewish Council for Russian Relief—which has always received the support of a large section of the American Jewish community—I was additionally interested in finding the answers to questions we American Jews had concerning our brethren in the Soviet Union. Many American Jews did not quite believe that the anti-Semitic scourge of several thousand years could be wiped out within one generation, and certainly not in a country in which it had been an official part of the state apparatus for many hundred years.

And there were some who believed the "miracle" had taken place, but frankly wondered whether it was accomplished at the cost of a loss of a distinct Jewish life, of a decline in religious observances and of a deterioration of Jewish culture.

During my 6,000-mile tour, which included Moscow, Leningrad, Stalingrad, Minsk—all possessing major Jewish communities—I devoted considerable time and effort in learning about the Soviet Jews.

Among the first Jews I met in Moscow was a young mother who told me she "never experienced a single instance of anti-Semitism, directly or indirectly." She described her relationship with her neighbors or co-workers as splendid, and the question of nationality or religion had never entered even the most heated neighborhood discussions. Her experiences, I found, held true for the entire Jewish population.

It was apparent, and even the sketchiest of observations would have disclosed it, that the Soviet Jews participate fully and freely on every level of government activity and in every phase of Soviet economic, social, scientific and cultural life. I met Jewish housewives and Jewish plant managers; I met rabbis and world-famous Jewish surgeons. The only qualification for advancement, and this applies equally to all Soviet citizens, is ability.

What the noted American Jewish leader, James Rosenberg, discovered when he visited the USSR several years back, I learned, too. Upon his return, Rosenberg said:

"In the Soviet Union, I learned at first hand not only from men's lips but from their stature, their bronzed and happy faces, that there is no such tonic to mankind as freedom from fear. That freedom, that sense of equality, the Soviet Union gave the Jews by its policy of no discrimination against its minorities. This is a freedom which the whole world needs if there is to be a decent, just and durable peace. . . .

Let us hope that the Soviet policy toward minorities will be a pattern for the United Nations. It is not easy to eradicate prejudice. It is a major task confronting the entire world.

"What the enlightened, vigorously enforced governmental policy toward all minorities has accomplished in a single generation, the Red Armies have proved on the battlefield. In these policies lies a basic explanation, I am satisfied, of the indefeasible, unconquerable unity of the Red Armies and the Soviet people."

The Soviet Government has recognized many problems peculiar to the Jewish people, and has taken daring steps to meet them. Desire among some Jews for a homeland within the USSR, for instance, brought about the establishment of the Birobidzhan Autonomous Region, the only Jewish state in the world. And at the outset of the war, as we all know, Jews were among the first evacuated from the western regions threatened by the Hitlerite invaders, and shipped to safety east of the Urals. The government knew they had been selected by the invading Nazis as special targets of destruction, and thus extended first consideration to them.

Moreover, similar preference was accorded Jews from near-by countries. Almost 800,000 Jews streaming across the Polish border also were sent to the east. All in all, the Soviet Government rescued almost 2,000,000 Jews from the path of the Hitlerite advance.

Special concern for the Jewish peo-



From the altar of a Leningrad synagogue, Louis Levine (hands folded) extends the greetings of American Jewry to the congregation. With him are the rabbi and the president of the congregation



ple has characterized the Soviet Union since its birth in the 1917 Revolution. A week after tsarism was overthrown, the infant Socialist government, headed by Lenin, legally abolished national oppression, making it the first country in the world to declare anti-Semitism a crime. This put an official end to a deep-rooted, thorough-going system of discrimination, pogroms and ghettos that was integral to the Tsarist regime.

Every manifestation of anti-Semitism was fought openly and sternly, and by the time the 1936 Stalin Constitution declared all forms of discrimination inimical to the interests of the state, the Soviet people had long since become accustomed to the spirit and practice of equality for all.

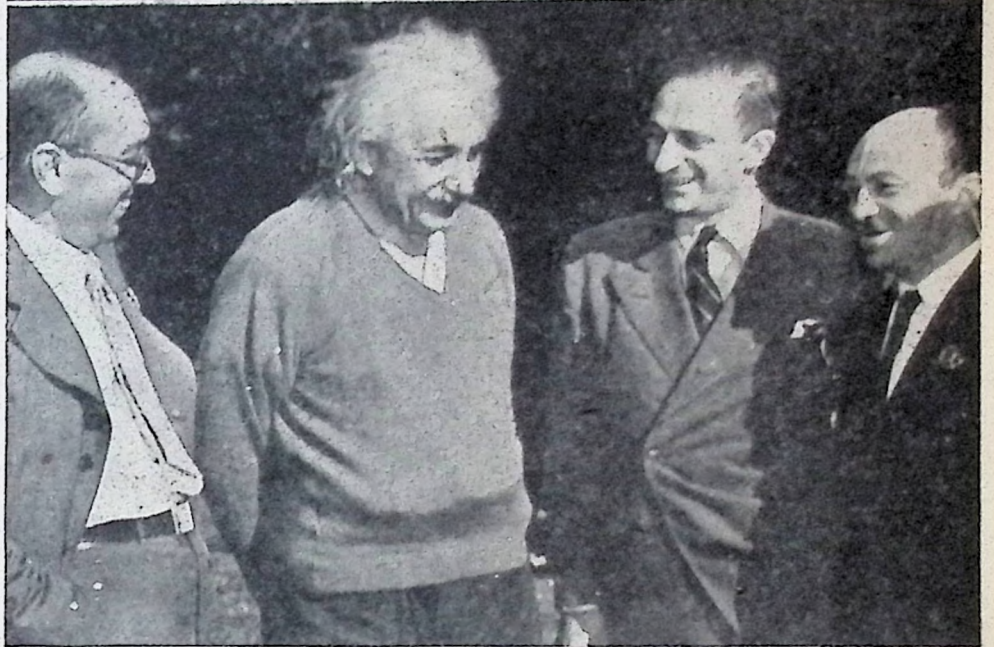
So thoroughly ingrained is this democratic spirit in Soviet life that the skillful Nazi-invader race-propagandists could do little during their three years of occupation to break through it.

Nonetheless, the Soviets do not intend to rest upon their laurels. "Today we shall not turn our backs on racial hatred until we have stamped it out, pulled it out by the roots, and taken all measures against its recurrence," declared President Vladimir Komarov of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR, in late 1944.

"When any country gives shelter to the Hitlerites or their ideas in the form of discriminatory legislation, in the form of racist organizations or a racist press, it is no longer an internal affair of that country," he asserted. "It is our generation's great duty to the future, to the cause of progress, civilization and humanity, not only to put out the smoking bonfires of fascism but to uncover and extinguish every one of its smoldering coals."

The center of Jewish life in the Soviet Union is the extremely active and influential Jewish Anti-Fascist Committee with chapters throughout the USSR. The views of the Committee, a non-government agency, always receive serious consideration by the government. When I spoke to government officials about the Jewish Council or the Soviet Jews, I was generally asked "What does Mikhoels think about it?" or I was told that "If it is OK with the Committee, it is OK with us."

Prof. Solomon Mikhoels, the inspiring leader of the Committee, is one of the outstanding personalities of the entire Soviet Union. Director of the Moscow Jewish State Theater, one of



In the home (top) of a member of the Jewish collective farm, "Progress," in Stalindorf, Ukraine. Bottom: Itzik Foffor (left), outstanding Soviet Jewish poet, and Solomon Mikhoels (right), prominent actor and director with Albert Einstein and Joseph Brainin, during a visit a few years ago to the U. S.

the chief cultural centers of Moscow, he is also known as one of the world's greatest Shakespearean actors. His most remarkable theatrical achievements, however, are his analysis and interpretation of Jewish life and outlook. His production of *Freilekhs* won him the coveted Stalin Prize. Beloved of all the people of the USSR, Mikhoels attracts as many non-Jews to his performances as Jews.

(Incidentally, more so in the Soviet Union than in any other country in the world, Jewish literature, theater, poetry is considered basic to a full cultural life. I met many non-Jews, who had read Sholem Aleichem in the original Yiddish. Many non-Jews, including the Ukrainian leader, Dmitri Manuilsky, were brought up in Jewish surroundings, and retain great interest and pride in their background.)

Mikhoels personifies the great quality of leadership that conducts the Committee. Clever and intelligent, a great

cultural figure and an equally great organizer who spends most of his extremely active time directing the affairs of the Committee, Mikhoels numbers among his colleagues such prominent Soviet citizens as Dr. Boris Shimeliovich, world renowned physician and chief surgeon of the famous Botkin Hospital in Moscow; the poets Itzik Feffer, Samuel Galkin and Peretz Marshik; the writers Lev Kvitke and David Bergelson; the Academician Lena Stern who has been called "the second Madame Curie."

The Committee issues an almost endless stream of newspapers, magazines, pamphlets and books. They are, of course, written in Yiddish and cover the vast range of culture and tradition and every expression of social, political and economic life. The Committee's education work digs deep into the hearts of all Soviet Jews and, I might repeat, many Soviet non-Jews. Its  
(Continued on page 31)



# THE FRAME-UP OF A NATION

by CORLISS LAMONT

THE Soviet Government, so often accused in foreign countries of framing-up Fascist agents and collaborators plotting against the security of the USSR and the life of its leaders, is itself the victim of the most gigantic frame-up that has ever been perpetrated. This frame-up is of unprecedented scope, because it is directed against a whole nation of nearly 200,000,000 people, because it proceeds on a vast, international scale, because it employs every method of modern communication and because it has gone on for many years.

"Frame-up" is the accurate and expressive word that has kept recurring to me as, during the past few months, I have followed the American press in its role of world-wide leadership in the general anti-Soviet crusade and in the specific attempt to stir up war passions against the Soviet Union. Day after day I have read newspaper reports about the USSR that from my own fund of information I know are untrue. And if the stories themselves are not false, the headlines are so angled as to create a strong initial prejudice in the mind of the reader. This is the more important because most Americans, including myself, do not have time to read their papers thoroughly. We skim through them quickly, reading a story in full here and there but relying on the headlines to a very large extent.

With the exception of a few papers such as *PM*, the entire American press, both in its news columns and on the editorial page, constantly and consciously utilizes every opportunity to whip up public opinion against Soviet Russia. Editors, reporters and columnists vie with one another in trying to put a hostile interpretation on everything the Soviets do or do not do. Of course we have long nourished no illusions about finding the truth concerning the USSR in the Hearst, the Patterson-McCormick or the Scripps-Howard newspapers. These three chains form an unending pattern of misinformation and are undeniably in a class by themselves. But what is so distressing at the present juncture is that a really great newspaper like the *New York Times* and a really in-

telligent commentator like Walter Lippmann should turn the clock back twenty-five years or more and return to the anti-Soviet hysteria of the period following the First World War.

For months, for instance, the *Times* has kept hammering away on the war-inciting theme that no essential difference exists between the international policies of Nazi Germany and Soviet Russia. One of its chief points here is the claim that the USSR has seized "270,000 square miles" of territory since the Second World War began. Yet not once in its editorials on this subject has the *Times* been fair and impartial enough to mention that all but a fraction of the land taken over by the Soviet Union since 1939 was formerly a part of the Tsarist Empire. Not once has it mentioned that the majority of the populations of these regions, such as the Ukrainians and White Russians of Eastern Poland between the two world wars, properly belong to the Soviet family of nations. For the *Times*, justice to the Soviet Government and the Soviet peoples, if it results in any strengthening of the USSR, is mere appeasement. In fact, since the end of the war against Fascism the *Times* and most other American newspapers have set up a remarkable new moral standard in international relations. It is short and simple: Whatever is good for the Soviet Union is bad; whatever is bad for the Soviet Union is good.

The *Times*, too, is one of the many

## A Message From

LOUIS ADAMIC

WE the people of the United States need to realize as soon as possible—or sooner—that potentially or actually the USSR and the USA are equally great powers, and that friendship between the two is essential to both and to the world in general.

We must delve into the whys and wherefores of the Soviet peoples' and leaders' suspicions of the West, just as they should delve into the West's suspicions of them. If but a portion of what Michael Sayers and Albert E. Kahn set forth in their book *The Great Conspiracy: The Secret War Against the Soviet Union* is true, it is no wonder that the Russians are suspicious.

We must expect from the Soviet Union understanding and fair judgment about our country; we must speak and write about the USSR with the same degree of fairness. Reciprocity is essential to any successful relationship.

newspapers that has played up the reports of Soviet rockets being shot, for purposes of experimentation or intimidation, over Sweden and other European countries. The rocket scare in Sweden reached its peak in August when hundreds of persons claimed they had seen mysterious flares and missiles overhead. When the political situation grew especially tense in Greece, rockets were reported flying high and wide there. In a French town the local gendarmes, according to an American radio commentator, were called out one night to investigate the strange noise of rockets rushing through the air. They cleared up the matter by finding that some careless French housewives had left their washing outside on a line and that it was flapping rather loudly. The last report of rockets came from Italy in September. Naturally the Yugoslavs were supposedly doing the shooting this time.

On September 17, the *Herald Tribune* and the *Times* both printed an interview with Dr. Carl Manne Siegbahn, Sweden's leading physicist, who dismissed the "ghost rockets" over Sweden as "hysteria." Dr. Siegbahn stated: "I personally examined one of those 'rockets.' It was a meteorite." Indeed, any amateur scientist or well-informed citizen could have told the rocket-crazed editors of the American press that during August the so-called "meteor showers" reach their maximum. The significant thing is that apparently not one of the big American newspapers or press associations has made a real effort to get at the root of the rocket rumors, which have obviously served to stimulate the war talk in this country and to intensify the unjustified belief that the Soviets are plotting aggression.

The catchy phrase "iron curtain" has of course done incalculable harm to American-Soviet relations over the past half-year. Here again, the *New York Times* has been one of the chief offenders, continually referring in its columns to the alleged iron curtain erected by the Soviet Union and repeatedly running maps showing the extension of this mythical barrier throughout most of Eastern Europe.

(Continued on page 24)



# THE FIRST POST-VICTORY YEAR

by SERGEI KOURNAKOFF



The Victory Parade in Moscow. German regimental and divisional banners are trailed along the ground.

—Courtesy National Council of American-Soviet Friendship.

THE Twenty-ninth Anniversary of the October Revolution approximately marks the end of the first post-war year for the USSR and for its Red Army.

During this year stock has been taken of the costs and experiences of the war. The results of this stock-taking are not only being analyzed, but the lessons they contain are being learned.

There is one fact that still remains the outstanding feature of the overall picture of this war, and that is the Red Army and the Soviet country in general bore the main brunt of the struggle against Fascism.

The voice of blood talks the loudest. Therefore, the casualty figures should be the simplest and at the same time the most convincing argument in support of that thesis. The United States and the British Empire, with a combined population of close to seven hundred million people lost 585,000 dead, while the Soviet Union with its prewar population of one hundred and ninety-odd million lost 7,000,000. Thus the Soviet Union lost twelve times more lives in absolute figures, and forty-five times more in proportion to its population. Such figures should talk even in the august halls of international conclaves.

To this cost in blood must be added hundreds of thousands of square miles

of Soviet territory devastated, 6,000,000 buildings destroyed or damaged, almost 100,000 collective farms plundered, more than 35,000 industrial enterprises wrecked. The loss in livestock killed or stolen by the Germans reaches well into the fourth score of millions.

The Red Army fought over a theater of war which is several times greater than the combined European and African theaters in which the Western Allied armies fought. In this connection it must be considered that the war swept twice over the great expanse between the Western Bug and the Volga and the Barents and Black seas. This means that the sum total of movement, or maneuver, executed by the Red Army was so much greater than that executed by the Western Allies, with all that this means in terms of expenditure of human and animal effort, steel, coal, oil, rubber and all other prerequisites of modern movement.

It is a well-known fact that, with the exception of the very first weeks of the war when the Germans used about 175 divisions on the Eastern Front, their forces there never numbered less than 240 divisions. This concentration of forces was kept up over a period of almost four years.

On the other hand, the Western Al-

lies never faced more than a score of divisions apiece in Africa and Italy and when the Second Front was finally opened, they had to face a maximum of seventy German divisions in France, and this for only eleven months.

The strategic and operational pattern of the course of the war also shows that the truly decisive blows—those of Moscow, Stalingrad and Kursk, were administered to the German Army by the Red Army virtually single handed. It is enough to say that the German Army after July, 1943, was never able to take the offensive on a truly strategic scale. Its offensive power was broken for all time at the Battle of Kursk, eleven months before the landing in Normandy. It was an already beaten German Army which faced the two-front summer campaign of 1944.

This incontrovertible fact emerging from a study of the course of the war, shows that the Red Army besides bearing the main burden of the war against the principal opponent, also delivered the decisive blows to that principal opponent.

As to the war against Japan, some are inclined to claim that the Red Army did little to bring about the collapse of the Japanese. This, of course, is quite incorrect. Japan surrendered only after the Soviet Union declared war on her. The Red Army liquidated the bulk of the Japanese land forces which were concentrated in Manchuria, thus making a long drawn-out American campaign on the Asiatic mainland unnecessary. When American forces reached the very threshold of Japan in the summer of 1945, American military leadership still envisaged a long campaign in Asia. But the Red Army knocked Japan completely out in a matter of three weeks, and thus shortened the war by untold months and, perhaps, years.

All facts considered, it is difficult not to see that the Red Army played the principal and decisive role in the Second World War in its entirety.

(Continued on page 33)





## HAVE THEY FORGOTTEN

**S**PEAKING to 20,000 people in New York, Thomas Lamont declared: "Not a single man or woman in this vast audience will ever know a peaceful, stable world unless after this war Russia is our friend and ally."

In the light of the atomic bomb, with its threat of rendering the earth unlivable, one may ask: "Will we have any world at all, unless we can live in peace and amity with the Russians?"

What kind of people are these Russians? "If you really want to know," Lenin said to me 25 years ago, "don't stay in Moscow, go to the villages. That's where most of us come from." So I started up in Archangel—right after the American and British troops had left that region. Perhaps, many people have forgotten that ill-fated expedition to overthrow the new Soviet Government by force of arms. But there, black against the sky, I saw the charred timbers of the villages burned down by our American soldiers.

And yet I found the Russians har-

Top: Hero Cities whose magnificent bravery, stamina and self-sacrifice turned the tide of the war. Assault troops (center) dislodging the Germans from the ruins of Stalingrad; a not uncommon sight (left) during the grim days of the blockade of Leningrad; standing guard (right) over the battlements of Sevastopol.

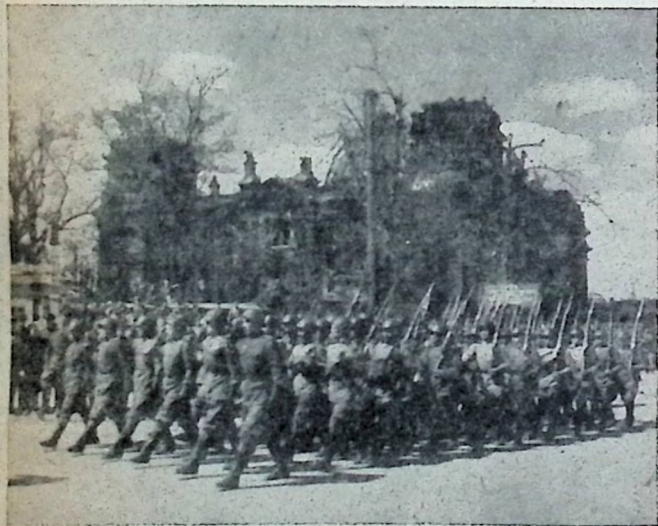
Left: The outstanding role of the Soviet army in defeating the enemy is recognized by the peoples of the entire world. Infantrymen (center) marching through Berlin, and another regiment (bottom) parade through Harbin after they disarmed and captured 55,000 Japanese.

boring no grudges. Instead they were always thanking me for the food I sent them during the famine.

American is always sure of a warm welcome in the villages. We bask in the reflected glory of our engineers who helped Russia build its giant machines and factories. Unfortunately they created the illusion that every one of us is a mechanical wizard, which is often most embarrassing to one so technically ignorant and inept as myself. Bringing forth a hopelessly broken-down tractor, the whole village would stand around confidently expecting me to fix it!

But if I couldn't do anything for them, they did a lot for me, spending their last kopek on a feast and then going for a month on a sparse diet of black bread and cabbage-soup. I found them very devoted to their children and home, with incidentally, many people owning their own homes in the United States, Britain and Canada together. Friendly, hospitable, good-natured, the Russians have a backbone at the center—there are no tough people in the world to get tough with. They have a deep pride of confidence in themselves and their culture.

"But," someone interjects, "are these also the very qualities of Americans and Canadians?" Quite so. Even in their sins and shortcomings they are much like ourselves, as they are in the sense of humor, their passion for sports







# OTTEN STALINGRAD?

by ALBERT RHYS WILLIAMS

their democratic spirit, their love of freedom. Also they are, in the fundamental meaning of the word, a profoundly religious people. Add to that their deep aversion to war; their faith in man's power to utilize science and technology to build a good society of plenty and freedom for all.

But these qualities hardly explain the powerful impact they are making today on the world. The key to that lies in the tremendous release of energies effected by the Russian Revolution. At certain periods in history, in the Crusades, our own and the French revolutions, the conquest of our own great West, there have been mighty upsurges of humanity—explosions, one might say, of the human spirit.

This is just what happened to the two hundred million people on that vast Eurasian plain—stretching from the Baltic to the Pacific. The latent talents and dormant energies of these virile, robust, and in so many ways, gifted peoples, were awakened and galvanized into action by the Revolution. Almost overnight, historically speaking, they became a dynamic nation of workers, scientists, builders—doing things deemed impossible.

"In the course of little over a decade," says the *London Economist*, "Russia made the industrial progress that in most other countries took generations." But at what cost in privation, hardship and hunger! As the Russians say: "To make iron we went on

iron rations." Even in wartime, Americans and Canadians lived a life of luxury compared to the Russians in peacetime. But through these ordeals they forged the weapons of steel and the will of steel to meet the supreme ordeal—the onslaught of the Nazi legions from the west.

In the words of President Roosevelt, they destroyed "more Nazi soldiers, planes and tanks than the rest of the United Nations together."

In surprise and gratitude a wave of admiration went out toward heroic Russia, which even included the much berated Stalin himself. You may have seen the *New Yorker* cartoon in which a club-lady with ample curves remarks to another with still more ample curves: "Just think, I never noticed before that Stalin had a dimple." But now the dimple is disappearing and they are putting on the cloven hoofs and horns again. A new relentless barrage of assaults and slanders has opened up against Soviet Russia. Of course

Right: The coalition warfare of the three great powers ultimately drove the enemy to unconditional surrender—without that coalition, the prospects for mankind would have been hopeless. With the opening of the Second Front, the Nazi forces were ground between two relentless pincers until the American and Soviet forces had their famous meeting (center) at the Elbe.

The Big Three meeting at Teheran marked a high spot in the Allied coalition warfare. It was at this meeting that Stalin and Roosevelt (bottom) met for the first time and established historic ties that the peoples of both countries seek to strengthen.





that is the price any movement or country must pay for changing the old order, loosing new ideas on the world. Listen to this broadside:

It "sets power against power, altar against altar," "fostering revolutions," "lending new strength to every conspirator," "it looses a flood of evil doctrine on Europe." Is that really true of Russia? You don't have to answer that. This assault was directed *not* against Russia, but against the United States, by Metternich, the foremost statesman of Europe in 1823. How false, unjust and vindictive it was! But no more so than the present diatribes against Russia. In the words of Walter Duranty, "No country has been so consistently lied about as Soviet Russia." Remember all those lurid tales about women being nationalized and the family broken up! Or take some more recent fears instilled into the public mind.

First, that the Soviets as "blood brothers of the Nazis" would never be fighting on our side. Then that they would fight badly—in six or eight weeks the swastika would be flying from the Kremlin towers in Moscow. Then, that bled white and exhausted, the Russians would make a separate peace with Germany. Then, that as soon as we invaded the continent, the Red Army, resting on its laurels, would not fight on to Berlin. As each fear in turn proved unfounded, they conjured up a new one. And as in the West, so in the East. Remember those "experts" who declared that Russia would never join in the war against Japan, would not evacuate Manchuria and so on.

The experts' prophecies, along with all the old myths about "inefficiency," "slave psychology," "disunity" and all the rest, were exploded in the course of the war. Now these same reactionary commentators along with the Hearsts and McCormicks, backed by certain sections of Big Business, are at it again, drumming up new fears by distorting the facts, putting every Soviet move in the worst light.

In this poisoned atmosphere, how can the public rightly appraise the moot questions of the day, from Soviet insistence on adherence to the Potsdam pact to their demand for warm-water ports for their landlocked country. What are the merits or demerits of these claims? In Poland and the Balkans the great estates of the feudal landlords are being transferred to the impoverished peasants. Is that less im-

portant than what we call "free, unfettered elections" in these countries which never had them? To what extent should we go along with Russia? The difficulties of finding answers to all today's complex international questions are immeasurably increased by those sinister forces who are bent on fomenting suspicion and hatred of the Soviets.

Then they assail the Soviets for being aloof, secretive and suspicious! This from the same sources which in their folly and madness are even calling for war on Russia, seeking to invent some incident to provoke it.

War against Russia! Have they forgotten all those great armies—like Napoleon's—swallowed up in the endless spaces and snows of Russia? Have they forgotten Stalingrad? Could they do what Hitler with the mightiest military machine of all time, at the peak of its power failed to do? Are they ready, after atom-bombing the cities of Russia, to pulverize Rome and Paris which in the event of war would certainly be occupied by the Soviet Army? Are the Russians less gifted as inventors? With thousands of trained scientists, and hundreds of research institutes, Russia might well produce weapons more deadly even than the atomic bomb. That means either mutual annihilation or, at best, another Thirty- or Hundred-Years War.

The whole idea is preposterous, suicidal, stupid, silly. And so is much talking about it. It only holds back the real business of the hour—the making of an enduring peace. Peace is what the war-stricken world wants, what all sane people want, what our soldiers fought and died for. And *no* people in the world want peace more fervently than the Russians.

That is why they backed the almost frantic efforts of Litvinov at Geneva for disarmament and collective security. But they got neither. They got a war in which they suffered more casualties than the United States and Canada together in all our wars during our entire history. Above all, the Russians want to restore their devastated

land. It is to this colossal task they would give all their minds and energies. That is why they are so obsessed by security. If we desire a friendly government in Argentina 4,000 miles away, why should they not want friends along their frontiers—those frontiers across which twice in a generation have come the pillaging, slaying hordes from the west.

Of course the Russians know full well the atomic bomb makes any idea of security through strategic frontiers or armament ridiculous. No nation can be secure unless all are secure. The only hope of humanity is in world organization. It is either catastrophe or a union of all the peoples and nations of this planet. To achieve this we must turn away from those who so disastrously misled us about Russia in the past, from slanders, recriminations and negation, to that positive attitude enjoined upon us by Saint Paul: "Whosoever is of *good* report, think on these things."

Recall the report of General Eisenhower that he found in Russia a consuming desire for peace, "a desperate and continuing concern for the lot of the common man." Think of the countless American and Canadian boys alive today, thanks to the Russians. Consider how faithfully they discharged every obligation during the last war. Recall how in every crisis when our existence as a nation was threatened, Russia has always been on our side. Recall the words of Ambassador Davies about "no nation having a finer record of living up to its promises than Soviet Russia." Recall that in all its transactions with America, involving hundreds of millions of dollars, it never defaulted on a penny. Mark well that fundamentally in the realm of economics and trade we are not rivals, but complementary to one another.

Keep in mind that in character and outlook on life the Russians are essentially *like* us and they have a great *liking* for us. They have, too, a profound feeling of kinship and solidarity with all humanity. Eliminating the old racial and national hatreds and antagonism in Russia, 189 different peoples speaking 150 different languages are working together in peace and harmony. Together, in a like spirit of mutual confidence and respect we can create a world without war; a world in which the atom will work *for* and not *against* mankind; where all peoples alike have their places in the sun.

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# Stalin on World Cooperation

FOLLOWING is the text of Joseph Stalin's answers to questions put by the Moscow correspondent of the *London Sunday Times*, Alexander Werth, on September 17, 1946.

*Q. Do you believe that there is a real danger of a "new war," about which at the present time there is so much irresponsible talk throughout the world? What steps should be taken for prevention of war if such a danger exists?*

A. I do not believe there is real danger of a "new war." There is clamor of a "new war" made at present mainly by military-political adventurers and their few supporters among civilian officials. They find it necessary to make this noise only to:

a. Frighten with the specter of war certain naive politicians from among their opponents, and thereby help their governments to extract more concessions from these opponents.

b. Prevent for some time the cutting of the military budgets of their countries.

c. Check demobilization of troops and thereby prevent the rapid growth of unemployment in their countries.

One must differentiate strictly between the uproar about a "new war" which is being spread today, and the real danger of a "new war," which does not exist at the present time.

*Q. Do you believe that Great Britain and the United States of America are consciously creating "a capitalist encirclement" of the Soviet Union?*

A. I think that the ruling circles of Great Britain and the United States could not create "a capitalist encirclement" of the Soviet Union even if they wanted to, which however I cannot assert.

*Q. Speaking in the words which Henry Wallace used in his last speech, can England, western Europe and the United States be assured that Soviet policy in Germany will not be turned into a weapon of Russian efforts directed against western Europe?*

A. I believe that utilization of Germany by the Soviet Union against western Europe and the United States of America is out of the question. I believe it is out of the question not only because the Soviet Union is bound by a treaty of mutual assistance with Great Britain and France against German aggression, and with the United States of America by the decisions of the Potsdam Conference of the Big Three powers, but also because a policy of utilization of Germany against western Europe and the United States of America would mean a departure of the Soviet Union from its fundamental national interests.

Briefly speaking, the policy of the Soviet Union on the German question amounts to the demilitarization and

democratization of the German nation. I think that the demilitarization and democratization of Germany represents one of the most important guarantees for the establishment of a sound and lasting peace.

*Q. What is your opinion on the accusation that the policy of Communist parties of western Europe is "dictated by Moscow?"*

A. This accusation I believe to be absurd, borrowed from the bankrupt arsenal of Hitler and Goebbels.

*Q. Do you believe in the possibility of friendly and lasting cooperation between the Soviet Union and the western democracies despite the existence of ideological differences of opinion, and in the "friendly competition" between the systems, of which Wallace spoke in his speech?*

A. Yes, unconditionally.

*Q. During the sojourn in Moscow of the British Labor Party delegation, you, as I understand it, expressed belief in the possibility of friendly relations between the Soviet Union and Great Britain. What would help in the establishment of such relations, which are so eagerly desired by the broad masses of the British people?*

A. I am indeed convinced of the possibility of friendly relations between the Soviet Union and Great Britain. Establishment of such relations would be considerably facilitated by strengthening political, trade and cultural relations between these countries.

## We Are Judged by What We Do to Them

A Message from HELEN KELLER

ALTHOUGH we are advanced but a short distance towards peace, yet there are solid grounds for faith to celebrate the 29th anniversary of the USSR. May its founding ever be hailed as a new day-star of healing influences dawning upon man's strife-blurred vision!

Upon American-Soviet friendship rests one of our best chances to pilot a course between the Scylla of self-centred nationalism and the Charybdis of crushing empire absolutism. Its labors of enlightenment are vital in undeceiving those among the American people who think our only safety is to keep half the globe, formidably armed during peace, and in rending apart the dreadful weirs of imperialistic greed, fear and misunderstanding towards which we and other nations are apparently heading as fish for atomic bomb slaughter. For the first time in history war aggression has been placed before all men on the code of ethics as an inexpiable crime, and I tremble under the searchlight turned upon America with its huge military budget, its undeniable bomb stockpiles and the effort to multiply its air bases

*Q. Do you believe that the speediest possible withdrawal of all American troops from China is vitally necessary for future peace?*

A. Yes, I do.

*Q. Do you believe that the virtual monopoly possession of the atomic bomb by the United States of America is one of the principal threats to peace?*

A. I do not believe the atomic bomb to be so serious a force as certain politicians are inclined to consider it. The atomic bombs are intended to frighten the weak-nerved, but they cannot decide the outcome of war, since atomic bombs are by no means sufficient for this purpose.

Certainly, monopolist possession of the secret of the atomic bomb does create a threat, but at least two remedies exist against it:

a. Monopolist possession of the atomic bomb cannot last long;

b. Use of the atomic bomb will be prohibited.

*Q. Do you believe that with the further progress of the Soviet Union toward communism the possibilities for peaceful cooperation with the rest of the world will not decrease insofar as the Soviet Union is concerned? Is "communism in one country" possible?*

A. I do not doubt that the possibilities for peaceful cooperation, far from decreasing, may even grow. "Communism in one country" is fully possible, especially in such a country as the Soviet Union.

even among countries that are friendly.

Confidence is what human nature needs for ennoblement, and confidence is what modern nations need to accomplish genuine democracy and deliver earth from want, terror and ignorance. The issue is so crucial now—"One world or none"—that it calls forth a million tongues in a voice of steel, reverberating with the penalties which will be visited upon the spokesmen on either side that violate their mission of well-doing unto all peoples. Only by fostering mutual trust can America and Russia achieve a common principle of action to meet this inescapable responsibility.

What touches us here is not subordinate boundary issues or even the practice of daily provocation along the frontiers of Europe and Asia. What concerns us is rather the recoil of opinion in the commonwealth of letters and history if the future must record that during America's greatest glory a ruthless, dictatorial foreign policy was pursued against an Ally who, all authorities admit, underwent the most appalling sacrifice of lives and property, tearing open its breast, so to speak, to save its



own and other peoples, as the pelican does when unable to find food for its young. It is precisely because Russia has assumed a colossal role, beset by grievous temptations and the blunders to which the wisdom of mortals is liable, that it can worthily be accorded forbearance. No undertaking to secure co-operation and confidence between us and other nations is beyond our courage when we remember that we are judged by what we do unto them, and not mere-

ly by the principles that we advocate. American-Soviet friendship is a priceless means to lift disputes of two powerful, high-mettled races to a higher ground and test them by an ungainsayable verity—the safety of each land in the working fellowship of all. Therefore it should have the heartiest support in its endeavors to promote conciliation with the USSR and a beneficent inter-government administration of human affairs.

## ***I Was With Friends Every Moment***

*A Message from* **MRS. LAFELL DICKINSON**

*President of the General Federation of Women's Clubs*

**I** HAVE never known greater friendliness than I found in Soviet Russia. Representatives of VOKS—the USSR Society for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries—were our official hosts. They asked us where we wanted to go and what we wanted to see. We visited Moscow, Leningrad, Stalingrad, Minsk and Tbilisi in Georgia. Tbilisi, in beautiful South Russia untouched by war, afforded the reassurance we needed after seeing such terrible devastation as exists in Minsk and Stalingrad. In these cities the people suffering from great loss of life and homes were rebuilding slowly.

Everywhere, I wandered freely about the streets, in the parks and shops, and talked with the women and children. Always the women entreated me to tell American women that the Russians do not want war and that they want friendship with the Western powers.

In Leningrad, I went to the Orthodox Church. (Here, as in all gatherings, the people would quickly "make way for the Americans.") There were many young people in the packed church as

well as many men and women in uniform. Dr. Louie D. Newton, a Baptist clergyman in our party, preached every Sunday we were in Russia.

The Soviet is wonderful to its children. In the orphans' camps, the children thanked us for their plain little clothes that had come from America, as they clung as long as possible to a friendly hand. The women work very hard—cleaning streets, repairing high buildings, and on the collective farms. But they appear happy. All the people appear happy under their form of government which I feel is working things out for them. I do not want Communists nor Communism here, and I think in years to come the Soviet Government will be similar to ours now. We do not understand the Russian people. We may never understand them. But still we can be friends. The most important thing in the world today is friendship—friendship among all nations, friendship among the Soviet Union, Great Britain and the United States. Yes, I felt I was among friends every moment I was in the USSR.

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# An Analysis of Prokofiev

A review by MARC BLITZSTEIN

SERGEI PROKOFIEV: His Musical Life, by Israel V. Nestyev. Published by Alfred A. Knopf, New York, 1946. 193 pp. \$3.00

THE Nestyev book on Prokofiev is very well worth the reading, as much for the information contained as for the complete and succinct analyses of the master's works. There is also a wonderfully typical preface by Sergei Eisenstein, revealing, as did the Soviet director's *The Film Sense*, that vivid, incoherent picture of Eisenstein's mind which always emerges from his prose. I find myself occasionally irritated by Eisenstein's almost-mystical insistence on correlaries in different art-media—here he makes the consonants "P-r-k-f-v" analogous to the composer's clean cut punctual thrusting musical style—but I am nonetheless fascinated by the impressions and ideas pitchforked into his piece.

There will be few, I think, among those who already see music and art generally within a social context, who will disagree with Nestyev's main thesis. The real Prokofiev, says Nestyev, is the one who comes out of the later years, fructified and nourished by deep contact with the pulsing reality of Soviet life. This is the genuine, because *total*, revolutionary, who far surpasses the solely artistic insurgent Prokofiev of the wandering émigré twenties. Nestyev's second point emphasizes the lyrical nature of Prokofiev's gift; and it is about time that this aspect was brought home to American readers and audiences, who think of him chiefly as the composer of "Pas d'Acier," "Chout," and the hackneyed March from "The Love Of Three Oranges." Certainly the Second Violin Concerto, the ballet "Romeo and Juliet," the Fifth Symphony, and the film music for "Alexander Nevsky" show a mature equilibrated composer doing a positive and historic job. And the sorry sight of still-expatriated Russian composers, who have established no communication with the tremendous world-shaking developments in their homeland, and writ-

ing their piddling academic or destructive pieces, clinches the proof, if proof were needed. I think Nestyev fails in one important point: he nowhere takes into account the dual nature of music and art, whereby the technical and esthetic line of growth must be balanced and coordinated with the content-line. The stranglehold Wagner still had on both the craft- and substance-elements of Occidental music through the first quarter of the century, was resisted and finally offset by a series of works, no one of which bulks large in that Time-and-Tarnish test history affords, but all honorably concerned with clearing away debris; small works, grotesque or mannered or *caractéristique* in essence, drastically bare and thin in instrumental texture, striking in rhythm, with melody conspicuously absent, and harmony largely experimental. Stravinsky, Prokofiev, the Six, Bartok, Satie, Hindemith all played significant roles in this "revolution," and it is not without point to cite the young Shostakovich, who never left the Soviet Union, also impregnated with a wry static conception of music-making, while this prophylactic process was going on.

The period now, in the USSR, is musically one of clear consolidation; the technical experiments filtered down, the sand discarded; for Soviet composers, it is only a question of individual talent; the soil and the conditions are right. In almost every other place, it is the lot of composers to be 1) conformist—absorbed more or less into the reactionary superstructures of a reactionary and decaying set of values; 2) non-conformist, struggling and protesting such reactionism; or 3) actually heralding, in the way that all art has the capacity of heralding, the possibilities of a new upsurge and a new society. The USSR, and indeed the world, has the inestimable luck of having, in the person and the music of Prokofiev, a master at the height of his resources, dynamically rooted in, and joined to, the most forward-looking social basis of his day and age.

## Three Books for Children

A review by JERROLD BEIM

CHUKCHI HUNTER, by Dorothy Stall. Illustrated by George F. Mason. Published by William Morrow and Company, New York, 1946. 224 pp. \$2.00.

AT first glance *Chukchi Hunter* looks like just one more "Eskimo" book for boys and girls. But one does not have to get much beyond the author's research credits to realize that Dorothy Stall has devoted years of study to her subject and has written an unusual book about the people who live near the top of the world on the eastern tip of Siberia.

Ankat is an eleven-year-old boy in a remote village of "sea hunters" where very few ideas of the *tangi*, white men,

have penetrated. With a swift narrative pace that will hold young readers enthralled, Ankat's hard existence and his aspirations to be a walrus hunter are sharply drawn. But at a point where many others would be content to deal in strictly personal terms concerning young Ankat, Miss Stall tells of his relationship with the villagers and with the Russian trader Boris who brings the new ideas which lead to many exciting adventures for Ankat.

The shaman, or witch doctor, is against the villagers forming a *kolkhoz*, pooling their tools and abilities to improve their lot. Boris also tells of the wonderful outboard motor which some of the tribes-

men want but the followers of the shaman do not. Ankat's father makes the perilous trip for the motor and it is Ankat, himself, who goes alone into the tundra to find his missing father when the search seems hopeless. Ankat finally becomes a hunter with a new way of living open to him and his fellow men, as Miss Stall so effectively concludes:

"Let the north wind howl now. Let the sun disappear. Let the ice close in and block up the sea. Let oceans of snow swoop down over the sleeping grey tents of the Chukchi hunters. For the meat pits are full, there is oil for the lamps and the *tangi* have come to live with them as brothers."

THE TALE OF THE FLY, by Vitaly Bianchi. Translation by N. Orloff. Illustrations by Y. Vassnetsov. Published by Colonial House, Philadelphia, 1946. \$1.00.

TALES OF AN OLD SIBERIAN TRAPPER, by Vitaly Bianchi. Translated by N. Orloff. Illustrated by Y. Vassnetsov. Published by Colonial House, Philadelphia, 1946. \$1.50.

THESE two books translated from the Russian are published by a company new to this reviewer. But their intent is made clear by the noteworthy imprint, "Books of the World for America."

The *Tale of the Fly* is a charming story adapted from folklore concerning a fly who is unhappy because he does not have a beautiful tail. An old woodsman tells him that he might have the tail of anyone who does not need it. The fly goes from one animal, bird, and reptile to another asking for their tails. Not only does the fly learn for just what purpose each has a tail, but so will the amused child from four to ten and I must confess that in some cases, so, for the first time, did I.

*Tales of an Old Siberian Trapper* are stories that have been handed down through the years telling how different animals came to have their characteristic markings and habits—how the chipmunk got his stripes and why the beaver makes a dam. In some cases the reasons are true, in others they are sheer fable. Fables and superstitions as in this second volume are not widely encouraged for young readers these days and one hopes it is the publisher's intention to bring more modern and pertinent stories of the world to American boys and girls, too.

Both volumes are richly illustrated.

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# FROM OUR READERS



## Why Not on News-stands

To SOVIET RUSSIA TODAY:

How come that you have cut off sending your magazine to news-stands here in Centralia, Washington, and Olympia, Washington. I tried to get one extra copy for my neighbor but the news dealer told me that the magazine wasn't worth reading. So I told him the magazine contained more facts than one hundred trash magazines he had on his book shelves.

*Jake O. Salo.*

Centralia, Wash.

## On the Propaganda Side?

To SOVIET RUSSIA TODAY:

There is so much unfounded and malicious anti-Russian propaganda that I like to get at least something on the other side. I do not get all of your magazine read, and sometimes I think it is a little on the propaganda side. But I know much of the propaganda against Russia is malicious and not based on understanding of the situation, so I like to keep the information your magazine gives me.

*Harold E. Covey.*

Philip, S. D.

## Praise for Jerome Davis

To SOVIET RUSSIA TODAY:

I would like to bring to the attention of your readers a book by Dr. Jerome Davis, entitled "Behind Soviet Power—Stalin and the Russians" (reviewed in the October issue of SRT—*Ed.*). This book is published by the Readers Press, Inc., 220 Fifth Avenue, New York City. The first edition is paper covered and costs only one dollar. Jerome Davis had been in Russia doing war prisoner work under the International YMCA for over a year when I arrived in Petrograd in the summer of 1917. After the Soviet Revolution had taken power in Petrograd for some week or so, he came to my headquarters at the Hotel Europe,

and told me that he was very much interested in what he had seen of my views regarding the Soviet Revolution and its leaders. He said that all he had been associated with in his War-Prisoner work, thought very differently from my views, and that none the less he believed I was right. He gave me a number of facts of value too, as to the Tsarist officials and the Greek Catholic leaders, and some of the Provisional Government officials as well. He took a courageous position from then on, and was recalled for his support of my contentions as to the character and purposes of the Soviet leaders. When he returned to America he suffered the same misrepresentation and condemnation that I had experienced on my return. But Jerome Davis *kept the faith*—which very few did under fire. His book is easily the most informing as to Stalin and, regardless of what one may think of him, he is the most experienced and powerful personality in the political and economic life of this our World.

*Raymond Robins.*

Brooksville, Florida

## Joyful Discovery

To SOVIET RUSSIA TODAY:

I have only recently discovered SRT, and the joy I felt in knowing that there was at least one periodical which did justice to our Soviet allies was enormous. Keep up your fine work.

*Pvt. John R. Forbes.*

Fort Myer, Va.

## The Russians Read Burns

To SOVIET RUSSIA TODAY:

As a reader of SRT I was interested in reading about your experience in Russia. In one of your articles you mention quite a long list of authors and poets that are read by the Russians. But I, as a Scot, was disappointed at not finding the name

of our great national poet, Robert Burns. I am sending you some pages of the Glasgow *Forward* in which you will see an excerpt from *Pravda* giving the Soviet tribute to Burns. It says that Burns has millions of readers in the Soviet Union.

*Robert Logie.*

Staten Island, New York

## An Ex-Serviceman

To SOVIET RUSSIA TODAY:

For a number of years before I left for the service I was a subscriber to *Soviet Russia Today*. Now that I am a civilian again, I would like to renew my subscription which I missed so very much during my service years.

In closing would like to add that it is a real joy to read about the real growth of a great country like the Soviet Union.

*David Edovitz.*

Winthrop, Mass.

## FRAME-UP OF A NATION

(Continued from page 16)

Fortunately the *Times* does not have too much method in its madness. For almost every day there appear in its news columns interesting and informative dispatches from Soviet Russia, Poland, Yugoslavia or Czechoslovakia that tear the "iron curtain" theory into shreds. And on September 24, the *Times* ran a story about a thirteen-day trip of five American newspaper correspondents, including Drew Middleton of the *Times*, through the devastated Ukrainian and White Russian Republics.

I have mentioned only a few items in the current campaign to discredit the Soviet Union in the minds of the American people. It would be possible to cite literally hundreds of other samples. In the United States it is a well-known principle of law that a defendant is considered innocent until proved guilty. In respect to the Soviet Union our press has reversed this principle with a vengeance, in effect adopting the rule that the defendant is guilty no matter how many times proved innocent.

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You have read the statement by Michael Sayers and Albert E. Kahn, authors of *The Great Conspiracy Against Russia*, on our frontispiece (opposite page 5). To support Soviet Russia Today is to fortify American-Soviet friendship and thus strengthen the basis of world security. Because of drastic increased costs, we urgently need funds to assure our very existence as well as to enable us to bring to thousands of additional homes throughout America the FACTS about the Soviet Union. A true picture of that great country will provide honest people with the means of arming themselves against those who would foment another world war. Help us to raise a fund of \$25,000, urgently needed to continue this work and to expand our influence.

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## **WORTH PONDERING**

### **US-USSR Trade Union Committee Meets**

**W**HAT it means when the peoples of the USA and the USSR get together and discuss their common interests and their common problems was exemplified in the recent first meeting of the American-Soviet Trade Union Committee, held in Washington in connection with the meeting of the Executive Bureau of the World Federation of Trade Unions. Trade union leaders of the two countries easily found a common language, because they found they have common interests. Behind the CIO leaders who participated are the 6,000,000 workers organized in CIO unions and, in fact, millions of AFL workers who do not share the reactionary anti-Soviet sentiments of their leaders. Behind the Soviet representatives are the 27,000,000 members of the Soviet trade unions. None know better than these workers the importance of continuing in the peace the unity that meant the defeat of fascism in the war. The American-Soviet Trade Union Committee decided further to cement the friendship between the peoples of the two countries by the exchange of delegations from separate unions. At the end of the Committee's meeting CIO President Philip Murray and Secretary Mikhail Tarasov, of the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions of the USSR, issued the following joint statement:

"The bonds of friendship between the organized workers of the United States and the Soviet Union were forged in the recent war and resulting victory over the fascist forces. We are determined to maintain and strengthen this friendship.

"We have had a full discussion covering the structure, current developments and activities on the part of organized labor in our respective countries. Our talks have added strength to our common efforts to improve the standard of living of the working people and to assure the full enjoyment of democratic rights and liberties.

"The working people of the two great nations, the United States and the Soviet Union which have defended their liberty and independence, are determined to have peace, and will combat and expose the efforts of all reactionary forces to sow seeds of disunity among the peoples."

### **No Talk of War in the USSR**

**E**DDY GILMORE of the *Associated Press*, back in Moscow after a five months' absence, reports in the *New York Herald Tribune*, October 12, that the Russians are genuinely startled at the reports of war talk from abroad.

"But why?" they asked him in amazement. "Why does anyone in the world think Russia could possibly be interested in war? Can't you see here all about you there's no thought of war, no mention of it?"

Mr. Gilmore says not only is that true but there is great talk about peace, about

gigantic plans for the future, about better living conditions, new jobs, new clothes, apartments and furniture, but above all—about the new soccer season now in full swing.

Exploring beyond this seasonal interest, Mr. Gilmore concludes:

"There are no signs of war jitters here. There is every indication of peace and long-term plans for peace.

"Russia is getting back on her feet after a terrible war—but slowly, for she is grievously hurt. . . .

"There is more confidence than I have ever seen before in Russia by Russians—confidence in the government and the men at the head.

"There is an after-war soul searching, a self-examination of national life, wrongly interpreted in some quarters abroad as an internal weakness. It is not this at all, but the fact that Russia now has more time to look after things that she did not have time for during the war.

"It is ridiculous to interpret such things as criticism of collective farms, music, drama, poetry, architecture—in fact, all the arts—as a purge, for it is nothing of the sort."

Finally, regarding the sentiments of the Soviet people toward the United States and Great Britain, Mr. Gilmore writes:

"There is no anti-American or anti-British feeling as such here. There are articles of criticism in the Russian press and radio about the United States and Britain, but I would be a very untruthful reporter if I did not say that there is three to five times as much anti-Russian sentiment in the American and British press and on the radio as there is here against those two countries. I have heard no one here express a desire for war with the United States or Britain or both, which is more than I can say of what I heard at home and in England."

### **In the Soviet Zone in Germany**

**K**LAUS MANN, son of the great Thomas Mann, describes a thousand-mile trip through the Soviet-occupied zone of Germany, in an article in *This Week* of October 13. He freely interviewed German politicians and workers, school teachers, housewives, peasants, newspaper editors, mayors, priests, Russian Military Government officials and Russian and American plain soldiers.

He found food rations higher than in other parts of occupied Germany, although many of the people looked less well fed because of the almost complete absence of a Black Market.

All the Germans to whom he talked admitted that the conduct of the occupation troops had been satisfactory. He found the lesser Nazis more easily forgiven than in the other zones, but not so the big shots. He found the Socialist Unity Party not at all the Soviet-inspired maneuver it is painted. Otto Buchwitz,

leader of the Socialist-Communist front in Saxony, told him:

"As if we needed the Russians to tell us that we German anti-Fascists are all in the same boat and had better stick together! It was in Nazi jails and concentration camps that Germans of both parties came to realize the necessity of collaboration. Had we only understood that before, the whole Nazi disaster might have been avoided! It is *not* our purpose to impose Communism on the German nation. The immediate task confronting all of us, here in the Russian zone as in the other areas, is a twofold one: reconstruction of the spirit of democracy and the extermination of the last vestige of Nazism."

Mr. Mann found that Russian support had been especially constructive in encouraging the revival of German liberal culture in all its aspects. He found no signs of Marxist propaganda in the many public schools visited.

Mr. Mann dismissed the present fear of a Soviet-German bloc as far-fetched and premature—"the average Russian would simply laugh off the idea of waging war, together with Germany, against the United States." The Russians, he said, like the Americans and seemed unaware of the anti-Russian feeling in America.

They heard almost the same words from some American soldiers who had been stationed in the Russian zone for the past six months. Asked how they were getting on with the Russians the Yanks answered in chorus:

"Never any hard feelings between us. . . . They never give us any trouble. . . . Pretty good Joes, most of them. And they're doing a fine job!"

And another GI, a young fellow from the Middle West, shrugged his shoulders contemptuously and said:

"Those krauts must be nuts or something—thinking there will be a war between the Russkis and us. What an idea! I don't know much about politics, but I do know the Russkis. Nothing wrong with them, as far as I can see. So why the hell should we fight each other?"

---

## **Together we shall preserve the peace**

And so I say that though Roosevelt is gone, his spirit still lives and as long as he lives in the hearts of his countrymen there will be peace with Russia and such an accord between its people and ours, that together we shall preserve the peace of the world.

Henry A. Wallace, in "Soviet Asia Mission"

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# YOUR QUESTIONS ANSWERED

by THEODORE BAYER

## On Soviet "Commercial" Stores

**Question:** Will you please explain what is meant by commercial stores in the USSR? We see in the press that the prices in these stores are very high compared to prices in other outlets. Are these stores privately owned, and is there no ceiling on prices? F. W., Albany, Ga.

**Answer:** The so-called "commercial stores" in the USSR are government-owned outlets and the prices they charge to the public are regulated. These stores are not allowed to charge more than the ceiling price. These commercial stores are so called in distinction to the stores where the Soviet customer can buy all the goods and foodstuffs entitled by the ration card. The Soviet consumer buys most of the goods and foodstuffs used by the individual and the family in the ration stores which provide for the necessities of life at very low prices, well within the budget of the individual and family of lower and average earnings.

In view of the fact that there still is, as a result of the war, a great shortage of goods above the bare necessities, the Soviet Government has put such available goods as there are, even though they are insufficient for general rationing, into stores where the higher income groups of skilled workers, technicians, professionals, and artists, can with their surplus money buy additional goods which are priced much higher than the rationed goods.

One must bear in mind that in the Soviet Union where there is a differential in incomes on the basis of quality and quantity of work performed, some of the people have larger money incomes than others. Competition on the part of the buyer for goods that are scarce could, if allowed free play, create inflationary pressures or black market speculation. To prevent that, and yet meet the understandable desire to use available cash to buy extra goods or luxury items, the Soviet Union has put whatever extra merchandise there is into these "commercial" stores. This measure has been successful to date in preventing speculation or black marketing. At the same time it has permitted the Soviet Union to regulate even this market.

In the last year because of the gradual reappearance of articles of merchandise and foodstuffs that were scarce, the prices in these stores have been reduced several times. The last reduction—about two months ago—amounted to as much as forty per cent on a large variety of articles. Counterwise, prices in ration stores on some commodities were recent-

ly increased, closing further the gap between the prices in the two different outlets. It is hoped that with the success of reconstruction, and the advance of the Five-Year Plan, the consumer goods industries will catch up to the point where the rationed products at low prices will reduce the turnover in commercial stores to a very insignificant role.

One additional effect of the forthright facing of the problem of distributing scarce commodities to the public at high prices in a regulated market has been the draining off of surplus cash back to the State Bank and the government budget, checking inflationary tendencies.

Besides the rationed goods outlets and the commercial stores, there is also another market, mainly for foodstuffs, where the collective farmers dispose of their surplus goods directly to the consumer. The prices charged at the regulated commercial stores have a direct bearing on the prices paid in these bazaars as they would perforce have to compete with the ceiling prices established for the commercial stores. Thus, again the prices established for the so-called commercial stores protect a strata of consumers much wider than those with higher incomes who buy in the commercial stores.

## On the Catholic Church

**Question:** Is there any truth to the allegation that the Roman Catholic faith and the Catholic Church are being persecuted in the USSR? If so, what is the reason for it? E. B., Hollywood, Calif.

**Answer:** There is absolutely no truth in this allegation that the Catholics or the Catholic Church are treated differently from any of the other churches, religions or denominations. According to the Soviet Constitution there is complete separation between church and state. At the same time there is complete equality of the standing of all the churches before the law. Although the Catholic Church up to the beginning of World War II represented perhaps the smallest of the church minorities, the religious functions of the church were not interfered with.

When the Latvian, Lithuanian and Estonian republics joined the USSR, the total Catholic minority increased. No exact figure as to how many Soviet citizens are of the Catholic faith is available at the present time. A figure of eight million has been suggested by the Vatican.

It is common knowledge that when part of liberated Poland entered the USSR as well as when the Baltic Republics joined the Soviet Union, the Soviet authorities were very solicitous in protecting the legitimate functions of the church. A certain accommodation on the part of the ecclesiastical authorities of

the Catholic Church to the Soviet way of life, primarily in the matter of the separation of state and church, and the independence of the educational system from the church, was of course necessary. This has been successfully achieved and there is no complaint on the part of Catholic laity regarding the state and church relationship there.

However, the Catholic hierarchy, particularly the Vatican political authorities and commentators, have been in the vanguard of anti-Soviet propaganda and have used the alleged persecution of the Catholic Church to prejudice relations of the Soviet Union with other Catholic countries, particularly Poland, and as a matter of fact they have attacked the Polish government for its friendship with the Soviet Union.

To the degree that the Vatican is not only the seat of the Roman Catholic Church but is also a political state which maintains political relationships with other states and with the Roman Catholic churches in other countries (a system that comes into conflict with the separation of the church and state in the Soviet Union), the Vatican feels that its special prerogatives have been denied. Whatever resolution this special problem may have in the future, the fact that the Vatican inspires stories about non-existing persecution of the Catholic Church by the Soviet authorities is certainly not a contribution to a solution.

The millions of Catholics living in the Soviet Union certainly cannot be expected to believe things which are contrary to their daily experience, and the Catholic masses the world over will sooner or later be convinced by the experience of Catholics in the Soviet Union, rather than by propaganda, no matter how cleverly conceived.

## On Marshal Zhukov

**Question:** I hear statements that Marshal Zhukov has been demoted because of friendship for the United States. What is the truth in this matter? J. L. B., Rochester, New York.

**Answer:** Since Marshal Zhukov has not been demoted, the reason alleged for this would-be demotion is unimportant and can be dismissed as pure invention. Any demotion of a military person would mean giving the person involved a rank lower than the one previously held. This, of course, is not the case with Marshal Zhukov.

Marshal Zhukov has been transferred from his post of occupational authority in the Soviet occupied zone in Germany, which is not an active military duty, to the post of commander of perhaps the largest and certainly the most important military area of the USSR.



## THE ROOSEVELT ROAD TO PEACE

(Continued from page 9)

these areas into bastions of anti-Soviet power. The President of the United States has given his blessing to Winston Churchill's Anti-Comintern crusade and has dismissed from his Cabinet the only member who has dared to say that America should seek peace, rather than war, with Russia.

Under these circumstances it is a public service of the highest order and a potent contribution to the best hopes of men to recall to public attention what F.D.R. actually did and said and stood for. Such a service has been rendered by Elliott Roosevelt in a notable and striking book which all Americans owe it to themselves to read. Its title: *As He Saw It*. Its Foreword: by Eleanor Roosevelt. Its publisher: Duell, Sloan and Pearce, New York, 1946. Its price: \$3.00. Its author: that one of F.D.R.'s four sons who "didn't go to Harvard" and who, thanks to his marital and business misadventures, has been most violently abused in the American press and honored with scurrilous condemnations from Westbrook Pegler, George Sokolsky, Paul Mallon and

other self-appointed guardians of public rectitude.

Although the book presents Elliott Roosevelt in a new light, this was, it seems to me, no real part of its purpose. These pages are intended as a tribute, dedicated "to all those who believed in my father," and as a contribution to public understanding of what F.D.R. believed in and hoped for. Eleanor Roosevelt writes: "This book gives one observer's first hand account of what went on at the major conferences and will provide future historians with some of the material which will constitute the final evaluation of history." Hostile critics will be quick to point out that the book is not well written, is somewhat simple-minded and is occasionally inaccurate on background facts. Yet the result is unquestionably an invaluable contribution to our knowledge of the world politics of yesterday and today. Elliott Roosevelt, on leave from his military duty, accompanied his father at Argentina, Casablanca, Cairo and Teheran and learned much of what went on at Yalta.

He has here presented the record from his notes and his recollections. He was moved to do so, he says, by "Churchill's speech at Fulton;" by "the growing stockpile of American atom bombs;" and by "all the signs of growing disunity among the leading nations of the world, all the broken promises, all the renascent power politics of greedy and desperate imperialism."

Many of these pages consist of reconstructed conversations. Such reconstructions are rightly suspect, save where other evidence corroborates the account. Such, happily, is the case with most of the material here presented. Among the more significant judgments attributed by Elliott to F.D.R. are the following:

Winnie has one supreme mission in life, but only one. He's a perfect wartime Prime Minister. His one big job is to see that Britain survives this war. . . . But Winston Churchill lead England after the War? It'd never work.

De Gaulle is out to achieve one-man government in France. I can't imagine a man I would distrust more.

I'm afraid we're leaning on a very slender reed (i.e. Giraud). This is the man that Bob Murphy said the French would rally around! He's a dud as an

## LET'S PLAN FOR PEACE

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Ben Goldstein



administrator, he'll be a dud as a leader!

Our alliance with Britain holds dangers of making it seem to China and Russia that we support wholly the British line in international politics. . . . The United States will have to *lead* . . . and use our good offices always to conciliate, help to solve the differences which will arise between the others. . . . We will be able to do that because we're big, and we're strong, and we're self-sufficient. Britain is on the decline, China—still in the eighteenth century. Russia—suspicious of us, and making us suspicious of her. America is the only great power that can make peace in the world stick. It's a tremendous responsibility and the only way we can start leading up to it is by getting to talk with these men, face-to-face.

Chiang's troops aren't fighting at all—despite the reports that get printed in the papers. He claims his troops aren't trained, and have no equipment—and that's easy to believe. But it doesn't explain why he's been trying so hard to keep Stilwell from training Chinese troops. And it doesn't explain why he keeps thousands and thousands of his best men up in the northwest—up on the borders of Red China. . . . I told him he would have to form a unity government, *while the war was still being fought*, with the Communists in Yenan. And he agreed. He agreed, contingently. He agreed to the formation of a democratic government once he had our assurance that the Soviet Union would agree to respect the frontier in Manchuria.

Stalin? . . . He's got a kind of massive rumble, talks deliberately, seems very confident, very sure of himself, moves slowly—altogether quite impressive, I'd say. . . . I'm sure we'll hit it off. . . . A great deal of the misunderstandings and the mistrusts of the past are going to get cleared up during the next few days—I hope once and for all. As for Uncle Joe and Winston, well. . . . Our principle job was to come to agreement as to what constitutes the area of general security, in the postwar world, for each of our countries. That job is still before us, but we've made a start on it.

Whenever the P.M. argued for our invasion through the Balkans, it was quite obvious to everyone in the room what he really meant. That he was above all else anxious to knife up into central Europe, in order to keep the Red Army out of Austria and Rumania, even Hungary, if possible. Stalin knew, I knew it, everybody knew it. . . . Trouble is, the P.M. is thinking too much of the *post-war*, and where England will be. He's scared of letting the Russians get too strong. Maybe the Russians will get

strong in Europe. Whether that's bad depends on a whole lot of factors.

The men in the State Department, those career diplomats . . . half the time I can't tell whether I should believe them or not. . . . Any number of times they have tried to conceal messages to me, delay them, hold them up somehow, just because some of those career diplomats aren't in accord with what they know I think. They should be working for Winston. As a matter of fact, a lot of the time, they *are*. Stop to think of 'em: any number of 'em are convinced that the way for America to conduct its foreign policy is to find out what the British are doing, and then copy that.

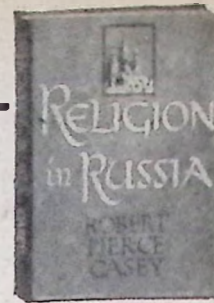
The biggest thing was in making clear to Stalin that the United States and Great Britain were not allied in one common bloc against the Soviet Union. I think we've got rid of that idea, once and for all. I hope so. The one thing that could upset the apple cart, after the war, is if the world is divided again, Russia against England and us. That's our big job now, and it'll be our big job tomorrow, too: making sure that we continue to act as referee, as intermediary between Russia and England.

The unity we have made for war is nothing to the unity we will have to build for peace. After the war—that's when the cry will come that our unity is no longer necessary. *That's* when the job will begin . . . in earnest.

In these and many other quotations F.D.R.'s viewpoint is indicated.

This is a book of gossip, a fragmentary *memoir*, an uneven narrative, and a filial chronicle. Elliott, obviously, is neither a politician nor a political scientist. Still less is he a preacher, embroidering his father's texts. In a final chapter, however, he makes two points which all Americans should ponder over. One is that the postwar "war of nerves" has been initiated not by Moscow but by London and Washington. "It was the United States and Great Britain who first shook the mailed fist, who first abrogated the collective decisions." The other is that "the military have taken over the task of postwar diplomacy" and that "it is not appropriate for a non-warrior democracy like the United States of America to depend on brass and braid for information and guidance in international affairs."

Wise Americans will say "Amen!" Wise Americans will reflect upon this volume, which is admirable for all its defects. Wise Americans will do whatever lies within their power to promote a return to the foreign policy of Franklin Delano Roosevelt.



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## SOVIET DEMOCRACY: ECONOMIC BASE

(Continued from page 13)

made after analysis of the international situation, the production record of the previous period, and soundings of public opinion in discussions in the press and in meetings all over the Soviet land. No government keeps its ears, and they are many, closer to the ground, and Stalin's preeminence as leader derives from his capacity to correctly assess the needs and capacities of the people.

The aims determined, the plan is then produced in the course of a long journey from the highest officials to the least workers in the land and then back again to the starting point. The State Planning Commission—Gosplan for short—drafts a general outline of goals and quotas called "the perspective plan." This outline goes, in parts, to the Cabinet departments in charge of the various sections of the national economy. Each department breaks the estimates down in terms of its subsections, for instance, heavy industry into motors, turbines, etc., agriculture into cattle, beets, etc. These in turn break the quotas down to allotments for individual plants, farms, etc., who then proceed to make their individual five-year plans. This is done by production conferences of managers, technicians and workers, by departments and sections in the larger factories and farms. Here is where the experience of the workers goes into the plan and in the last analysis, along with their will, decides what is done. It is at the bottom that the Plan becomes a working program.

On the way back the Plan becomes a coordination of all parts and factors involved, first for the individual enterprise, then for each subsection and section of each department of industry and agriculture, transport or communication, then for each department as a whole. Meantime the plan for the development of the social services and culture has gone through a similar process.

Finally Gosplan coordinates all these

into a national plan which rationalizes, that is coordinates for the highest possible production and social advance, the working energy, natural resources and plant of the entire nation. This Plan then goes to the Supreme Soviet for approval.

The Plan is now a blueprint of goals. It has yet to become a living thing, guiding and stimulating activities. This happens in the working out of yearly and quarterly "operational plans" for the individual enterprises. In the making of these the experience of the workers again becomes the major factor. This happens in frequent conferences of the smallest unit of workers, the labor brigades, concerning their production record, the reasons for successes and failures. It is here that the quotas are often revised, and nearly always upward by what the workers call their "Counter-plan." It was started in the first year of the first Plan by the workers in the Karl Marx factory who then wrote to the press suggesting that the procedure be adopted in agriculture. Some collective farms responded and the method soon became generally used.

To sit in with these small groups of workers, to attend the larger production conferences, is to see the term "creative democracy" come alive. At the top the knowledge of the experts, along the way the capacities of the managers and technicians, make the Plan possible. At the bottom it is the experience and the will of the workers that makes the Plan the fusion of the lives of all in forming the shape of things to come. So democracy becomes more than the exercise of rights. In its economic form it is the common effort to achieve common aims.

The consciousness of this fact grows constantly among the Soviet people. The labor unions realize that their first responsibility is the increase of production, in quantity and quality. Since '36 the consumers cooperatives, with more than 36,000,000 members, have carried the responsibility for supplying consumer goods to the villages. During the war the collective farms in the unoccupied sections undertook to make up the food deficit occasioned by the German occupation. An agricultural expert says: "It has been possible through the operation of the principle of planning throughout the whole system of collective farms and the machine and tractor stations which provided most of the machinery for the work." Says Gosplan, "Inasmuch as we are realizing a purposive economy . . . the whole working society participates consciously in the aggregate social production . . ." Back in the early thirties the head of one section of the economy

told me, "These ideas have gripped the masses." What I saw and heard in factories, on farms, in a national sanatorium and a national rest home, confirmed his statement.

This development of dynamic, creative democracy has brought the Soviet people up from the lowest level in Europe to where they can stand confidently among the great powers. It is what Lenin had in mind when he wrote: "According to our concept it is the consciousness of the masses that makes the state strong. It is strong when the masses know everything, when they can judge everything and do everything consciously." More than the making of a strong state is happening in the Soviet Union through the working out of its economic democracy. The very nature of government and the state is being changed. An organic community is coming into being, a new civilization is taking form.

STATEMENT OF THE OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT, CIRCULATION, ETC., REQUIRED BY THE ACTS OF CONGRESS OF AUGUST 24, 1912, AND MARCH 3, 1933, OF SOVIET RUSSIA TODAY, published monthly at 114 East 32nd Street, New York 16, New York, for Oct. 1, 1946.  
State of New York, )  
County of New York, ) ss.

Before me, a Notary Public in and for the State and county aforesaid, personally appeared Donald Schoolman, who, having been duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that he is the business manager of the SOVIET RUSSIA TODAY and that the following is, to the best of his knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management (and if a daily paper, the circulation), etc., of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption, required by the Act of August 24, 1912, as amended by the Act of March 3, 1933, embodied in section 537, Postal Laws and Regulations, printed on the reverse of this form, to wit:

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(Signed) DONALD SCHOOLMAN, Bus. Mgr.  
Sworn to and subscribed before me this 10th day of September, 1946.

(Seal) FANNY GRAFF  
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## WHERE ANTI-SEMITISM IS A CRIME

(Continued from page 15)

plans for the future are great. Only the present paper shortage, affecting all Soviet printing alike, prevents the Committee from fulfilling, its total program at this time.

I attended several meetings and receptions of the Committee. We had many splendid discussions and—this will surprise many of the “iron curtain” critics—many differences of opinion. All believed that the final solution to the Jewish problem lies in the victory of full democracy throughout the world, in the struggle for the complete eradication of fascism whenever it threatens or wherever it exists.

Dr. Shimeliovich's greetings to me, following my presentation of the Jewish Council's “American Jewry Book of Friendship,” were particularly enlightening. He said:

“The aid that the Jews in America gave to the Soviet Union was a great contribution toward the fight against fascism and also toward the strengthening of friendship between the Soviet peoples and the people of America. Now that the war is over, the no-less-important task facing the democratic peoples is the duty to fight the protagonists for a new war. The strengthened friendship between the people of the United States and the Soviet Union is a guarantee for lasting peace.

“The reactionary elements that are now carrying on an anti-Soviet campaign are the worst enemies of the Jewish people, because the fate of the Jewish people is closely bound with that of democracy.

“It is therefore the duty of the democratic Jewish organizations to carry on a continued fight against reaction, and for the strengthened friendship between the United States and the Soviet Union.”

Mikhoels, ending that particular meeting, commented:

“The war is over, but the fight for peace on the part of the anti-fascist, democratic world continues. Fascism and reaction, which are now being revived, must be uprooted. Anti-Fascism is the voluntary activity of peace-loving peoples. We can and must unite our efforts to destroy fascism and reaction. It is the duty of the democratic organizations to take first place in this obligation.”

These views and proposals are important. They represent the feelings and attitudes of the Soviet Jews. I found this out after speaking to Jews wherever I went. I literally dropped in on many Jewish families at their homes or I visited synagogues unannounced.

A word about the “iron curtain” is in order here. This business about the “iron curtain” is a lot of talk—nonsensical talk—dangerous talk.

The Soviet Union and the Soviet people did not know what my reaction would be when I came back to the United States, any more than they knew what the others of the delegation would say. I walked around and saw whatever I wanted to see. Whenever I or other members of the delegation decided to go any place, we simply called the hotel and asked for a car. Most of the time, I just as simply left the hotel and walked along the streets, looked in the stores, rode on the subways and went to peoples' homes. I talked with everyone I met. And they, in turn, spoke to me about everything under the sun and they freely offered their opinions and likes and dislikes. Some Jews think a lot of Birobidzhan and hope to go there in the near future, and other Jews have the opposite view.

I wanted to learn how widespread Yiddish was, and so upon introducing myself, I would say that I could speak only in Yiddish. The almost unanimous

reply was, in Yiddish, “Fine, let's talk.”

I found the Soviet Jews, typical of all Soviet citizens, amazingly well informed on world events and having definite views which they conveyed to me quite freely. Their views on the Jewish problem were, in actuality, summed up by the two remarks I previously quoted. For themselves, they were satisfied that Jewish problems were being correctly solved in the USSR.

In this connection, it is important to point out that the Soviet Jews, as the entire population, are one with the Soviet Government. There is absolutely no distinction between themselves and the government, as some have tried to make out. They are happy under the Soviet system, and they say they have as much right to their form of government as we have to ours.

Amusingly enough, the favorite Soviet pastime is criticism of their officials, and these officials must work hard to toe the mark. As far as I could see, the Soviet people regarded an official as someone to remove from office unless he did an excellent job. It almost seemed that an official must labor with the talents of a genius to earn the full approval of his constituents.

I remember an old Jewish revolutionary who, feeling that he could no longer contribute to the upbuilding of the Soviet Union, wanted to live out the remainder of his days with his son in the United States. He saw me just about a week after he had filed his application for a passport. He hadn't received any reply as yet, and so far as he was concerned the quality of personnel had seriously deteriorated since the time of Lenin, and he didn't care who knew it. He was angered mostly by the thought that the Foreign Office wasn't exhibiting sufficient respect for an old-time Bolshevik.

In turn, and to soothe the old Jew, I suggested that he write to his old Bolshevik colleague, Stalin, about this problem. “Stalin,” he shouted, “What's



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the matter? He hasn't enough to do?"

The Jewish people are unanimous in their love for Stalin. They regard him as the greatest friend of the Jewish people. They attribute to his understanding of national minorities and to his leadership the new, exalted status of the Soviet Jews.

I need not add that the Soviet Jews greeted with joy the news that Stalin and the father of his prospective Jewish son-in-law drank "lachaim" together in the Kremlin!

Another name the Soviet Jews mentioned with reverence was Roosevelt. On innumerable occasions I heard Soviet Jews say, "If Roosevelt were alive, he and Stalin together would have done much to make this a peaceful world." Moscow, itself, with 250,000 Jews, is the largest Jewish community in Europe, and the Jews there, as elsewhere in the USSR, are proud of their Jewishness. They are as proud of their synagogues and cantors and cemeteries as are we of ours.

I remember once we spent an afternoon in a candy factory. The director and his staff and the union officials spoke to us about the problems of the factory. The entire conversation was conducted in Russian and English. At the end of the visit, the director presented to each a box of candy.

I received mine the last, and on it was written a greeting in Yiddish. Just before we left, the director wanted to know if I was a Levy and we spent a few minutes discussing our Jewish ancestry.

A doctor I once met bewailed the Nazi vandalism of his extensive Yiddish and Hebrew library. Although he himself attended synagogue only on occasions, his younger daughter was being taught Hebrew and all the Jewish traditions. A young boy next door was also receiving lessons.

The designer of the Soviet destroyer plane, Chaim Levetchkia, is active in Jewish affairs, and Solomon Lozovsky, former Soviet Vice-Foreign Minister and now head of the Soviet Information Bureau, is keenly interested in the affairs of the Jewish Anti-Fascist Committee and frequently attends synagogue. Other noted regular worshippers include Mrs. Pearl Molotov and Mrs. Voroshilov.

The leader of the Moscow Jewish community is energetic Samuel Chobrutsky. I asked him about religious freedom, and he commented, "Those who want to pray, pray; those who don't, don't." He suggested that I visited the four major synagogues of the Soviet capitol. They are filled on the Sabbath, and in contrast to the situation here, an unbelievably large number attend the daily morning, afternoon and evening services. I have been told that during the High Holidays, the overflow crowd is so great the blocks surrounding the synagogues are roped off from traffic and loudspeakers are installed to enable the thousands in the streets to participate in the services.

The overwhelming proportion of worshippers, as in the United States, are middle-aged and elderly. Many of them

are extremely interested in Hebrew culture, and I was with a group in Leningrad that spent many hours discussing the finer points of the Torah. And as we here, they too complained that the Jewish youth are not interested in the religious services.

Frankly I was amused at the close similarity in the customs and thinking of the American Jews and the Soviet Jews; and I reached the conclusion that in these matters Jewish people throughout the world are tied together as one.

The attitude of multitudes of Jewish people all over the world towards the Soviet policy against discrimination was aptly summed up by Dr. Stephen S. Wise, president of the American and World Jewish Congresses. Speaking last May before 2,500 delegates and guests at the Fifth Annual Conference of the Jewish Council, Dr. Wise declared:

"As a Jew I want Jews to do all they can, and more than they can, for the Soviet Union and its peoples, not only because our countries ought to be bound within the bonds of a common understanding and a common comradeship, but also because while other nations—I name them not—talk about themselves as the enemies of fascism, the Soviet Union is decades and generations ahead of the rest of the world in combating and crushing one of the most terrible tokens and symbols of fascism—namely, anti-Semitism."

For the Jewish people of the Soviet Union, the age-old story of anti-Semitism has been ended.

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## THE FIRST POST-VICTORY YEAR

(Continued from page 17)

It would be no less than human for such a brilliantly victorious Army to rest on its laurels, to become complacent and overconfident in its own powers. Such things often happen and we find appropriate example in military history. Capua followed Cannae in Hannibal's life. Foch's "*L'attaque, toujours l'attaque!*" ended in the deadly stagnancy of the Maginot line and, finally, in the pathetic ineptitude of the "Weygand line."

The Red Army is steering clear of such mistakes. The basic thesis of the pronouncements of its leaders, from Generalissimo Stalin down to the humblest platoon commander, of its orders of the day, newspaper and magazine articles is that military science must not only record the experience of the past war, but by analyzing it and by searching it for one's mistakes and fallacies, must constantly improve itself and military culture in general.

Now what is military culture? We find this definition in the editorial of the May issue of the magazine *Voyennaya Mysl* (Military Thought):

"Military culture manifests itself in the development of military technique, of military science, in the organization of the armed forces, in their training and discipline, in the training of command cadres, in the mode of life and living conditions of the army."

The answer to the question: "What is the Red Army doing today?" is contained in six words: "It is improving its military culture."

As far as military technique is concerned, Lenin remarked, back in 1918:

"War taught us a number of things, not only that people suffered, but also that the one who has the greatest technical means, organization, and discipline as well as the best machines is victorious. War taught us this and it is well that it did. We must learn that without machines, without discipline one cannot live in contemporary society—one must either master superior technique, or be crushed."

Military "technique"—that almost untranslatable Russian word which is a hybrid of "technology," "mechanical means" and "ordnance" in the widest sense—is a complicated thing nowadays. It includes everything from a "dog-tag" to a cyclotron, just as military science ranges from "Steps and Marching" to nuclear physics. While

in the distant past generations of warriors could afford simply to preserve their swords from rust, without getting themselves new weapons, nowadays last year's fighter plane is obsolete and the artillery of the last war is certainly out of date in the next.

The above-quoted editorial has also this to say:

"In perfecting the types of armament of today, in ceaselessly bettering their fighting efficiency, we must not fail to sense those moments, when technical progress will dictate a switch to new types of weapons with higher fighting qualities as well as to a new kind of military technique. Our constructors and military technicians must ceaselessly raise their qualifications; they must deeply study the process of the development of technical sciences; they must never forget that today the progress of military technique is organically linked with the progress of peaceful technique, of 'peaceful' science."

The Red Army is being taught that in military science as well as in military technique to stand still is dangerous.

Another thing which is being widely taught by the leaders of Soviet military thought is that an unobjective and prejudiced evaluation of the experience of the war as well as a one-sided appraisal of the trends of development of military science are highly dangerous. While military stagnation was the blight of France after World War I, such unobjectiveness and one-sidedness was Germany's mistake. Both basic faults were among the most important causes of the military disaster which, in turn, befell both countries. The Red Army is avoiding both fallacies by hard work and deep thought.

News of scientific research in countless institutes and laboratories, the appearance of a new gun at the May Day parade, the roar of a new fighter plane on Aviation Day, better uniforms and equipment, the smarter salute, of the cadets of the Suvorov Schools—all these are big and small portents of the basic fact that the Red Army is fully convinced that it can preserve the peace for its own people and for all the peace-loving people of the world only by improving itself constantly, tirelessly and intelligently. This is what it has been doing during the first post-war year.

"In 1946 I am more than ever convinced that the peace and prosperity of the future depends on the United States and Soviet Russia living together harmoniously as fully participating members of the world organization."

—HENRY A. WALLACE

# CENTURY

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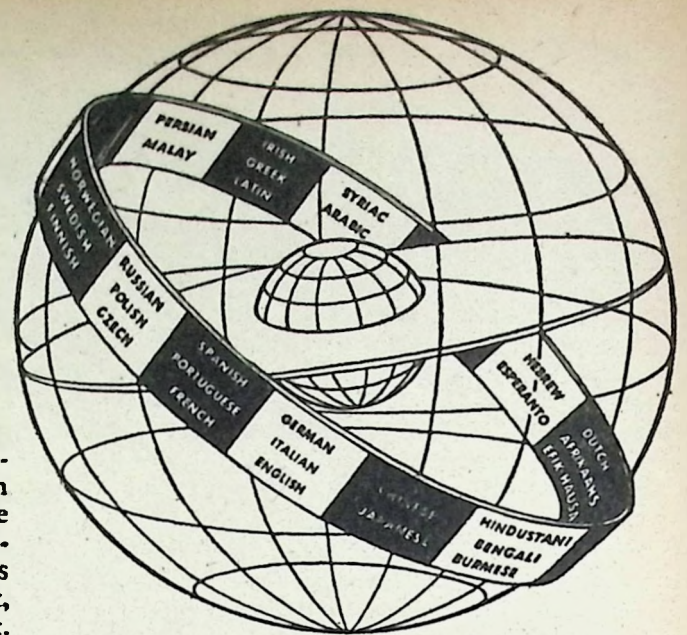
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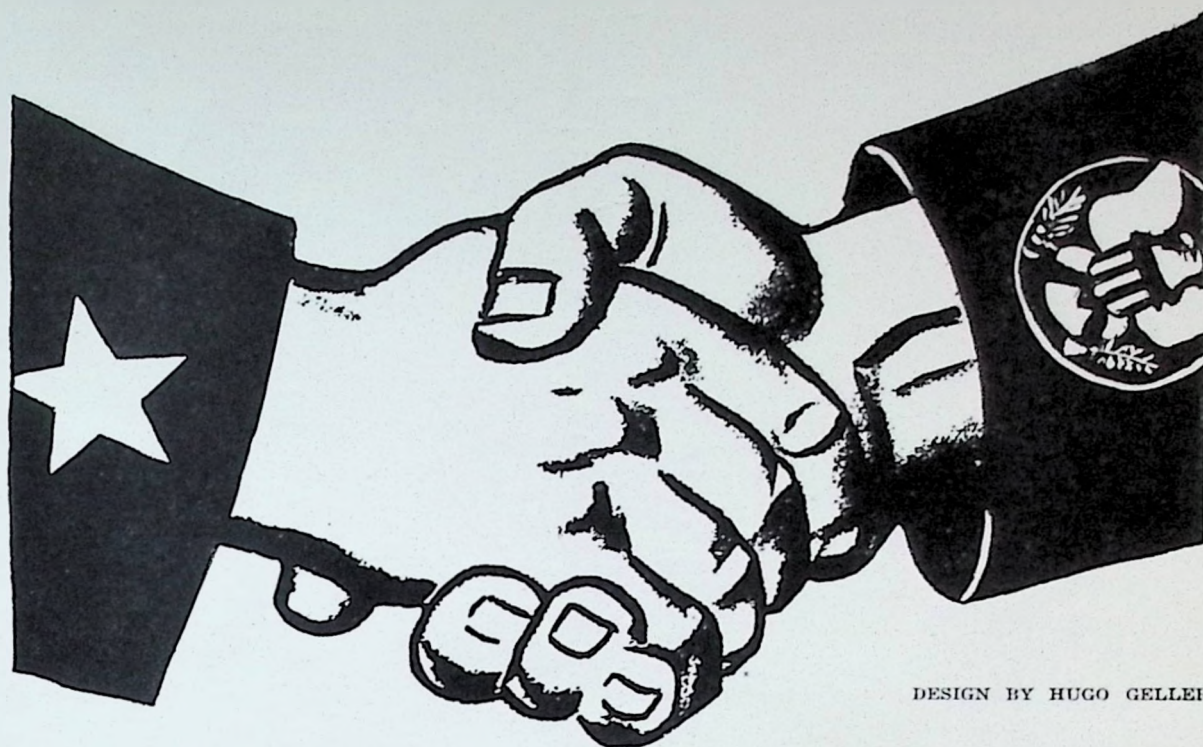
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