WE SAW FOR OURSELVES

REPORT OF THE NINETEEN AMERICANS
ON THEIR VISIT TO THE USSR

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1: We Introduce Ourselves

We are 19 Americans, who were invited to the Soviet Union after the Second World Peace Conference held in Warsaw in November, 1950. Our mission to Europe was peace. We went to do our part to help bring an end to the war in Korea, to halt the killing, to prevent World War III. So it seemed highly appropriate that the Soviet Peace Committee should extend this invitation and be our host for ten days, days of new friendships made with those who were our war time allies, days full of reminders of the tragedy of the war and of tremendous challenge to build the peace.

We were Americans looking at the Soviet land and the people with steady, wide-open eyes. As representative citizens of the United States from Massachusetts to California, we numbered among our delegation trade unionists, factory workers, housewives, teachers, ministers, youth and community leaders and one lawyer. Nine of our 19 are Negroes, ten white.

It will be clear even from the following brief biographies that in occupations and general background we represent a broad cross section of American life. Two of our party, Dr. John A. Kingsbury and Professor Holland Roberts, had been in the USSR in 1932 and '34 and were interested in the progress made in the changed aspect of Moscow with its endless new buildings for the workers' living quarters, and in the developments in education and health service and medical care, some of them only blueprints 18 years ago. To the rest of us the experience was completely new, exhilarating and thought-provoking. For convenience, the members of the delegation are listed approximately in the order in which their contributions appear.

MRS. MOLLIE LUCAS, *Chicago, Illinois and New York City.* Office worker, member of Local 24, Distributive, Processing and Office Workers of America, Independent; collected 2,000 signatures for the Stockholm Peace Petition; mother of three children of school age.

REVEREND ROBERT M, MUIR, *Boston, Massachusetts.* Protestant Episcopal clergyman; Co-Director, Workers of the Common Life; Chairman, Massachusetts Action Committee for Peace; member World Peace Council; Chairman, Delegation of Second World Peace Congress in Warsaw.

MRS. DOROTHY COLE, *Chicago, Illinois.* Community leader; Program Committee, Chicago Federation of Women's Clubs; Chairman, Chicago Council of American-Soviet Friendship.

.MRS. PAULINE TAYLOR, *Youngstown, Ohio.* Active worker. National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, Youngstown, Ohio and Mahoning Valley, former Vice President and State Chairman; active in Shiloh Baptist Church; Ohio Chairman of the American Women for Peace.

MRS. THERESE ROBINSON, *Washington, D. C.* Teacher, formerly with the public schools of Washington, D. C., community leader; Chairman, Civil Liberties Committee of the Independent Benevolent and Protective Order of the Elks of the World.

DR. WILLARD UPHAUS, *New Haven, Conn.* Methodist clergyman; formerly Executive Director, National Religion and Labor Foundation; Member National Board, Committee for Peaceful Alternatives; Co-Director, American Peace Crusade.

MR. JAMES MILLER, *Chicago, Illinois.* Chairman of the Trustees of the United Auto Workers Amalgamated Local 453, CIO. President of the union local in the American Car and Foundry Shop. Speaks, writes, and reads Polish fluently.

PROFESSOR HOLLAND ROBERTS, *San Francisco, California.* Formerly Professor of Education at Stanford University; educator-author; Director, California Labor School; Chairman of U.S. delegation visiting Soviet Union; active for many years in peace work; attended American Continental Congress for Peace, Mexico City; member National Labor Conference for Peace; member Committee for Peaceful Alternatives; active in organization of Anglo-American Institute, Moscow, 1934. President, American-Russian Institute, San Francisco, Cal.

MR. EDWARD BOBROWICZ, *Milwaukee, Wis.* Organizer for the Wisconsin District Office of the International Fur and Leather Workers Union. He speaks and reads Polish and acted as direct interpreter for the delegation in Poland.

DR. JOHN A. KINGSBURY, *New York City.* Physician; co-author with Sir Arthur Newsholme, K. C. B., M. D., of *Red Medicine: Socialized Health in Soviet Russia;* former Commissioner of Charities of the City of New York; former Director, Millbank Memorial Fund, New York; Chairman, National Council of American-Soviet Friendship. Visited Soviet Union in 1932.

MR. HAROLD E. WARD, *Chicago, Illinois.* Member of Local 108, Farm Equipment Council of United Electrical Workers Union; elected as delegate by 40,000 workers.

MR. CARL FLODQUIST, *North Branch, Minnesota.* Farmer; leader, "American Rural Crusaders for Peace."

MRS. JACQUELINE CLACK, *Los Angeles, Cal.* Active leader in Independent Progressive Party of California; Executive Director, Southern California Peace Council.

MR. CHARLES P. HOWARD, *Des Moines, Iowa.* Attorney-at-law, National Vice President of the Progressive Party; member World Peace Council; an initiator of the American Peace Crusade.

REVEREND MASSIE C. KENNARD, *Las Vegas, Nevada.* Co-chairman of the Illinois Christian Youth Council for Peace; formerly Assistant Minister, Metropolitan Community Church, Chicago, Ill.

MR. CHARLES COLLINS; *New York City.* Former Vice President, Local 6, Hotel and Restaurant Employees, American Federation of Labor; Director, Harlem Council, American Labor Party; member of National Committee, Progressive Party.

MRS, YOLANDA HALL, *Chicago, Illinois.* Coordinator of the Chicago Labor Peace Conference; former youth leader.

MR. CHARLES PROCTOR, *Chicago, Illinois.* Member of Local 28, United Packinghouse Workers of America.

MRS. LOUISA LEEK, *Boston, Massachusetts.* Leader in Boston Minute Women for Peace; choir and community leader.

All the delegates on the stairs of the Kremlin Palace. Left to right, front row: Mrs. Jacqueline Clack, Dr. Willard Uphaus, Mrs. Mollie Lucas, Mrs. Laura Louise Leek. Second row: Dr. John A. Kingsbury, Mr. Charles Proctor, Mrs. Pauline Taylor, Mr. Harold Ward, Mr. Edward Bobrowicz. Third row: Rev. Robert Muir, Mr. Charles Howard, Mrs. Dorothy Cole, Mrs. Therese Robinson, Rev. Massie Kennard, Prof. Holland Roberts. Last row, Mr. Carl Flodquist, Mr. Charles Collins, a Soviet guide, Mrs. Yolanda Hall, Mr. James Miller.

2: From Sheffield to Warsaw

by Mrs. Mollie Lucas

We sailed for England in October to attend the World Peace Congress scheduled to be held in Sheffield. When we arrived at Southampton it looked like the customary tourist welcome. The next day, however, the immigration authorities became aware that we planned to attend the Peace Congress at Sheffield. Suddenly we became objects of suspicion. We were taken back onto the *Queen Mary,* on which we had arrived, and questioned for three and a half hours about all manner of things, particularly our connections with political parties, unions, and various organizations. There were many questions regarding our per-

sonal lives and activities and what we planned to do at the Congress. One question put to me, the mother of three children, was, "Why are *you* so interested in peace?" I replied, "I want to live." The officer's face flushed, and he began to talk of other things. After the questioning we were informed that we would be permitted to stay in England. We were driven to the railroad station and advised to take the next train up to London.

In London we were met by members of the British Peace Committee who welcomed us in the name of the British people and escorted us to the Royal Hotel. I had planned to do some research in London on the status and conditions of white-collar workers in England so that I might bring this information back to the members of my union. I soon found, however, that the British people were so eager to hear of the sentiment of the American people on peace that I had hardly a moment for my private pursuits.

The British seemed greatly relieved to find that there were still many Americans genuinely interested in peace and not afraid to speak out in support of it. We found ourselves much in demand as guests and as speakers. I spoke at a women's meeting and found that the women of Britain were doing splendid work on many issues confronting the people, but particularly on the question of peace. After the meeting a little girl no older than my own son came up to speak with me. She asked me to give her name to my son Billy so they could write to each other, and then she said: "In England, when we had a war, many little children were killed. We hope the children in America will never have a war. We never want a war again."

Meanwhile preparations for the Congress went on. The people did a splendid job and worked very hard

to make sure that everything would be in readiness. At a dinner meeting I attended many of the most respected and solid citizens of Britain were present. It seemed strange to us at first to find members of Parliament, nationally known doctors, lawyers at such a gathering. We soon came to realize, however, that in Britain all walks of life are represented in the peace movement. We also discovered that the people there had no fear of the Communists, only a great fear and dread of war. As one woman explained to me, "The people of Britain have everything to lose from another war. Our country is being used as an atom bomb base. If war breaks out, Britain will be blown off the face of the earth, no matter who wins."

As the news began to come through that many delegates were not being permitted to enter the country, excitement mounted. Eight Americans who arrived by boat were held for questioning for twenty-four hours. Several were finally permitted to enter and one was turned back. The others were held for further questioning. They were permitted to enter only after the British Peace Committee interceded.

An entire plane-load of Americans, 33 persons, was turned back. Other delegations had even worse experiences. Of the more than 200 people in the French delegation only one was allowed through—the world-famous artist, Picasso. Not only delegates, but also the technical staff, secretaries and interpreters, were being barred. It became increasingly evident that the British government was determined to prevent the holding of the Peace Congress. Reports were also coming through that our own government, through the FBI, was in on the effort to sabotage the gathering.

The British press, which had been strangely silent about the Congress, broke out with angry protest

against this "breach of British tradition." Even the most conservative papers took the position that it was contrary to the laws and principles of the country to deny us the right to speak. They particularly attacked the government for the underhand way in which it had allowed the Peace Committee to believe, after repeated requests for a definite stand on the matter, that the Congress would be permitted. The people and the press joined in accusing the United States of forcing the British government to take such a stand. Many protest meetings were held. The people of Britain were ashamed of this action of the government and they were vocal in their disagreement. Bitter accusations of "Yankee interference" were rife. The extent of anti-American feeling revealed during this controversy, by one of the United States' staunchest allies, was quite a shock.

Then from the government of Poland came the invitation to hold the Congress in Warsaw. It specified that everyone accredited to the Congress, including members of the press, photographers and all, would be welcome. *All* would be transported to Warsaw, at the expense of the Polish government and Peace Committee, from England, Paris, Brussels, and other scattered points where they had been stranded by the action of the British government. A very topsy-turvy situation, indeed. Britain, with its long tradition of free speech and open door, refusing us admittance, and Poland, widely labeled as being surrounded by an iron curtain, offering admittance to all!

It was decided that a one-day session would be held in Sheffield as scheduled, followed by a mass meeting that night, so that the people of Britain who had worked so hard and gone to such expense to prepare for the Congress might have the opportunity of knowing the reason for the change in plan and meet-

ing with the few delegates who had gotten past the iron curtain which surrounded Britain.

The evening meeting in Sheffield drew an overflow crowd. It was necessary to open another hall and conduct two meetings simultaneously. I spoke at the overflow meeting, and the enthusiastic response I received made it quite clear that to the people of England at least, we were indeed welcome.

We were taken back to London in the same special buses which had brought us up to Sheffield, and from there to the airport where planes provided by the government of Czechoslovakia waited.

At the beautiful airport in Prague, we were welcomed by a huge crowd of Czech people. A reception had been arranged right at the airport. They gave us food, interviewed and photographed us, sang to us, showered us with flowers and friendship and good will. Anna Medic, of Czech origin, who was seeing her homeland for the first time, was completely overwhelmed. She said a few words for the Americans in Czech and received a tremendous ovation.

From the airport, we were taken to a hotel in Prague. After a short rest, we went on a tour of the city. We saw many beautiful buildings, a tremendous amount of housing construction going on, well-dressed people, well-filled stores and everywhere peace slogans and posters. We went to see the government building, where we noted there were no soldiers on guard.

Back at the hotel a sumptuous dinner had been prepared for us. After dinner and until train time another delegate and I went for a stroll around the city. We saw vacuum cleaners and refrigerators in the store windows, and again everywhere posters and slogans for peace. We strolled at will without restraint or hindrance and returned to the hotel in our own

good time. Except for a word of caution, "Don't get lost," there was no comment of any kind either when we left or when we returned.

At seven, we were aroused and taken by bus to the railroad station where an even larger crowd was waiting, even at this early morning hour. Young people were singing, the flags of all nations waved overhead, a band was playing, the klieg lights blazed, the cameras ground. People grasped our hands and called out greetings as we passed. After getting located in my compartment, I took my movie camera and went back to the window to get some "shots" of the colorful scene. As I stood there in the window of the coach, weaving and bobbing to try to get an angle (which was very difficult since the lights were trained on us) the light technicians noticed me. Very politely, they turned' the lights around and focused them upon

Chairman of the Soviet Peace Committee, Nikolai Tikhonov (left) with Prof. Holland Roberts, Chairman of the American Delegation

the band and the crowd. After taking some pictures, I asked them to turn the lights toward the slogans and flags and other things which I wished to photograph. They followed my directions until I signaled that I had all I wanted, then went back to their own photographing. Neither my camera nor my film were subject to any examination or question throughout the entire trip; that is, until I arrived back in New York.

The trip from Prague to Warsaw by train is ordinarily a journey of nine hours. In our case, it took sixteen, because of the huge crowds which gathered in every town to welcome us and to send their greetings of peace and friendship to the American people and the people who wanted peace all over the world. I lost track of the many times we stopped for station meetings, but I well remember the warmth of the people, their eager friendship, and their happy faces.

Children and young people sang to us. Often it was the international "Freedom Song." Sometimes the station would resound to notes of this song being sung by the different delegations on the train in a half dozen or more different tongues at the same time. The children swarmed around the cars, eagerly asking for autographs from the delegates. Often they gave us gifts as well as flowers—a treasured ring, a pin, or pictures as gestures of friendship. The delegates from many countries on our train were all deeply touched at this tremendous welcome.

We placed the numerous bouquets of flowers on a railing alongside the cars until it was filled, then we tucked them into various corners of the compartments. By the time we finally arrived in Warsaw, even the aisles were filled with bouquets.

I found it hard to rest because of excitement, and spent my time wandering up and down the train and visiting with the many delegates from everywhere.

Warsaw! The city of the Ghetto, 70 per cent destroyed by the Nazis. But the Warsaw we found was not a city of death but a city of life, alive with flags and bands and thousands of people waiting to greet us. Everywhere there was scaffolding and beautiful new building—homes and apartments being constructed, new churches being built and old ones renovated. It looked like a brand new city, all shining and modern. The people were warmly dressed and looked well-fed. There seemed to be plenty of everything and a great enthusiasm for finishing the job of constructing their beautiful new city rising out of the ashes of war.

An impressive outdoor meeting was held to welcome the delegates. The platform was piled with flowers. Around us every building was decorated with doves of peace, and the blue peace flags. Some flags covered the entire face of the buildings. We drove through the streets to our hotel in buses decorated with peace slogans.

And then the Congress Hall! A tremendous building many blocks square, housing four restaurants, a movie theater, book stalls, exhibits, the huge meeting-hall with long tables and ear phones. Speeches were translated simultaneously in seven different languages so that we heard a speech in our own language at the same time it was being given, and received the added benefit of every gesture or expression. Doves of peace flew on the ceiling overhead, and the flags of all nations decorated the walls. The Polish people had volunteered their labor and worked in shifts for three days around the clock to change a drab printing house into this splendid hall with draped walls of yellow, gray, and blue. They sacrificed six weeks of their Five Year Plan in order to make the necessary preparations for the Congress.

With another delegate, I went for a bus ride around the city. We traveled freely and alone, speaking with whomever we chose. I visited the home of a worker, a three-room apartment in a typical modern building such as has been and is being constructed all over Warsaw. The rooms were bright, airy, and comparable in size to our American project apartments. The apartments had hot water and tile baths.

Mrs. Taylor was asked to address a group of Polish workers, miners in the town of Katowice. The plane which carried her to the small Polish town was four hours late, but there were still 10,000 persons present to hear her out of the 50,000 who had originally gathered. She said the group was thrilled to hear an American Negro woman talk to them, the first they had ever seen.

We went to see what was once the Ghetto. As far as the eye could see there was nothing but a level pile of crumpled bricks and twisted steel, with here and there a distinguishable part of a child's bed or some other piece of furniture protruding from the debris—a mute reminder of a terrible crime and a heroic battle. The Poles have erected a beautiful monument to the glorious resistance put up by the people of the Ghetto, and the feeling one gets upon seeing this tribute is a combination of bitter anger against those who carried out the crime and admiration for the brave men and women who preferred to die fighting every inch of the way. On the site of the Ghetto, the people are now building a great modern housing project, a monument to the final defeat of fascism in Eastern Europe.

The people of Warsaw were very hospitable. Everywhere we went, people crowded around us asking for our autographs and urging us to bring back greetings of friendship from the Polish people to the peoples of America. At the convention sessions they were

continuously urging chocolate bars on the delegates. At intermission crowds of kids would rush in and mill around asking for our autographs, and I marveled at the way they completely ignored the chocolate bars lying around. I soon discovered they weren't doing this out of courtesy but because candy is no novelty in Poland. There are candy wagons on the streets and candy is sold in the stores, and the children get more than enough.

The great breadth of the Congress was indeed a hopeful sign. There were 2,067 delegates from eighty-one countries, including the African colonies. There were representatives of every walk of life: ministers, doctors, lawyers, workers, housewives, farmers, members of Parliaments. They were of every creed, color, and political belief; British conservatives, Catholic priests, Protestant ministers, Jewish rabbis, Mohammedans.

Among the highlights of the Congress sessions was Fadeyev's call for peaceful competition among the nations and arms reduction by one-third with full inspection by the United Nations. Unforgettable was the speech of Pak Den Ai, the woman delegate from Korea, who told us of the criminal destruction of her country, and made a passionate appeal for an end to the terrible slaughter of the Korean people.

The evening the Congress adjourned, the entire city of Warsaw turned out for a mammoth parade. For hours, the marchers passed by chanting songs and slogans of friendship and peace.

3: We Arrive in Moscow

by Mrs. Mollie Lucas, Rev. Robert Muir, Mrs. Dorothy Cole

The warm, friendly welcome we received when

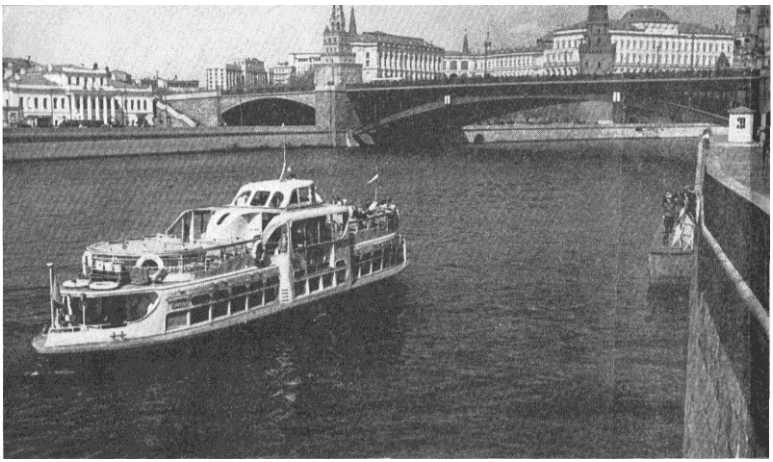
we arrived at the modern airport in Moscow will linger with us for years to come. A dozen representatives of the Soviet Peace Committee and VOKS—the Soviet Society for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries—surrounded us as we stepped off the plane on to the snow-covered field. They greeted us with flowers and warm embraces. Passports and baggage were checked for the delegation as a whole—mere formalities that most of the delegates did not even know were going on. After a pleasant exchange of greetings, we were bundled into luxurious, Soviet-made seven-passenger limousines, big ZIS cars of the quality of our finest Cadillacs, and whisked along the grand boulevard leading into the heart of Moscow. White birches mingled with elms along the snowy, wooded roadside. It was like a moonlit scene in a park with the distant lights of Moscow illuminating the sky before us.

As soon as we were settled in our rooms at the Hotel Savoy, we were called down to a fine dinner, replete with friendly toasts. At the close our hosts of the Soviet Peace Society asked us to make out a schedule for our stay. Each of us made a list. But what a dilemma! To be in the Soviet Union with all its great history and remarkable social, scientific, and cultural developments, and to be forced to choose among the rich experiences that opened out before us. Nevertheless we quickly made up an itinerary—with unanimity. It included visits to factories and trade unions, schools and churches, hospitals and clinics, shops, housing construction and collective farms. Of course we listed the Kremlin, Red Square, and Lenin's famous tomb, the great Lenin Library in Moscow, the Metro, the famous theaters, art centers, and Palaces of Culture. Moscow and Leningrad were to be our own for our stay and we were honored guests.

When we presented our long list of "Places to Visit and Things to See" to our hosts, we were told that our requests could be carried out if we were willing to start out promptly at 9 o'clock each morning and keep going until midnight. That is exactly what happened except for the times that our guides had difficulty in keeping us on schedule. We went to factories, churches, cultural centers, nurseries, theaters, opera houses, the ballet. We talked to workers, housewives, trade union officials, expert in various fields, artists, writers, priests, teachers, and students. The questions we asked were answered promptly and without hesitation.

Our hosts seemed not only willing but anxious to show us anything and everything we wanted to see in the new society they were creating. If we could stay long enough, they told us, they would gladly shows us all they had achieved in more than 30 years under socialism!

The Soviet people welcomed us everywhere—in Moscow, Leningrad, and Stalingrad—welcomed us as



View of the Kamenny Bridge and the Kremlin from the Moscow River

ambassadors of peace. We met thousands of friendly, capable people, working with energy and intelligence to wipe out the last remnants of destruction of the last war and attempting to advance the welfare of the society as a whole.

We had complete freedom at all times. We were not taken on a conducted tour nor were we subjected to censorship in any way nor were any restrictions put on our movements. We saw all that we could in Moscow, Leningrad, and Stalingrad in our brief stay. No one was afraid of what we would see or hear. And everywhere we went, everyone we spoke to always ended any conversation by saying that they wanted peace above all else.

4: Building for Peace

by Mrs. Pauline Taylor, Mrs. Dorothy Cole, Mrs. Therese Robinson, Mrs. Mollie Lucas, Dr. Willard Uphaus, Mr. James Miller, Prof. Holland Roberts, Mr. Edward Bobrowicz.

The Russians are counting on peace. No country preparing for war would be erecting such vast construction projects or spending billions on hydroelectric stations, irrigation, and other improvements.

New hydroelectric stations on the Dnieper, the Volga, the Don and the Amu-Darya will irrigate 70,000,000 acres of land. This is an area equal to that of England, Scotland, Wales, and Northern Ireland. They will power new industries, light millions of new homes. The main Turkmenian Canal will bring life to the arid wastes of the vast Kara Kum desert.

The new Volga-Don Canal, scheduled for completion this year, will connect five seas, making a great network of navigable inland waterways, and irrigating more millions of acres.

The people of the Soviet Union are also building schools, polyclinics, hospitals, workers' apartments, and extending the subway systems. Only 21 per cent of the Soviet budget is used for military purposes. They are spending more than $30,000,000,000 this year for social and cultural improvements alone, one billion dollars more than last year.

Furthermore, none of these projects is conceived as a short-term plan. They will take years to complete, years of peace to fulfill. The projected vast thousand-mile shelter belt of trees, for example, as a major part of the afforestation program, was scheduled to take fifteen years, although so much has been accomplished it will probably be completed in half that time.

We saw much of the three cities of Moscow, Leningrad, and Stalingrad and in each we found reconstruction and modernization activities being carried out at an amazing rate. In Moscow we rode along the beautiful broad avenues where the workers live, past solid new apartment buildings rapidly replacing the little cramped old houses inherited from the regime of the Tsar. Block after block of these apartment buildings have already gone up, ranging in size from three or four to 23 stories.

The plan for the construction of these apartments is itself a remarkable example of the concern which we found everywhere for the health and welfare of the people. The houses in old Moscow like those elsewhere in Europe were built close along the street, with courtyards in back. The Soviet city planners erect the new buildings in the vacant space well away from the street, the people from the old houses move into them, and then the condemned buildings are torn down.

Just before we left the United States we had read Harrison Salisbury's descriptions in the *New York Times* of the extensive building projects throughout Moscow, and now we were seeing them for ourselves.

Six or seven great skyscrapers were going up. One, we learned, was to house Moscow University itself, a city within a city and yet only one of the 82 colleges and other higher institutions of learning in Moscow (including evening and correspondence colleges).

We passed the Bolshoi Theater, most famous of the city's theaters, had a glimpse of Mayakovsky Square, drove past the Moscow Dynamo Stadium, and finally ended up in Red Square with its magnificent buildings and beautiful colorings, the snow-covered evergreens contrasting in deep beauty with the dark marble of the Lenin Mausoleum. No pictures could do justice to the beauties of the Kremlin and Red Square.

From here we enjoyed a trip through the Metro, the most beautiful subway system in the world, spacious and lofty with domes and arches. The individual stations of the system have symbolic names or are named for the parks in which the entrances have been erected, such as the Park of Culture and Rest.

The Metro is very deep, with escalators leading up and down to and from the entrance. The entire system is warmed in the winter and cooled in the summer and the air is changed eight times a day. Each separate station was designed by a leading Soviet architect with its own distinctive mosaics, paintings, and sculpture. One station for example has figures of different types of workers set in its walls. The people of the Soviet Union see in the Metro and in the appreciation of its beauties by the people, an achievement of socialism and an expression of the socialist spirit.

The Metro is nationally owned, rather than owned merely by the municipality of Moscow, so that one is continually aware that it belongs to all the people—to the worker in Georgia who mines or polishes the marble, as well as to the citizens of Moscow who ride the trains. This is characteristic of the spirit found throughout the Soviet Union, the spirit of common ownership with its accompanying pride in collective achievement.

This spirit was manifest in other things that we saw, small as well as large—in the fact that all the autos we saw were clean and polished, with no dented fenders, for their appearance was considered a part of and a reflection of the beauty of the city. We found this spirit, too, in the cleanliness of the cities. There was no litter on the walks or streets, for the cities with their broad highways belong to the people. The Soviet citizen has the same pride of ownership in the city in

The Izmailovskaya station of the Moscow Subway. Each station is designed by a leading Soviet architect

which he lives as he has toward his own individual home.

Everywhere in Moscow, Leningrad, and Stalingrad we found a spirit of creative activity, construction, confidence, and well-being. The shop windows were beautiful, and the people were well-clad. There was no tension or hysteria. Although there was a deep concern about the possibilities of another war, we found no fear, no defeatism, and no militarism. Very few soldiers were to be seen upon the streets. The whole atmosphere was one of dominant interest in peace and construction.

Since we were a peace mission, it was important that we learn the attitude of the Soviet people toward peace in widely separated sections of the country. We were especially grateful and happy that we could take home to the American people news of our journeys to Leningrad and Stalingrad, those two great hero cities on the Neva and the Volga.

Sleeping cars took us first to Leningrad where we were settled in the beautiful Astoria Hotel, the building in which Hitler had planned to celebrate his conquest of Russia. Here members of the Leningrad Peace Committee met us and greeted us again as we had been greeted in Moscow, with testimonials of friendship and pleas for peace between our two countries. Here in the city which had suffered days of direct front line attack, we came to appreciate the vast suffering and the tragedy of the long siege, the hunger, the cold and starvation which the people had endured. And we learned too of the indomitable will of the people, their determination for victory, and their success.

As we sat in the splendid Kirov Opera House witnessing a skilled performance of Mussorgsky's *Boris Gudonov,* it was almost impossible to appreciate the

fact that this magnificent building had been badly damaged and then restored while the siege was still in progress. So devoted were the citizens of Leningrad to the manifestations of beauty that were part of their city and so certain and confident were they of ultimate victory, that as each church, museum, or theater was bombed or shelled during the siege, the work of restoration and reconstruction was begun immediately.

Leningrad with its wide Neva River, its gilded domes and spires, its palaces and monuments, its beautiful squares, is a city of twofold significance as the cradle of the Soviet Revolution and the city of the siege of World War II. It will always remain in our memories to inspire us and to challenge us. When we left Leningrad at midnight, we found a large group of trade unionists at the railway station who had come to say farewell, to present us with a large bouquet of chrysanthemums, to tell us that they wanted peace, and to let us know that we had a tremendously important mission to fulfill. We felt a great responsibility on our shoulders.

But if we were moved and challenged by Leningrad, we were overwhelmed by Stalingrad. Like Warsaw, it was a city in ruins; and yet here too was a new and beautiful city arising from the midst of those ruins, an entire city that was to be a monument to the great heroes who took part in the battle which, as President Roosevelt wrote, saved civilization for us all. In the snow we climbed Mamayev Hill where the Red Army had held off the brunt of attack from three hundred thousand Nazis and where now a monument has been erected to the heroic defenders of the city.

At lunch the city's architect told us of the plans for reconstruction. Great artists, sculptors, city planners,

and landscape gardeners from all over the Soviet Union were at work on rebuilding. They told us how in the surrounding region even the climate is to be changed through the great irrigation projects and the afforestation plans to block the high, dry winds. And all these plans were permeated with a spirit of peace.

Everything that we saw and heard made us especially conscious of the active participation of Soviet youth in the reconstruction of their country. In Stalingrad we found outstanding examples of their work.

When the Nazi General von Paulus came crawling out of a Stalingrad cellar a few short blocks from the Volga to surrender the remnants of the army of half a million he had led across the Russian steppes, the call went out at once for volunteers to rebuild the city.

People came from every section of the Soviet Union, and so many more members of the Komsomol (Young Communist League) volunteered than could be used, that a special selecting and processing division had to be set up to choose the best. Each volunteer pledged that he would work day and night to restore Stalingrad.

First they decided to put the Stalin tractor plant and the "Red October" steel mill back into production and then to rebuild the rest of the city. The young people who came never faltered. For months they slept in ditches and narrow dugouts.

Of course there were no restaurants, kitchens, stores, or regular food supply at the beginning, so these young workers foraged and improvised for their meals when their jobs were done. They had pledged to get the tractor plant into production and they kept their pledge.

On June 17, 1944, tractors for the newly liberated Ukraine and the Don were streaming out of the Stalingrad factory that Donald Nelson, United States di-

rector of war production, had said would take fifteen years to rebuild. Soviet youth had helped perform this miracle, as they had been the decisive labor force in building the factory and starting production in the very beginning, back in 1930. Many of the young people who had come in response to this nation-wide call are staying on as permanent members of the factory staff, just as those who came in 1930 stayed to become the vital working corps. They have earned the right to the proud name of "Stalingrader."

Everywhere in the three cities—Moscow, Leningrad, and Stalingrad—we saw construction, all conceived in peace, dedicated to peace, and undertaken with the knowledge that peace can and must be secured. Could such a people be warlike? Could such a people be aggressive? We were learning many lessons to take back to America.

5: Cars and Tractors—Not Tanks or Guns

by Mr. James Miller, Dr. John A. Kingsbury, Mr. Harold Ward, Prof. Holland Roberts, Mrs. Pauline Taylor, Mrs. Dorothy Cole, Mrs. Mollie Lucas, Rev. Robert Muir, Mr. Edward Bobrowicz

Everywhere in the shops and factories which we visited in the Soviet Union, we saw peace posters. We talked to many of the workers who operate and manage these great industries, and they were delighted to learn from us that most Americans, like themselves, want peace. These workers had spent many hours at peace meetings, collecting tens of thousands of signatures to the Stockholm Peace Appeal, but they assured us that they do not allow these activities to interfere with their production plans, which they consider also a part of the work, for peace. When we remarked that time spent in talking with us would have

to be made up, the workers reassured us laughingly, "It will be done!" This is a familiar phrase, repeated again and again—in speaking of the afforestation and reclamation projects, of fulfilling or over-fulfilling industrial plans, of stopping the drive toward war—"It will be done!"

We saw this spirit in the factories. The little red flags we noticed on some of the machines were the distinguishing mark of a skilled, highly productive worker. Many of these outstanding workers are young men and women in their early twenties, leaders in the gigantic program of production which has in thirty years elevated a backward, semi-feudal agricultural state into the leading position in industrial Europe.

At the Stalin Auto Plant in Moscow, we stopped before a flag-bedecked lathe, to talk to a young woman of 22 who was machining precision parts for the ZIS automobile, one of the Soviet Union's quality cars. She went ahead with her work quietly, with no sign that our close scrutiny made her feel awkward or self-conscious in any way. There was neither hurry nor strain in her movements or general attitude.

"How do you set production records on your machine without speed-up?" we asked her.

"It's the quality of this work that counts," she answered without hesitation. "Not just quantity. I cut down on waste by watching the work carefully and making every motion count toward a finished part that measures just right. That's better than spoiling the work by hurrying. I increase my speed too, but quality comes first." She pointed to a red banner that ran the entire length of the room.

"Comrade workers of this shop," the banner read, "let us develop more fully the socialist competition

for fulfilling the plan for 1950 ahead of time—the First Postwar Stalin Five Year Plan."

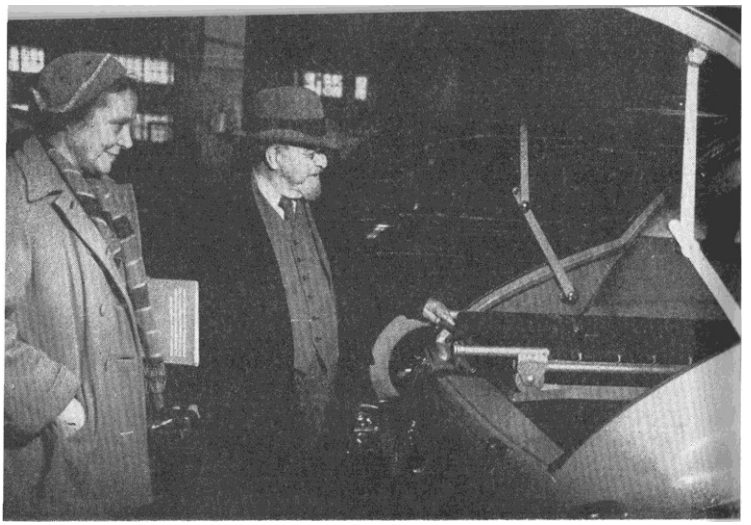
"But why do you work so hard to complete the plan *ahead* of time?" we asked her.

"For peace," she answered, pointing to another scarlet banner over our heads, which read, "Greetings to all fighters for peace against the instigators of a new war."

We exchanged mystified glances. "What do more new cars have to do with peace?" we asked.

"It builds up our peaceful socialist production for the people. It shows the whole world we are working for peace—to make a better life for our country. We feel it is more important to make cars than tanks or guns."

"Excuse us," one of us said as we started on, "for taking time away from your work."



Mrs. Dorothy Cole and Dr. John A. Kingsbury inspect a new car coming off the assembly line at the Stalin Auto Plant in Moscow

She smiled confidently as we moved reluctantly away.

"It's all right," she shot back at us, "I can spare a little time.

I'm working on January, 1955."

Four years ahead of schedule, we remarked to each other as we watched her turn back to her lathe. We'll tell our own youth in the United States about this; perhaps they'll help move our peace program into high gear to catch up with our Soviet friends.

As we left the factory, still another large sign over the door caught our eyes; "We want peace and we fight only for peace."[1] Everywhere the Soviet people were surrounded with urgent reminders of the necessity of peace.

In the streets, in the great Palaces of Culture, in the motion picture theaters, and in the factories, peace was the keynote. By actual count, peace slogans outnumbered all others twelve to one in two large factory departments we visited.

There are, of course, Soviet factories which produce guns and tanks, but the program of industrial expansion is not centered around armaments, but rather around consumer goods, goods for peace. And each Soviet citizen works and hopes for the day when everyone will be making cars—not tanks; linotype machines—not guns.

The Stalin Auto Plant of which the ZIS Automobile Section is only one part, is the largest plant in Moscow, and one of the largest auto plants in the Soviet Union. Chief Engineer, Alexei Krylov, outlined its history for us. Before the Revolution, there was no auto industry in Russia. On this site, however, in 1917, there were a few buildings which were used as a repair shop for foreign cars. Construction of an auto plant began in 1917, and in 1924, the first ten automo-

biles were produced. There have been enlargements of the plant in three different periods, 1929-31, 1934-36, 1946-48. During the second World War, the plant was completely evacuated, and all its machinery moved to the Ural Mountains to prevent it from falling into the hands of the Nazis.

Going through the factory, we had an opportunity to observe the processes in the construction of the fine automobiles like the ones in which we had ridden, the trucks we had seen rolling over the streets of Moscow, and the modern ambulances in which Dr. Kingsbury was especially interested. We visited the huge "blacksmith shop," with it forging machines and punch-presses lined up for about a block and a half. James Miller, who as a machinist, was especially interested, commented:

> "In my shop I have made many dies such as these machines use. There were a few American-made machines but 90 per cent of them were Russian-made. They were modern and large but it looked to me as though they were wasting some good steel by not having their machines and dies set right, but they were certainly making every effort to correct such shortcomings."

We visited the parts department where Miller again reported:

> "It was very modern with some American lathes, milling machines and shapers. But again I noted about 80 per cent of their machines were Russian made. And I found that the work that came out of them was accurate when I checked some parts."

Further along, we saw these parts assembled, the motors completed, and other accessories finished. We

saw the trucks take final form and roll off the assembly lines, and Miller remarked:

> "I saw what in our country we call a "tailored job." It was the ZIS 110 model seven-passenger car equipped with a 140 horsepower engine, and similar to our Cadillac. Each car, after assembly, was individually tested. The men all wore white coats and seemed to enjoy working. On another assembly line we saw the trucks put together starting with the frame, moving down the line to where the trucks came off ready to drive. By my timing there was one built every six minutes.
>
> "I saw no one rush on the job. It looked to me like they had time to spare, after performing their part of the assembly. I noticed that some of the workers sang as they worked, some were kidding and joking with each other. And when we talked with them, they gave the impression of being a bunch of satisfied workers."

Eddie Bobrowicz put his impressions in these words:

> "The tremendous vitality of the Soviet worker on the production line was striking proof to me, that the workers in the Soviet Union were in no sense "slave labor" captives.
>
> "Talking to the workers in the Auto Plant in Moscow, all of them expressed a desire to improve not only their production, but more important to them, the quality of their work in order to further contribute to the uplifting of the standard of living of all Soviet people. Slogans like 'We build and work to create a healthy, happier people in our country' adorned the walls of the factory. As one worker summed it up; 'With our hands we create products for peace—not war'."

The plant produces several models, including a three-axle truck and others up to four and one-half tons, twenty-eight and thirty-four passenger buses, as well as the ZIS 110 automobile. All parts are made right in the plant, which employs 10,000 workers.

The plant has a special department concerned with the training, of new workers, and increasing the skills of the older workers. The training program is carefully organized and covers a wide range from elementary technical training for new personnel to the vocational program for skilled technicians. There is also organized in-plant training for upgrading and requalification, and a special technical college which trains engineers. Workers' wages continue while they are going to school. For example, six hours of work and two hours of study is paid for on the basis of an eight-hour day.

The plant also has its own polyclinic, hospital, and emergency first-aid stations, a sanatorium on the Baltic Sea near Riga, a rest home 50 miles from Moscow, its own kindergartens and nurseries, and a special camp in the country for the children of the workers. These services, as is usually the case in the USSR, are provided to the worker without charge, or at very low rates.

Like other Soviet enterprises, the plant has its own cultural center which all workers and their families use—a theater, a library, a dance hall and gymnasium, as well as study rooms for classes in dance, art, science, etc. At the restaurant a worker could get a complete hot meal of soup, meat, vegetables, dessert, and beverage for about seventy cents. Also, they had sanitary wash rooms and good dressing rooms so they could come to work clean and go home clean. Work clothes are provided by the plant.

The work-day in the Stalin Auto Plant is eight

hours, and the work-week six days. Overtime is permitted with the consent of the union, but cannot exceed ten hours a month. Workers then receive one and one-half pay for the first two hours, and then double pay for all overtime after that. They work with no anticipation of possible unemployment or layoff, for these things do not exist in the Soviet Union. They work knowing that the possibilities for advancement are great, that every assistance is placed at their disposal to help them advance, and that wages increase with advancement. Wages range from 1,000 to 3,000 rubles per month. Workers who show ability are promoted to higher skilled jobs with corresponding raises in pay. Everyone in this plant, including its present management, began as rank and file workers, and 40 per cent of the workers in the plant are women.

Every worker has a certain daily task; if he cannot fulfill his task, he is given the necessary additional help. If a machine replaces a man, this man is retrained for other work in the same shop, if he prefers, or elsewhere. The change to a new job is accomplished without a halt in the worker's production or wage. During his working years, the worker is given from fourteen to twenty-eight days' vacation a year with expenses partly paid and allowance for transportation to the vacation spot he chooses, and, of course, his regular wages continue during this vacation period.

Men are pensioned at the age of 60, women at 55, but they do not have to retire. They may continue to work if they choose, either part-time or full time, and still collect their pensions, along with their wages. Rent for the family of a pensioned worker is free.

Membership in the union is voluntary, and 93 per cent of the workers in the Stalin Plant belong. Workers pay their union dues directly to their stewards; there is no check-off of dues. Stewards are elected in

each department by secret ballot, and the seven full time union officials in this plant are elected by a conference of delegates from different departments.

The union not only takes part in setting production norms, but has the deciding voice. These norms are always discussed with the workers. The union also plays a major part in deciding production methods, and in the settlement of all grievances and conflicts.

A grievance goes first to the steward, and often can be settled at the level of the basic trade union group which is always kept small so that individual workers' problems can get full attention. The steward, or "trade union group organizer" in Soviet terminology, is obligated to keep in close touch with all the problems of the workers in his group, not only on the job but relating to his living conditions.

If the steward is unable to settle the grievance, it may go to a special committee and then to the Rates and Conflicts Commission. This is a conciliation board with equal representation of workers and management, whose findings are binding for both sides. If the grievance cannot be settled by this commission, it may go to the next higher instance of the trade union and industry in question, and then to the All-Union Council of Trade Unions and the Ministry of the industry.

Many disputes are taken to the courts, since the comprehensive labor legislation of the Soviet Union, drawn up with the participation of the unions themselves, covers many situations which elsewhere have to be fought out between unions and management in the factory.

We were informed that in the vast majority of cases, whether handled by negotiations or the courts, the decision is in favor of the trade unions.

In cases where there are repeated infringements of

workers' rights, the trade union can bring about the dismissal of the manager or any member of the administrative personnel responsible for such violations of the labor code.

When we asked one of the shop stewards in the Stalin Plant for an example of a grievance that might come up, he said that last week there weren't any. "But," he told us, "suppose a worker produces a certain part and feels that he should be paid more for it, he would take his complaint to the grievance committee if the steward is unable to settle the question. Usually it will be settled there, but if not, it can go to the special committee in charge of production and labor, and if not there, to still higher bodies."

The Plant Trade Union Committee handles anything that calls for discipline. For example, if a man is late for work several times, a fellow worker is assigned the job of talking to him, and helping him to understand his responsibilities. If his fellow worker or his steward cannot help him, it then becomes necessary for the Plant Committee to discipline him. Only if the trade union fails to correct the situation does the management step in, and even so the trade union must give its consent and has the right of appeal from any measure it considers unjust.

Every precaution is taken against injury on the job, and if it is discovered that management or machinery is at fault for an injury, management is severely criticized, and, in serious cases, subject to fines, or dismissal or prison sentence. When a worker is injured all medical attention and hospitalization is covered by the social insurance of the USSR. All the insurance funds are provided by the plant, not by the workers.

As we left the Stalin Auto Plant, a group of Stakhanovite workers came out to greet us, grimy and dirty in their foundry clothes. They were friendly men

who sent messages of peace and hope through us to fellow workers and peace-minded people in America.

We also visited other industrial plants, among them the Kirov Steel Plant in Leningrad. We spoke to many of the workers there, again found modern up-to-date machinery, and again no speedup.

In Leningrad, we visited the Polygraphic Linotype Works. Sixty years ago, there were no such plants in Russia. This plant was first started in pre-revolutionary times on a site of 350 square meters. It employed one hundred workers. New additions were built in 1922, '25, '28, and '30, and the last new buildings were completed in 1940. The present plant covers 40,000 square meters, and produces linotype machines, book-binding machines, cigarette-packing machines, and cardboard box-making machines, also machinery for watch factories. Foreman Alexander Demin took us around and explained the process of

"The Defense of peace is the business of all the peoples of the world!" reads the banner over this peace meeting of the workers at the Moscow electric bulb plant. Such meetings are held frequently throughout the Soviet Union.

making these various machines. In the machine shop

James Miller had a chance to check some of their work according to the blueprints and found they were producing within .002 of specifications.

This plant, too, had all the conveniences which we had seen at Stalin Auto in Moscow—restaurants, nurseries, and kindergartens which in the summer time move to the country, a rest home for the workers, a polyclinic, library, and cultural center. In the center of this plant is a park with shade trees and benches for workers to relax and enjoy the outdoors. In the quiet workshops of the plant, fine music is heard constantly through the public address system. Not the least in importance of the plant facilities is its Red Corner—a meeting hall with a seating capacity of over four hundred. This hall has a stage hung with handsome red and blue draperies, a lectern, and a piano. In the Red Corner are extensive bulletin boards for the "wall newspaper"—a device for suggestions from workers for improvement of conditions, equipment, processes and service of the factory, and for criticism of fellow-workers including foremen and the Chief Engineer.

Wherever we walked in the factory, workers greeted us and told us of the need for peace, and the desire for peace throughout the Soviet Union.

The workers in Soviet factories use their leisure time for education, culture, and other creative activities. One young woman of 22 who had worked at the Leningrad Polygraphic Plant for three years studies at an evening school; another girl of 19 spends her leisure time studying, dancing, and attending concerts; a 20-year-old fitter on the assembly line is a sports enthusiast, and a young mother with two children who works in the department of supply spends her spare time at school and in the Palaces of Rest and Culture.

White-collar workers in the Soviet Union are members of the same unions to which industrial and professional workers belong, since each industry is covered by a single union. Their salaries are somewhat lower than those of production workers on a piece-work basis, but they all come under the same union benefits.

We were impressed by the fact, too, that in Soviet factories and shops, we found very many young people in positions of honor—deputies, plant managers, foremen, directors, etc. At times Soviet youth are tackling problems that have baffled the combined scientific talent of the world. At Stalingrad, as we were to find out later, a young lathe operator, Anatole Pinyonzhek, seeking to speed up the operation of his machine, quickly found out that production was limited by the quality of the tools used.

His approach was simple and direct—the approach of Soviet people everywhere: "Since no alloy exists that will work hard metals on a lathe run at airplane speeds, we must make such an alloy."

If a boy with a grade school education had proposed to solve a problem that has baffled the great scientists, he would probably, in most places in the world, have been told to go and play with his marbles. But in the Soviet Union young people are always taken seriously, and when they want to attack a serious problem, they are helped.

So Anatole was given skilled technical assistance. His story is told in more detail in George Marion's new book, *All Quiet in the Kremlin,* but the results can be summarized here. Tools made of an alloy that will endure at airplane speeds now exist in the Soviet Union, thanks to Anatole, the Stalingrad schoolboy-worker.

We found deputies and ministers meeting with

workers in such a free and easy companionship that we decided to investigate further. We discovered that it is common practice for the people to elect their fellow shop or farm workers to their Congress. Their deputies are mainly full time workers. They get time off to go and make the plans and laws and return to work in the shops alongside their constituents. This makes the workers feel that the lawmakers are at their command. In fact, they feel that everything belongs to them. They always spoke of *our* deputy, *our* factory, *our* Metro, *our* palace, *our* plan and even *our* Stalin. Hardly the outlook one would expect to find among the "enslaved workers" one reads about in the American press.

It is because we who are American trade unionists know something about machinery and production that we have been so impressed by the tremendous job which the Soviet workers have accomplished—at the splendid automobile works in Moscow, at the machine-building factories of Leningrad, at the tractor works of Stalingrad. It is clear to us that our working people and businessmen could have plenty of work ahead—work plus peace—if only the Government turned its huge funds to the development of peaceful trade with the Soviet Union.

6: Producing For Abundance

by Carl Flodquist

The genuinely big news in the headlines of *Pravda* and *Izvestia* comes from the agricultural areas. It is news not of a people planning war, but of a people determined against all odds to build a free and happy life. For the farmers and engineers are literally remaking that vast land which stretches from far within the Arctic circle to the subtropics and runs for 9,000 miles

across Europe and Asia—from the Atlantic to the Pacific. In a land once swept by drought and hunger, production of staple crops is rising swiftly, new crops are added, even the climate is being changed in a bold, sweeping program that has already transformed the lives of millions of farmers and is rapidly giving them all the comforts and cultural advantages of the great cities.

In 1948 alone the increase in acreage of farm land in the Soviet Union equaled the agricultural land of all of Europe outside the USSR. Through irrigation, drainage, and the clearing of virgin land, this immense area was reclaimed and brought under cultivation. But this is only one step in a far-reaching program that is not only changing the land but is remaking the people who live on it.

Food production is to increase 80 per cent this year. Such unparalleled gains are being made possible by farming by electricity, combined with the 15-year project for changing the climate of the steppe land of all the European USSR. Drought, the great scourge of the steppe, is being fought by a far-reaching system of shelter belts, lakes, and ponds—a plan for transforming nature on a scale never before conceived. Through the co-operative work of the members of the collective farms, broad shelter belts of trees are already growing on 1,700,000 acres planted in 1949, and on an equal acreage planted in 1950. One hundred thousand workers have already been given instruction in the planting and care of shelter belts, and special shelter belt tractor stations have been organized and supplied with 5,000 tractors. In all, seven million acres of oaks, elms, fruit, and other trees are being planted in three great shelter belts running from the approaches to Moscow to the Caspian Sea, and more than 13 million acres of land are being irrigated. Hydro-electric

stations will dam the Volga at Kuibyshev and Stalingrad, and each of them will develop more electric power than any plant now in existence.

Can these ambitious plans be carried out on schedule? As a Minnesota farmer who was seeing collective agriculture in operation for the first time, I wondered. In my conference with Semeon Kostarya, Vice-Minister of Agriculture for the USSR, he pointed out what has already been accomplished. When the Nazis began their long retreat from Stalingrad to Berlin, they destroyed everything in their path, so that the Soviet Union suffered greater devastation than any other country. Since V-E Day, Soviet farmers have had to restore life to hundreds of miles of scorched earth. Today, more than 2,500 tractor stations have been restored and over 300,000 tractors of average capacity produced since the war are in operation—visible proof of the energy and organizing genius of the Soviet collective farmer.

We found three types of agricultural organization in the Soviet Union: State farms for production and for extensive experimental work; collective or cooperative farms for production, the direction and management of which are in the hands of people who are selected because of their skill and knowledge in special fields; and individual farms of which there are still a considerable number, principally in the west.

After the Revolution 444 million acres of land were added to the land already under cultivation and given to the peasants for division among them. All land in the Soviet Union is nationalized .and therefore ownership rests with society as a whole. Land cannot be sold but is granted to individuals and collectives for use in perpetuity. Individual farmers are given land which they can work, but the amount is limited to what is necessary to maintain an individual farmer

or farm family. These individual farms are rapidly being joined in collectives as a result of the example which the collective provides of increased production, increased income, and fewer hours of arduous labor.

The farmers on the collective farm receive their income in cash and in kind. The collective farm (kolkhoz) receives cash from the sale of a portion of its produce to the state. Part of these proceeds is set aside for disability and retirement funds and for the social, cultural, and educational needs of the farming families on the kolkhoz. The major portion of the cash income is distributed among the individual farmers, men and women alike, according to the workdays put in by each.

Work on the collective farm is measured in work-

Science and modern techniques are bringing new knowledge and skills to the Soviet collective farmers. These girls are more than milk-maids. They are learning how to raise healthy cattle from a "zootechnician"

day units. The workday does not correspond to an actual working day, since the number of workday units credited to a collective farmer in any working day varies according to the quantity and quality of the labor performed.

A family in which two or three persons work will usually receive from 1,000 to 1,200 workday units and will be paid from 8 to 40 rubles per unit, depending upon the nature and quality of the work done. In addition to this direct income in cash and kind which I have described, other things should be added, for as is the case with other workers of the Soviet Union, all members of the collective farms are guaranteed free education, free medical services, and expense-paid vacations.

The balance of the crop after the sale of one portion to the state, and deductions of payment in kind for tractor and machine services and reserve for seed, is distributed among the farmers in the same manner as the cash income, according to the workday units of the individual worker. The farmers sell their produce to the government, to the co-operatives, or in the open market.

In addition to the land granted to the collective farm as a productive unit, each family has a personal plot of from one to two acres for its own use, as well as its own livestock—cows, pigs, sheep, and poultry in small numbers. The farmer may also sell any surplus produce from his personal plot to the government, to the co-operative, or in the open market. The collective farmers pay no income tax on any incomes, cash or kind, which they receive from the kolkhoz; they pay income tax only on the income derived directly from their personal plots.

Ninety per cent of the cultivation is now done by machinery. Seventy per cent of the grain is harvested

by combines. In recent years, power-driven mechanical cotton-pickers have been developed, and large cotton lands have been opened up in southern Russia.

Almost unbelievable production is being achieved by planning and by scientific methods of work. One Don Cossack farmer, for example, produced a harvest of 162 tons of sugar beets per hectare (2.47 acres), about three times the production achieved in the United States. In Azerbaidzhan, Bastey Bagyrova, a woman who was one of the Soviet delegates to the Warsaw Peace Congress, and who has twice been decorated as a Hero of Socialist Labor, produced a yield of 16 to 20 bales of cotton per acre. Milk production averages from one thousand to thirteen hundred gallons per cow each year; and in some grain crops, production has reached two tons per acre.

With collectivization of the farms and rapid strides toward mechanization of all agricultural activity in the Soviet Union, differences between city and country life are beginning to disappear.

During the past two years a movement has been taking place to merge the smaller collective farms into larger units, thus bringing the weaker farms up to the level of the stronger and: more prosperous ones. As a result, the number of collective farms has been reduced from almost a quarter of a million to about 126,000.

This movement has made it possible to utilize more efficiently the many new types of agricultural machines, and increase the mechanization of all types of farm labor. It has made possible the building of more hydroelectric stations, and a greater application of electric power to agriculture. It has meant increased building facilities, since these larger farms can produce and work up their own building materials, and have their own special construction brigades. Thus not only can the collective farmers have better

and more modern housing, but they are growing into flourishing communities supporting their own theaters, clubs, schools, hospitals, sport societies, and general cultural facilities.

The farm is even now taking on many of the advantages of urban life, and with mechanization, the rural worker, using complex and intricate machinery and tools, is becoming a skilled worker like his brother in the city factories. When production reaches higher levels, prices fall, and as higher levels of skill are achieved, wages increase; the result will be an economy of abundance, in which the society can and will take from each according to his ability, and give to each according to his needs.

The plans and activities of the Soviet farmers have as their objectives the increase of well-being and prosperity of the people. They are not war plans, not the activities of militarism, but plans, programs, and projects for peace.

7: How Soviet Families Live

by Mrs. Pauline Taylor, Mrs. Mollie Lucas, Dr. John A. Kingsbury, Prof. Holland Roberts, Mr. James Miller, Dr. Willard Uphaus

As mothers and fathers, family men and women ourselves, the members of the delegation were interested not only in the characteristics of Soviet society as a whole, but also in the Soviet family. We wanted to find out how a Soviet family lives, and what are the general characteristics of family life.

If we had to choose two words to describe a Soviet family, these would be happiness and confidence. And in this respect, the Soviet family is a reflection and an expression of the society as a whole. Confidence seems to be a national characteristic. Every-

where we found great confidence in the future, and a great pride in the accomplishments of the past. The Soviet family was no exception.

We found, too, that contrary to the conception commonly held in America, both family and community ties in the Soviet Union are very strong. Although family life is close, it extends outside the home much more than it does in the United States. The lives of the members of a family, individually and collectively, are filled to the brim with all kinds of constructive activities. There is no room for boredom, delinquency, and wasted time. Families will often get together with their neighbors at one of the community palaces or clubs or in someone's home for parties and other social affairs. Group singing and dancing are very popular, and the enjoyment of music is so general as to be almost universal.

The majority of the people we met, from the children to old people, were continuing their education. Adults were attending one of the technical schools, or studying painting, music, literature, or languages. This was easily possible for those who worked, because of the government's constructive attempts to foster universal education.

All the people we saw looked well-fed and well-clothed, and the stores which we visited were filled with luxury items as well as necessities. The jewelry and other small stores as well as the numerous large department stores we visited had an abundance of silverware, watches, clocks, men's and women's suits, coats, shoes, overshoes, and wearing apparel of wide variety and excellent quality and style. Electric refrigerators, radios, television sets, toasters, mixers, and dining and kitchen ware were attractively arranged in large quantities.

Everyone seemed to have money to spend on the plentiful supply of consumers' goods. Crowds of buyers made it look like bargain day at all the stores we saw. Budgeting in the Soviet family is simplified by the fact that many services which we consider major expenses are provided to the Soviet citizen free or at a very nominal cost. Rent, for example, by law cannot exceed 10 per cent of the salary of the highest paid worker in the family. Rarely, if ever, does it amount to that, and the rents paid by the people we met averaged 3 to 5 per cent, including gas, light, central heating, and other services. All medical care, dental care, and hospitalization are provided free, and during an illness a worker and any member of the family who has to remain away from work to care for him, receive full wages. Workers' union dues, averaging no more than 1 per cent of their monthly salaries, provide them with all the facilities needed for rest, leisure, and recreation at the Palaces of Culture or numerous workers' clubs developed by all factories, mines, collective farms, and major institutions.

Workers generally live within walking distance of the place at which they work, since housing is usually built around plants and other centers where people are employed, and so even the modest carfare to and from work is often eliminated from the family budget. At the age of retirement, 60 or less for men and 55 or under for women, varying somewhat according to the type of job, workers are guaranteed rent free the rest of their lives plus a pension of from 50 to 100 per cent of their wages. And as has been previously noted those who do not wish to retire continue to receive regular wages in addition to pension payments. Thus most families have several "providers" and their combined salaries provide an ample family budget.

The family budget in the Soviet Union is usually

spent for food, clothing, household furnishings, cars, radios, television, extra entertainment, and books. Because no family is short of funds to purchase the things it needs, the whole idea of the family budget is strange to the Soviet people. When we asked one auto worker about his family budget, he couldn't understand what we meant. Then when we explained that it meant counting your money beforehand so that it would go far enough, he said: "In the Soviet Union we don't *count* our money, we *spend* it." A number of people told us they have savings in government bonds or banks, generally directed toward buying something they want; a house, an automobile, or an extra-long vacation trip at the Black Sea or the Urals. We did not find anyone who was saving against the proverbial rainy day or to provide for old age.

When we expressed our desire to visit Soviet families and see the homes in which they lived, our hosts told us, "Why, of course. Pick out any you want, and go when you want." We visited several families, chosen at random.

On the afternoon of November 30, we visited the large Housing Project for Workers of the Kirov Plant in Leningrad. First we called on the family of a steel worker who worked on night shift. We found him at home with his wife and 12-year-old son. Theirs was a three-room apartment—kitchens and baths are not counted as rooms in the Soviet Union—on the ground floor of a modern, centrally heated apartment house. Their apartment was comfortably furnished, light and airy, neat and homelike. Healthy potted plants were attractively displayed in the living room. The boy had a separate bedroom-study. In the courtyard, children were playing in sandpiles. The family seemed happy and proud of this home for which they paid less than 5 per cent of their income. Before the Revolution this

family would have been crowded into one room, perhaps with other people.

A feature of this Housing Project for Workers that we found most interesting was the kindergarten. Here they care for children from three to seven years old. There are four kindergartens in the Kirov Housing Project, each with a capacity of 100 children, arranged in separate groups of 25. The staff includes a full-time pediatrician, nurses, and a trained attendant in charge of each group of 25 or less. Its facilities are open to all the families living in the project, as are the factory's day nurseries for infants up to three.

Another family we visited consisted of a husband, wife, and two daughters, one daughter living at home, and the other away at a university. The husband had an average monthly income of 1500-1750 rubles, and his wife averaged 600-800 rubles. From this total family income, they paid 90 rubles for rent, including utilities, and at the time we spoke to them they were expecting another rent decrease. Both husband and wife had savings accounts. They estimated for us that 70 per cent of their budget was spent for food, and the rest for clothing, books, and entertainment. They explained that their food expenditures were higher than average because they preferred to eat most of their meals out, with only dinner at home, and this doubled their expenses.

Jakob Akulov is a foreman of tractor production in the Kirov Plant. He lives with his wife and daughter, and he is the only working member of the family. His wages average 1500 to 1750 rubles per month, and of this, he too pays 90 rubles for rent. His daughter, who is 17, studies at a girls' school, and plans to be either a doctor or a teacher. When we asked him whether he liked apartment life, or whether he would prefer building his own private house, he told us that he

preferred the apartment, for he felt that living there gave him more time for cultural enjoyment.

Many families do build their own homes. The lot is given free and the government lends the money without interest. It is paid back over a period of years. The family receives help from the trade union, and buys the necessary materials from the plant at state prices. Each plant maintains a file of housing plans for the workers to choose from. In order to encourage private building, the state has created a special fund for this purpose, and this year's program is already overfulfilled. Once a worker has built a house for his family, he is free to sell it at any time at a price meeting the legal requirements, but he may not sell the land on which the house is built. The land goes with the house to the next owner, and is, of course, free of taxes. Taxes are paid on the house, and these usually amount to approximately six-tenths of one per cent of the worker's income. Workers choose the size of their houses according to the number in the family or plans

New housing for workers, like that seen by the delegates, is going up all over the Soviet Union. These are apartment houses for miners of the Moscow coalfields, at Stalinogorsk.

for increases. In a privately owned house, the family is responsible for all care, repairs, and upkeep.

In addition to those at the Kirov Housing Project, we had the opportunity to visit several other families, and to talk to other workers about their homes. For example, the conductor on the night train to Leningrad compared his present living conditions for us with those under the Tsar. He told us, "Before the Revolution, I had two rooms. I rented out one of them, and our family of five lived in the other. Today, my wife and I have a three-room apartment and my son is a teacher." All the older people we talked to emphasized the contrast between their living conditions today, and those under the Tsar. All had at least twice as much living space as they had before, and now had kitchen and bathroom facilities, neither of which was included in workers' housing before the Revolution.

Finally, in Moscow, we visited the home of Zinaida Troitskaya, assistant chief dispatcher of the Metro. A graduate of the transportation school, she is one of seven assistants in charge of the movement of trains on the Moscow subway. Her husband and an older daughter were both killed in the war, and she lives with her mother and daughter of eight. She explained to us that she works from 10 AM to 6 PM, coming home to have her afternoon meal with her family. On her return from work she takes a walk with her daughter so that they can chat about events of the day, and especially the progress she is making in music and languages. Although only eight, Zinaida's daughter speaks English and French fluently. When we asked the little girl what she thought of Americans, she replied in slow but perfect English, "The American people want peace, so do the Soviet people, they should work together."

This family lives in a three room apartment—plus kitchen and bath of course. As a working mother, Zinaida has help with the cooking and house cleaning.

There has been no dissolution of the family in the Soviet Union. On the contrary, we have seen that family ties and family devotion are close and warm. The family unit is a fundamental part of Soviet society, and is protected and integrated within it. It is a family devoted to a rich, full, and constructive life for all its members, within a framework of economic security, that leaves its members genuinely free to lead the kind of lives they wish. It is a family dedicated to working in peace, with a sure confidence that the future will be a happy one.

8: Women of the Soviets

by Mrs. Pauline Taylor, Mrs. Mollie Lucas, Mrs. Therese Robinson, Mrs. Jacqueline Clack, Dr. John A. Kingsbury, Professor Holland Roberts

Before our visit all of us had heard of a new freedom and equality for women in the Soviet Union, of opportunities and achievements that had given to the phrase "a woman's place" rich and positive meaning. We wondered what Soviet women would be like. Would there be losses with the gains, especially losses in womanliness? Our trip to Moscow, Leningrad, and Stalingrad gave us the opportunity to meet many of the women of the Soviets, and to learn about the role of women in this new socialist society.

Ina Koulakovskaya, a representative of VOKS, the Soviet organization for cultural relations with foreign countries, greeted us warmly at the airport upon our arrival in Moscow. A young woman in her early thirties, trained in the foreign language institute of the

University of Moscow, she spoke in almost flawless English, and was our chief interpreter, the organizer of our itinerary, and our able guide and companion throughout our ten-day stay. All the members of our delegation agreed that she was an outstanding personality. Her efficiency, love of people, courtesy, wide knowledge, her patience and especially her ability to anticipate our needs and our desires impressed every one of us. Even as she helped us carry out one activity, she was already exploring the possibilities for the next, always suggesting interesting things, posing alternatives to us, figuring out the time that each would take, and arranging our itinerary in the best possible order, so that we might see the most in the short time we had. Her suggestions were both practical and creative, and she carried out her difficult, trying, and often exhausting task with charm, grace, patience, and warm good humor.

Ina met all her responsibilities both to our delegation and to her family. Each afternoon, after planning out our program with us, she would leave for a few hours to spend time with her two children. She never spoke of it but from the other guides we learned that her husband, to whom she had been deeply devoted, had been killed in the war.

A few days after our arrival, several of us came down with heavy colds. Members of the Soviet Peace Committee suggested an examination at the polyclinic, at government expense, to avoid the possibility of serious illness. The polyclinic sent a physician, a woman of about 45. Dr. Kingsbury, himself a medical man, commented on the thoroughness and efficiency of her procedure and diagnosis. From her quiet, businesslike answers to the questions that we asked, we learned that she was married to an economist and had two children. She was practicing four hours a day and

earned 1000 rubles a month. She told us with a smile that of course she could work longer hours, but she preferred to have more time to devote to her family. Since her husband earns 2500 rubles a month, she doesn't have to work at all, but she is keenly interested in her profession and finds that she can maintain a healthy balance between her medical career and her family life. This was a striking demonstration for us of how Soviet women with families can vary their work loads to suit their needs and strength. There is no conflict between careers and family life, for the woman who wants both is not forced to carry two full work loads at the risk of destroying her health and happiness.

In Stalingrad we met Madame Kislova, a sturdy woman with a commanding presence, who as a Commissar for a Red Army Battalion participated in the heroic defense of the Stalingrad tractor plant which was fought for building by building, wall by wall, workbench by workbench. At a banquet for our delegation in the Stalingrad Palace of Culture, Madame Kislova told us that the very room in which we were being feasted had been the scene of a pitched battle. The Nazis were able to capture only part of the Palace of Culture. Unable to advance any further and enraged at the resistance, they burned down that part which they held, bound two women defenders of Stalingrad whom they had captured and threw them into the flames.

Women played a large part in the notable victory at the Battle of Stalingrad. They served in fighting units; they worked at the important job of transporting supplies; and they took complete charge of the children who had been caught in the city by the surprise attack by the Nazis on that quiet Sunday, August 23, 1942.

Alexandra Cherkassova, childcare center worker of Stalingrad, started a reconstruction movement throughout the Soviet Union which today bears her name. Cherkassova's story is widely known in the USSR and we heard of her in each city that we visited.

During the battle for Stalingrad, Sergeant Pavlov with a seven man reconnaissance unit drove the Nazis from a workers' apartment building and defended that building for fifty-seven days in the face of incessant bombing and shelling. After the Germans were driven back toward Berlin, this apartment house became known as "Pavlov's House" in honor of its heroic defender. Cherkassova determined to rebuild it and, although she knew nothing about reconstruction, organized other women of the city to do the job. Day after day, they devoted their free hours after their regular work to the voluntary labor of clearing away the rubble and rebuilding the house. Others began to emulate Cherkassova and her unit of women and the movement spread through Stalingrad. In this way much of the city was rebuilt and the idea spread to other sections of the Soviet Union—to Leningrad, Moscow, Kharkov, to all the areas that had been devastated by the Nazis, We were happy and proud to meet this noted woman and to bring back peace greetings from her to America.

Everywhere we went we met remarkable women, many of whom are mentioned elsewhere in this report. To us they were all outstanding women, but as we rapidly came to discover, they were not exceptional in the USSR, for the Soviets are creating a society with full freedom and equal rights for all women as a matter of course.

There are many more that we could tell about. For example, Valentina Orlikova, captain of the whaling ship "Storm," began as an ordinary seaman on a sail-

ing vessel and worked her way up through the ranks. A woman of delicate beauty, Captain Orlikova has served on Soviet ships for more than ten years and has made a number of voyages around the world. During the war she came to the United States as a third mate and is well known to the San Franciscans in our delegation who met her at that time, as well as to many New Yorkers who met her when her ship docked there.

The life of Varvara Georgievskaya is a dramatic example of the contrast between conditions under the tsar and under the Soviets. Her youth was spent in tsarist Russia. As a schoolgirl she dreamed of some day becoming a physician, but, for the daughter of a poor village teacher, this dream was unrealizable. Varvara was twenty-five when the Revolution made higher education available to everyone, and she entered medical school at Moscow. A military surgeon during the second world war, she is today one of the leading surgeons in the Botkin Hospital and has published some twenty papers in medical journals. She participates in the many-sided life of the Moscow district in which her hospital is located and is a deputy to the District Soviet. In addition she keeps up with the latest literature and conducts a philosophical circle for physicians.

The contrast between two worlds was summed up by Evdokia Turchaninova, People's Artist of the USSR, in her acceptance speech when she was elected a deputy to the Regional Soviet. She said: "I have lived two lives. And only my second life has been a genuine life, one that has brought me close to the great people of my native land, to my own Soviet Government. It has joined my life with the general interests, the common anxieties and joys of my country. And so, in spite of my declining years, I want to

continue to have the possibility to work together with you for the benefit of our country. Tell me where and when could a woman beyond our borders, a woman from the midst of the people who has lived 80 years, even dream that she would be entrusted with honorable work in the government?"

We found that in the society which the Soviet people are building the energies and abilities of women have become a greater social force than ever before in history. No avenue of activity is barred to them. We found them taking their places beside men in all branches of production, and of cultural, scientific, and political work.

Almost a million women hold active positions in the Soviet government; approximately one-half million are members of local Soviets, almost 2000 are members of the Supreme Soviets of autonomous republics, and 277 are members of the highest state authority in the land, the Supreme Soviet of the USSR. One-third of the judges of the supreme courts of the republic, and one-half of the judges in regional and area courts, are women.

In the technical and scientific fields, the figures are just as impressive. There are 250,000 women engineers and technicians in the USSR, 100,000 physicians, 35,000 employed in scientific institutes and laboratories, and 1,800,000 working in the field of public education. In fact, 44 per cent of the specialists with higher education in the Soviet Union are women.

The millions of women who work in the factories and in transport total 40 per cent of all workers in the Soviet Union. At the Stalin Plant and in the Polygraphic Linotype works women who have mastered the high skills required of the modern industrial worker are operating complex machines with ease and efficiency. Of hundreds of thousands of women

in Leningrad we found that many hold posts as directors of factories, heads of brigades or shifts. During the war women took the places of men in the factories, mills, and mines, and a number of them fought in the ranks of the Soviet Army and the partisan units. Their employment in civilian positions did not terminate with the end of the war, unless they themselves wished it to, for it was not considered merely an emergency measure as in other countries. We found that in all positions, women received equal pay for equal work.

In agriculture, again we find hundreds of thousands of Soviet women working as agronomists, technicians, mechanics, chairmen of collective farms, and directors of machine and tractor stations, while more than 700,000 women are now drivers of tractors and combines, captains of tractor teams, heads of field brigades, and managers of livestock branches. In the United States, the Department of Labor reports that the number of women employed in *all* types of agricultural work totals 840,000.

This extensive activity on the part of the women of the Soviets has in no way weakened family ties. On the contrary, the family has been strengthened, for as women have become equals in the society, so have they become equals in the marital relation.

Alexandra Alexandrova is a hostess we met on the plane on the way to Stalingrad.

She is an attractive, healthy brunette of 28 who was born near Moscow and has always lived there. Her parents were collective farmers; both of them died in 1933 when she was eleven, but she was well taken care of under the law which protects orphaned children, and graduated from high school in 1940. She spent the war years working at a heavy bomber base and then several years in an office as a clerical worker

before she took a special one-month course to prepare her for her present work as an air hostess.

When Alexandra mentioned that she was married to a pilot, we asked her if she had met her husband on the job. Her eyes glinted as she replied: "*First* I married a pilot, and *then* I took up flying." Let no one mistake the situation—the pilot had come to her!

Her wages are based on the number of miles flown monthly and they vary from 1200 to 1500 rubles a month. Her husband earns 2500 to 3000 rubles monthly, and their combined income is ample for their needs. For convenience they have two furnished apartments, two rooms at a Moscow airport and a large room and bath in the city. The total rent for both apartments is 50 rubles a month.

Women in the Soviet Union have leisure time to spend with their families, to continue their education, engage in cultural activities, participate in sports and other forms of recreation. We found Soviet women simply but well dressed, using a little less makeup than American women do, and not going in for startling hair-does. Their clothes are very much like those of American women, and there is a prevalent interest in the latest fashions—with fashion shows and style exhibitions.

Although the majority of women work, there are many who prefer to be housewives. These women participate in the life of their society by contributing voluntary time to the nurseries or working in other civic causes. They can place their own children in nurseries or keep them at home as they wish. For the women who wish to work, there is every assurance that their children will be well cared for. Every enterprise which employs women must furnish a nursery school and a kindergarten for the children of its employees. This makes it possible for women not only to

feel secure that their children are safe and well taken care of, but also enables them to visit with their children during the day. Mothers with babies are given time off during the day to nurse their children with no deduction in wages. Expectant and nursing mothers are not permitted to work night shift or overtime, and it is a penal offense to reduce a woman's pay or refuse her a job because of pregnancy. All women are given maternity leave with full pay five weeks before and six weeks after the birth of the child, and this leave is extended if necessary. After childbirth women are guaranteed the right to return to their jobs. An allowance for both mother and child to provide for extra expense is given at each birth, and every child is assured by law of all the necessities for a healthy life.

There is an extensive network of free maternity homes, children's consultation centers, nurseries and kindergartens set up in the towns and villages

The mother of Zoya Kosmodemyanskaya with a group of the American delegates. Left to right: Mrs. Laura Louise Leek, Mrs. Liubov Kosmodemyanskaya, Mrs. Pauline Taylor, Mrs. Mollie Lucas, Mrs. Jacqueline Clack

throughout the country. Ninety-five per cent of all the confinements in the Soviet Union take place in lying-in hospitals where women receive competent care free of charge. Expectant mothers are also registered at special state consultation centers so that they are certain of constant and careful medical observation. Mothers with large families are given special state allowances, and there are allowances also for the care of unmarried mothers and their children. The Soviet people have put into operation that vast system of children's institutions and communal catering planned by Lenin, and considered by him as an important step in the liberation of women when he wrote: "Public dining rooms, nurseries, kindergartens, these... are the means that can liberate the woman in actual practice, these are the practical means of lessening and abolishing woman's inequality with man as far as her work in production and in social life is concerned."

Soviet women have suffered and sacrificed in the front ranks with Soviet men. Perhaps the most significant symbol of that sacrifice for us was Liubov Kosmodemyanskaya, whom we met at our farewell banquet in Moscow. She was a striking figure, a tall woman with almost snow-white hair. She talked to our delegates and someone asked, "Do you know who she is?" And then answered without pausing, "That's Zoya's mother."

Zoya Kosmodemyanskaya—we knew her story well. We had always thought of her mother as a subdued, weathered, little woman, standing battered but unbowed. And now this commanding, beautiful woman, in a black evening gown, all kindness and graciousness, making certain that all our delegates and especially our nine Negro members were enjoying this final evening among their Soviet friends. As

she took us by the hand, one by one, we could see traces of tragedy in her face but no self-pity, or brooding sorrow. Instead dignity and sure, quiet strength.

As she spoke of her work in the great Soviet peace movement, we thought: Only nine years ago this fall your Zoya was leading her senior class here in Moscow's Public High School 201, and you saw her and her brother Shura off to school every morning and welcomed them home at night. You talked with them daily about the war and your hearts grew heavy as the fascist robbers drew closer to Moscow.

Soon you heard Zoya's decision, "Mother, I must leave school and join the Partisans. I must fight for our dear Soviet land."

Then a few weeks of silence and word came; Zoya has been captured and the Nazi murderers have hanged her. That night you listened to Shura tell you that he and eight of Zoya's classmates had joined the Red Army. Shura, who was to suffer many wounds in the years ahead and to die thirteen days before Soviet power blasted the last Nazi from the bunkers of Berlin.

All of this and Zoya's flaming words of defiance as the Nazi noose tightened around her slender schoolgirl neck ran through our minds as we talked with her mother about our joint work for peace.

The women of the Soviets do not grieve about their past, or about their sacrifices in the war against fascism which we fought together. They spoke to us of the future, a future of lasting peace, security, and steadily increasing prosperity and they asked us what the women of America are doing to stop the drive toward war.

9: An Equal Start in Life

by Mrs. Mollie Lucas, Mrs. Therese Robinson, Mrs. Pauline Taylor, Mr. James Miller Mrs. Dorothy Cole, Dr. Willard Uphaus, Dr. John A. Kingsbury

There are youth and child care problems in the Soviet Union, but the nature of the problems and the attitude of the people and the government toward them is far different from anything we found outside the USSR. Many of us have children of our own, and are keenly aware of the problems which children and youth face today.

We wanted to know whether there was juvenile delinquency in the USSR. Would we find cases of drug addiction and juvenile prostitution, things which have become major problems at home? How were children being educated about the problems of war and peace? Were there air raid drills and identification tags for elementary and secondary school children?

Motherhood and children are treated with the deepest respect in the Soviet Union, an appreciation that is based upon a respect for the child for its own sake—that is, for the latent powers that may be developed—and for the sake of the community. By law *every* child has the right to an equal start in life, and in practice this is not left to whim or chance.

All young mothers get careful instruction, free, before and after the birth of the child. We have already described the special provisions for maternity—the maternity homes and consultation centers, maternity leaves from work, and special pensions. We found that this type of special provision for child care, for the needs and energies of children and youth, continues right up to their maturity. We observed that the Soviet Union has practically eliminated juvenile delinquency

by providing incentives for learning and many outlets for creative, seeking minds and talents. We never saw children playing on the streets. They were either in nurseries, kindergartens, schools, or, after school, in one of the many clubs, Palaces of Culture, or parks taking part in a variety of organized activities.

We visited several nurseries and kindergartens during our stay. One of the four at the Housing Project for Workers of the Kirov Plant is typical of what we found. When we arrived, the children were taking their afternoon naps in well-designed, comfortable beds with fresh linen and white covers. There were small, individual closets for the children's clothes. In the play rooms, the great variety of equipment was in good order. The clothes of each child were folded neatly on his chair, each garment with its embroidered symbol, such as a turtle, bird, or flower. Similarly, in the washrooms each child's symbol is on his cup, toothbrush, towel, and wash cloth. For the convenience of the mother, kindergartens are open from seven in the morning till seven in the evening although parents may leave their children overnight if necessary. There is a teacher for each group of 25 children, and each group has its own nap room and dining room with small tables, covered with white tablecloths, accommodating four children each. This kindergarten is staffed by a doctor, nurses, and trained attendants, and all four kindergartens in the Kirov Houses are under the supervision of a pediatrician. Everything was spotlessly clean, and the children looked healthy, uninhibited, happy, and well cared for.

Nurseries are open to all children from six weeks through three years of age, and kindergartens to children from four to seven. All mothers may leave their children at a nursery or kindergarten if they wish, whether they are working mothers or not, but none are

required to. In some cases a small fee of 60 to 90 rubles per month is charged for food, but no child may ever be deprived of this care for financial reasons.

In tsarist Russia, the few nurseries that did exist were maintained by religious and charitable organizations. In the early days of the Revolution, a nursery system on a large scale was started, and today there are nurseries in every city and throughout the countryside of the USSR, including the most remote sections of Asia, the Arctic Circle, and the Caucasus Mountains.

The nursery which we visited at the Stalin Auto Plant is a characteristic example of the growth of child care facilities. In 1930, the plant nursery accommodated 35 children. Today, the plant has six nurseries, one of which alone accommodates 240 children.

Soviet nurseries are not only child welfare centers but are also one of the places where mothers learn to feed and care for their children properly. In addition to the work done at the nursery itself, members of the staff make regular visits to homes to see the conditions under which the children live and to instruct the parents in hygiene. Contact is close between the nursery and the home.

The work of the nursery during this early period of the child's life is supplemented by Consultation Centers, which begin to help the mother immediately after confinement. The center never waits for the mother to come with her child, but sends a member of its staff to visit her as soon as notice of the baby's birth is received, from the records bureau. It is the responsibility of the Consultation Center to watch over a child's health during the first three or four years. Moscow Consultation Center No. 26, which was celebrating its 25th anniversary, has cared for 68,000 children during its existence. Today it is staffed by five

doctors and ten visiting nurses.

In addition to nurseries, kindergartens, consultation centers, and schools, we found numerous other facilities for child welfare, training, development, and recreation. Several of the doctors and child care workers that we talked to explained to us the entire system of open-air playgrounds and summer homes and Young Pioneer Camps that are provided for the children during the summer season, and the children's sanatoria that are to be found outside of the cities. There are special "forest schools" for children who are tubercular. During the summer months, many nurseries and kindergartens are moved to the country.

There is no book study in the nursery and kindergarten. The child is developed up through the age of seven through games, music, and other planned activities. At the nurseries and kindergartens, those in charge attempt to teach both individual initiative and the art of living together. At one nursery, for example,

The delegates found that there are no atom bomb drills and no war talk in Soviet schools. These children are in the second class of a collective farm school in the Ukraine

we saw inscribed above a door, "Never do anything for this child which it can do for itself." At the same place we watched an elementary lesson in co-operative work. Children playing with blocks discovered that the smaller blocks were light and could be handled easily, but that the larger and heavier blocks required the help of other children before they could be moved.

As we left one of the nurseries in Leningrad, a group of older youngsters gathered around us. Most of them were boys of seven and over with a few girls and adults around the fringe of the crowd.

A number of the boys spoke English, so we began to talk to them. When we asked, "What do you want to be when you grow up?" the reply came in unison, "Engineers! Engineers!"

"But doesn't anyone want to be a doctor or a lawyer?" we countered.

"Oh, that's for girls," was the answer.

Later we found that women doctors far outnumber men. But not a single child wanted to be a gunner or a bombardier.

In all our talks with children, we found that they were very well informed about world conditions as well as their own country. They were thoroughly aware of how their government functioned; they knew who held what offices, and what the responsibilities of the various agencies were as well as what was expected of them as citizens. They are made to feel a part of the community life around them. Nowhere did it appear to us that these were youth being trained for war.

On the streets, we noticed that everyone was warmly clothed. Many of the children looked like little bunnies with their fur hats, fur coats, fur gloves, and fur boots. They were healthy, enthusiastic, friend-

ly, and remarkably unselfconscious. They did not hesitate to talk to us, and they asked, as well as answered, many questions.

None of the children smoked, and very few of the younger adults. Drug addiction and all forms of prostitution are unknown in the Soviet Union. We found no sign, either, of young people hanging around the streets at night. They were all at home or engaged in some kind of activity, usually at a club or a Palace of Culture, learning ballet, wood carving, photography, painting, music, technical pursuits, or any of a number of interesting and valuable things.

We visited the art and science rooms for young people in one of the Palaces of Culture. The director, a very young man with an impish sense of humor, showed us around. He told us something of each of the different activities. Of the ballet project, he remarked; "In our Palace of Culture, we only have two thousand children studying ballet." ONLY two thousand! "Sometimes," he told us, "when we have such distinguished visitors as the American Peace Delegation, we do not have enough entertainers to provide just the kind of program we like. In that case, we get our substitutes." He brought out a small wooden box with a glass top, and wiped the glass quickly with a cloth. Some small paper dolls inside rose up and danced. We all craned our necks to see what the trick was, but he shook his finger at us, and said, "Oh, you want to see what makes it work. Come to the lecture and find out!" This was one of the methods used to interest young people in science. The method is effective, because we're still wondering "what makes it work" and if we had had the time, we would have gone to the lecture to find out.

Many of the children we talked to spoke English well, for they are taught foreign languages in school,

beginning at an early age. We were amazed to find nine-year-olds in the library reading French classics that we did not know. Questions were thrown at us by the children about American authors whose names were vaguely familiar to us but whose books we ourselves had not read. In each of our visits to a Palace of Culture we found the reading rooms filled with youngsters, and the shelves well-stocked with English, Continental, Asian, and American as well as Russian authors.

In the ballet club we were treated to some excellent ballet and folk dancing in which both boys and girls participated. The self-assurance of the youngsters was evident. Once a very young boy, in the midst of a dance, missed a step. Without faltering, he filled in with another quick step, and picked up with the others on the next. The children in performing for us showed neither embarrassment nor a tendency to show off. We could not escape the feeling that every one of them enjoyed the security of being wanted, of being sure of his place in the world, knowing that his contribution was an important and a welcome one.

Never in our travels were we able to find any toys representing guns, tanks, bombers, or other instruments of war. Nor could we find any comic books or murder stories, although there are plenty of humorous books and adventure stories for children. History, economics, science, classical and modern literature seemed to be the favorite reading matter, and the newspapers were filled with articles about the fulfillment of quotas, the giant electrification projects, cultural and scientific advances, leaders in production and the arts, and the benefits of peace.

In the lives of the children we found no evidence of an aggressive or warlike people. There are no atom bomb drills in the schools nor is there any war talk.

Everything from the gigantic program of construction to the loving care and education of children indicated a sincere and profound desire for peace.

10: We Go to Church

by Rev. Robert Muir, Dr. Willard Uphaus, Professor Holland Roberts, Mrs. Therese Robinson, Mrs. Mollie Lucas, Mr. Charles Howard, Rev. Massie Kennard.

Is there freedom of religion in the Soviet Union? This was one of the questions uppermost in the minds of our delegation and especially in the minds of the three delegates who are members of the clergy, the Reverend Robert M. Muir, Dr. Willard Uphaus, and the Reverend Massie Kennard.

Yes, there is freedom of religion in the Soviet Union. We found the Soviet people worshipping freely when they chose to do so, and in whatever faith they chose. There are thousands of churches of all faiths in the Soviet Union, and we visited a number of them in our travels.

The majority of the churches are Russian Orthodox, which was the official state church under the Tsar, and which is still the faith with the greatest number of adherents in the country. But congregations of other denominations are common, and they all live together without friction, antagonism, or enmity. We found ten large religious associations in the Soviet Union, and numerous smaller ones.

Second to the Russian Orthodox faith in the number of adherents, is the Moslem religion (Islam). Then there are the Roman Catholic Church (St. Ludovic's has a parish of about 2000 in Moscow), the Church of the Old Ritualists, with its three large sects, each independent of the others, the Georgian Orthodox ,Church, the Armenian or Gregorian Church, the

Evangelical Christian Baptist Church, the Lutheran Church, the Buddhist religion, and the Judaic religion. Although these are the largest religious groups in the Soviet Union, there are many other faiths and churches with smaller congregations such as the Methodists, the Seventh Day Adventists, and the Molokani.

The size of each religious group has nothing to do with the rights which it enjoys. We found that ever since the distinct separation of church and state, there is no struggle for power among the various churches; each one enjoys the same rights in the society, irrespective of the number of adherents which it has.

Our entire delegation made a trip to two beautiful cathedrals in the Kremlin. Each is a distinctive, complex work of art, ornamented with gold, sculpture, tapestries, and paintings. Many church and state dignitaries of earlier ages lie entombed here in all the grandeur of the Middle Ages. Like every other public edifice in the Soviet Union, these buildings are spotless and are carefully maintained at state expense in all their original splendor. These, and the famous St. Basil's Cathedral in the Red Square, are maintained as museums. But in the many churches throughout Moscow, in several of which we attended services for the public, devout people may worship as they wish. Some churches were crowded and others were only partly filled, just as they are at home. When we inquired about freedom of religion and the devotion of adherents, the Soviet clergy replied that they enjoyed real religious freedom for the first time. In tsarist times only the state church was free, now all creeds are free to practice their faith, and minority sects are no longer persecuted.

Four of us, the three ministers in our delegation and Mr. Howard, interviewed the Metropolitan Nikolai, noted leader of the Russian Orthodox Church, for

an hour and a half. He told us that since the Revolution, only true believers are in the church. In tsarist times attendance and support of the Russian Orthodox Church were compulsory, now attendance and support are voluntary, and the devotion therefore is much greater. The Russian Orthodox Church has always had a large membership, and still does.

He assured us that Soviet democracy offers a better chance for spiritual and religious growth, because of the separation of state and church. When we asked him whether he thought that the present state regime fulfilled the social ideals of religion, he answered: "The social ideals of religion—love, justice, equality, brotherhood, and peace—are integral parts of the present Soviet social system." They are the foundations of the system, realistically in this case. He pointed to facts that we had seen with our own eyes—that the government was building for peace, that all people were equal, and that there is true friendship and sincere brotherhood among all peoples of the USSR. "The government," he explained, "teaches love for labor and duty to humanity along with love, justice, and equality, which help in the development of people and in living together."

He clarified for us, too, the question of whether the government carries on any atheistic propaganda against the Church or persecutes the Church, by explaining that "the State does not interfere in matters pertaining to the Church, and the Church does not interfere in matters pertaining to the State. The Soviet Constitution of 1936 guarantees absolute freedom of religion as well as atheism. The 'Godless Leagues' that were formed in the early days [now dissolved] were purely voluntary associations and entirely divorced from the government."

When the Soviet government abolished the former supremacy of the Russian Orthodox Church, it made certain that no religion in the USSR was to be put under constraint or subjected to restrictions. All denominations have equal rights, and each has the duty equally incumbent on all of them not to infringe upon Soviet laws.

We found that religious groups not only have freedom of worship, but also hold congresses and conferences, and publish religious book and magazines. The Russian Orthodox Church, for example, issues a weekly magazine with articles on religious and moral themes, and has its own publishing house. The various religious groups maintain their ecclesiastical academies, seminaries, and other schools for the training of the clergy. The Roman Catholic Church for example, has more than ninety monasteries and convents, and the Russian Orthodox Church maintains

We found the Soviet people worshipping freely... and in whatever faith they chose." Left, in the Yelokhovsky Cathedral in Moscow; right, service in a Moscow Synagogue

ten middle schools (corresponding to American high schools) and three academies (corresponding to American colleges) with an average attendance of 300-400 each. The Moslems have their madrasahs for this same purpose, and those of the Jewish faith, their rabbinical schools.

Church bodies in the Soviet Union freely maintain relations with their congregations in other countries. Many of them have accredited representatives abroad. Because of the complete separation of church and state there are no relationships as such between the Soviet Government and the Vatican, and no treaties are necessary between any church, such as the Roman Catholic Church, and the state. Representatives are permitted to participate in religious affairs abroad, and Moslems may make pilgrimages to Mecca if they so desire.

Churches are supported by the congregation of believers. The people contribute funds, a percentage of which pays the salary of priest, minister, or rabbi. Another part goes to a central fund for schools,

Soviet citizens who are ministers of any faith or members of any religious congregations are not restricted in any way in their rights as Soviet citizens. They are entitled to vote in all elections, and are eligible to hold political office. They also have the right and the duty, as do all other citizens, to engage in discussions of the problems of the country, and to participate in criticism and self-criticism which is a fundamental part of Soviet life.

We talked to university students and to teachers about religion also, and they told us that the study of religions is compulsory as a part of history and philosophy. They explained:

"We do not regard religion as superstition. We regard it as a world outlook."

We went to church in Moscow; we talked to members of the clergy and to people of various religious faiths, and we saw *free*dom of religion in operation in the Soviet Union. The Soviet constitution states that everyone is free to have his own religious beliefs. People are free to study at theological schools and to enter the clergy. They are free to publish religious literature. When a person applies for a job or enters a university or other institution, no one inquires into his religious beliefs. People are free to have those beliefs, and free under the constitution to advance those beliefs or to advance atheism.

We saw that all religions and religious groups in the Soviet Union, as in every other aspect of Soviet society, are dedicated to peace. The clergy of all the religions, like the other people of the USSR, are participating actively in the struggle for peace. The heads of all the churches subscribed to the Stockholm Peace Appeal and called upon clergymen in other countries to do so as well.

The Russian Orthodox Church supports the reconstruction program of the state and the peace program of the Soviet Union. Metropolitan Nikolai told us:

> "The Church supports the State in any program that will help the people of the country. Since the Government's program is one of building up the country for peaceful purposes, the Church supports it.
>
> "The Russian Orthodox, and all other Russian Churches as well as Soviet citizens are banded together in the struggle for peace. The Church has been with the people in time of war, in hard, times, and will continue to struggle for peace."

We found many Soviet clergymen actively participating in the work of the Soviet Peace Committee to

which they were elected. Among them are the Metropolitan Nikolai, head of the. Russian Orthodox Church, Georg VI, the High Patriarch of all Armenians, Archbishop Turs, the head of the Evangelical Lutheran Church of the Latvian SSR, and Mufti Ishan Babakhan, the President of the Ecclesiastical Board of the Moslems of Central Asia and Kazakhstan.

It is our conviction that the churches of the Soviet Union are free, that they are part of Soviet society, and like that society they are dedicated to peace.

11: Health for the People

by Dr. John A. Kingsbury

As we toured Moscow the morning after our arrival, I was amazed by the visible changes on every hand which had taken place in the less than two decades since I last visited the Soviet Union. But impressive as these were, as a worker in the field of healthy I was even more interested in the public health and medical development which has taken place since 1932. The brief time at my disposal did not afford the opportunity for extensive visiting, to be sure, but as an experienced investigator familiar with the Soviet health plan, I knew the value of "sampling."

"The health of the workers is the work of the workers themselves." This is the proposition stated by Lenin in the early days of the Russian Revolution when he formulated the principles of a socialist health program, a program which provided for a radical reorganization of the entire system of medical care. It called for the provision of medical colleges, research institutes, polyclinics, and hospitals for diagnosis and treatment of mental and physical illness, available to all people without charge. It outlined a comprehensive program of preventive medicine, including

healthful living and working conditions, and provided for social insurance. The Soviet Government was the first in the world to proclaim the principle of state medical care for all the people. Statesmen from Disraeli to Franklin Roosevelt have spoken of public health as the foundation of the state, but Lenin was the first statesman to lay that firm foundation.

Eighteen years ago with the aid of VOKS and the co-operation of the then Commissar of Health, Dr. M. F. Vladimirsky and his staff, Sir Arthur Newsholme of Great Britain and I familiarized ourselves with plans which, if fulfilled, would bring to pass the most comprehensive health and medical service in the world. Wherever we went—traveling from Moscow to Leningrad, to Gorky, to Saratov, to Kazan, to Stalingrad, to Rostov, to Tbilisi, to Batumi, to Kharkov—Sir Arthur and I had seen this great plan in progress. We had seen polyclinics and hospitals, research institutes and medical schools, sanatoria and convalescent homes comparable with, and often surpassing, any we knew elsewhere.

The medical achievements which we saw in 1932 are described in our book, *Red Medicine—Socialized Health in Soviet Russia.* Although marked progress was evident everywhere, I felt that anything approaching fulfillment of the Soviet health plan would require more than a generation. Therefore, during my recent visit I sought every opportunity to take samplings of social and health work. These samplings convinced me that my earlier apprehensions were unjustified.

During the course of my visit I had the opportunity to inspect the "ambulatories" in the great factory compounds, notably those of the Stalin Auto Works in Moscow, which employs 10,000 men and women, and of the Polygraphic Linotype Works in Leningrad,

and to inspect the Central Polyclinic and Hospital for Workers maintained by the Moscow Union of Train, Trolley, and Bus Workers.

The "ambulatory" of the Polygraphic Linotype Works is typical of the medical institutions attached to all large plants in the Soviet Union. As the name suggests, an "ambulatory" is an emergency medical and surgical service.

But it is more than that. It is a clinic for medical examination of all applicants for jobs in the plant and for periodic examinations. When a worker enters any branch of service in the Soviet Union, his or her medical history is recorded; and this record follows as the workers transfers from job to job and from one community to another. The ambulatory either begins or continues the applicant's medical history. But that is not all. The ambulatory is an admission bureau to hospitals, sanatoria, or other health services whether operated by municipality, state, co-operative, or union. It is also a treatment center for minor injuries and for other illnesses that do not require hospitalization. It is a pre-natal and post-natal clinic for women employees. Forty per cent of the employees in this plant are married women. At four and a half months, expectant mothers are put on light work; and 35 days before childbirth the clinic physician requires the woman to stop work. She is not permitted to return until 43 days after the birth or later in cases of complications. Not only is such clinic service as well as convalescent care provided free to all patients, full pay is continued for every worker during pregnancy and illness.

The ambulatory of the Polygraphic Plant provides many other facilities as complete as the maternity service. The comprehensive tuberculosis service interested me especially. All workers receive periodic

examination, including X-ray. The treatment of tuberculosis cases, both medical and surgical, compares favorably with the best known to me and I have been intimately in touch with tuberculosis work in the United States for over forty years. Moreover, the case-finding is as thorough as any with which I am familiar. All contacts in the family are examined; the members of every family in the apartment house are examined and any active cases are treated as required. Hospitals and sanatoria are available for all patients. These institutions may be owned and operated by the state, by a union, or a co-operative. Many unions have complete tuberculosis service including sanatoria and convalescent homes.

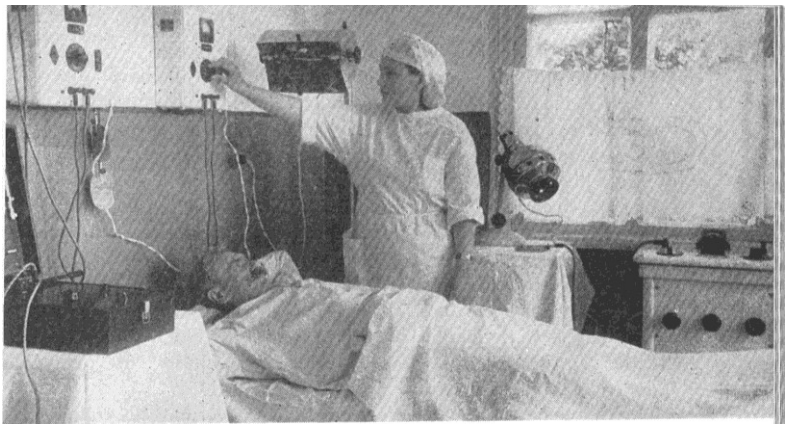
A unique institution found in most communities of the Soviet Union is the "Day and Night Sanatorium." There, patients in need of rest or convalescence, medical care, and special diet, may spend the day or night as their condition requires. Often convalescents, training for less taxing jobs, or assigned light work during the day, spend their nights at the Day and Night Sanatorium where medical and nursing care continue.

The ambulatory of the Polygraphic Plant also has a cancer clinic for diagnosis and treatment. While this service is affiliated with a Cancer Institute, the ambulatory is equipped for supplementary treatment, including deep X-ray.

These are a few of the medical services I inspected in the Ambulatory of the Polygraphic Plant, which is under the efficient direction of Dr. Anna K. Tatorkina, a graduate of the Pavlov Institute, who served at the front during the entire period of World War II. Since 1945 she has been Chief Doctor at the ambulatory. She is assisted by a staff of nine doctors, eight nurses, and several technicians. In addition to the medical ser-

vices of the ambulatory, the plant maintains nurseries and a kindergarten—transferred to the country during the summer—a dining-room, and a library with reading rooms.

One afternoon, I went to the Polyclinic-Hospital Center for Tram and Trolley Workers of Moscow. There I was received by the Director, Doctor Nemenov, with whom I spent three hours inspecting the institution and discussing the Soviet public health and medical service. It is not easy for one familiar only with the American, or even with the British, medical organization to grasp the intricate and interrelated medical services of unions, clubs, and cooperatives with municipal, state, and All-Union public health and medical activities. By and large, it can be said that the former supplement the latter, albeit sometimes the tail seems to wag the dog. This appears to be the case with the Tram and Trolley Workers Polyclinic which serves so many hundreds of workers through a quite complete and apparently independ-



Kingsbury reports astonishing advances in Soviet medicine over what he saw on his visit in 1932. *Above: a hospital in the Ukrainian village of Olshany*

ent service. All the public health and medical services of Moscow are available to these workers, and many highly specialized services are utilized. It should be emphasized, however, that all such organizations serving personnel engaged in their respective fields, function in conformity with the plans of the Ministry of Public Health of the USSR.

Besides the many polyclinics maintained by the Tram and Trolley Workers there are two polyclinic-hospital centers such as the one I visited. Dr. Nemenov considers the amalgamation of polyclinics and hospitals into single institutions under one management one of the most important advances in improving the treatment of patients and, especially, in developing preventive medicine. It enables physicians to keep their patients continuously under observation during the initial stages of illness and while hospitalized.

Dr. Nemenov, an intelligent and highly-trained physician of forty-five, has been in practice 19 years. Like all Soviet physicians, he is required to take a "refresher" course every four or five years, during which he receives full pay. Since 1945, the standard medical course has been lengthened from five to six years, giving the student a more solid theoretical training. He also acquires practical experience, as every student is assigned each year a definite program of work at hospitals, clinics, or medical stations under the guidance of experienced specialists. To get a degree in medicine, the candidate has to defend a dissertation before the Scientific Council of the Institute, thus demonstrating his ability to pursue independent scientific work.

Dr. Nemenov freely answered questions concerning his training, his professional career, and his family life. He works five and a half to six hours a day at his regular duties, after which he spends as much time as

he chooses in scientific research and in his laboratory. He receives a salary of 6,000 rubles a month. His wife, who also works, receives 1,000 rubles a month. They have two children, one in the fifth grade, the other, aged 19, a student in the Chemical Institute, supported by a scholarship. Dr. Nemenov says his family lives very comfortably in a three-room flat in a state-owned five-story apartment house which has its own kindergarten and school. He pays a rental of 72 rubles a month, "including central heat, gas, phone, radio—everything." He told me that vital services such as health and education are provided free to all citizens of the USSR. If these services had to be paid for by the individual or family, they would consume about 38 per cent of a worker's income. Noting that he had an official car, I asked if he could save enough on his salary for a family car. Pointing to a good-looking auto parked below, he replied smilingly: "That's our private car."

He called attention to a recent report on public health in the Soviet Union by N. A. Vinogradov from which I quote the following:

> "In the Soviet land health protection is a duty of the state, and every Soviet citizen is entitled to medical service. The development of health protection in our country proceeds *according to plan* and is closely linked with the development of the whole of the national economy, facilitated by the fact that the entire problem of medical care was concentrated from the outset in the hands of one body—the People's Commissariat of Public Health, now the Ministry of Public Health of the USSR. The Soviet State has set itself the aim not merely to cure disease but *to prevent it;* the state is out to combat disease by creating such living and working conditions as would make the occurrence of illness impossible.

"Comprehensive legislation on labor protection, improvement of towns and rural localities, organization of catering and of the food industry, and provision of wide opportunities for rest and recreation to the working people are measures that check the spread of disease and prevent its development. The preventive trend in all of the activity of the public health bodies in the Soviet Union is reflected in the various health measures introduced in town and country, as well as in the legislative acts of the central government and the local authorities.

"The social insurance system set up in the Soviet Union is the most comprehensive in the world. Through it the state provides medical care to the sick and at the same time secures them their wages during sickness. Under our legislation, social insurance covers all factory and office workers, all wage and salary earners. The insured are paid benefits in all cases of disability, whether sickness, injury, pregnancy and confinement, or permanent disability.

"In the Soviet Union... all citizens are ensured every form of medical aid, including hospitalization, regardless of whether they are covered by social insurance or not. The Soviet State is concerned not only with providing treatment to the sick but also with constantly enhancing the vigor and health of the working people. It provides for their rest and recreation by affording them annual vacations and making accommodations at rest homes and sanatoria available to them."

In the Preface to our book, *Red Medicine* (1933), Sir Arthur Newsholme and I wrote: "This vast and fascinating experiment in Socialized Medicine may not turn out as well as its originators expected, or it may turn out better. At any rate it is an experiment that the rest of the world cannot afford to ignore."

Moreover, we felt that the continued pressure for "overfulfillment of program," which seemed to us almost an obsession with the Soviet people, might permanently sacrifice quality. However, my interviews with health officers and doctors, supplemented by personal observations and reading of current reports, left no doubt in my mind that the plan I studied in 1932, has indeed been overfulfilled; that new and still more ambitious plans were adopted and fulfilled before World War II, with continued improvement in the quality as well as the quantity of medical service available to all the people.

One has only to turn to the report of the late Col. Eliot C. Cutler, M.D., and chief consulting surgeon, European Theater of Operations, and his colleagues of the official mission through which Allied medical officers surveyed the Russian military medical service in the summer of 1943, to learn how much the Allied Army was indebted to Soviet medicine when the U.S.A. entered the war. Or one may turn to former U.S. Surgeon General Thomas Parran, M.D., who said in 1943; "Among the recent contributions of Soviet medicine can be mentioned pioneer work in transfusion of blood and blood banks; transplantation of cornea, nerves, and other tissue, and the sero-therapy of gas gangrene... Soviet medicine has also had large experience in extensive public health projects; in the prevention and eradication of malaria, typhus, tularemia, and venereal diseases; in medical education and in the socialization of medicine."

This is testimony that should be recalled in these hysterical days, in the interest of American-Soviet understanding. Such testimony should confute the red-baiters who are calling the Russians barbarians.

I am confident that if Sir Arthur Newsholme, whom Dr. William H. Welch of Johns Hopkins Uni-

versity placed "among the foremost authorities in sanitary science in the world," could have accompanied me on this return visit to review the health services of the USSR, he would have heartily concurred in my conclusion that the "vast and fascinating experiment in socialized health" in the Soviet Union has turned out even better than its originators could possibly have anticipated—a conclusion based not only on what I saw and heard during my recent visit but also on reports of specialists in the field which I have followed closely since 1932.

What I learned about the progress of Soviet medicine and what I observed recalled the concluding paragraphs of Dr. Henry E. Sigerist's recent book, *Medicine and Health in the Soviet Union.* In 1932, Dr. Sigerist, the world's foremost medical historian, succeeded Dr. William H. Welch as Professor of the History of Medicine, at Johns Hopkins University which chair he held until he retired in 1947.

To any reader who may think I have been inclined to overstate the achievements of Soviet medicine, I commend the following quotation from Dr. Sigerist's book:

> "I have approached this study as a historian, in the same detached manner in which I have studied developments and conditions in other countries and other eras of history. And I have come to the conclusion that a new period in the history of medicine has been inaugurated in the Soviet Union. All that had previously been achieved in five thousand years of world medicine represents only its first epoch, that of curative medicine. Now a new era, that of preventive medicine, has come of age and passed the stiffest test that one could devise.
>
> "We medical men know that there will be suffering in the world as long as there are love and

hate, frustrated ambitions and other grievances. We do believe, however, that in a civilized society no man should be allowed to die from such elementary and primitive causes as hunger, cold, poverty, or preventable diseases. We know that such forces must not be allowed to plague man's future as they have his past. Soviet medicine has shown that these hopes, far from being utopian, are well on the way to being fulfilled."

12: Culture—Public Domain

by Mrs. Dorothy Cole, Mrs. Therese Robinson, Prof. Holland Roberts, Mrs. Mollie Lucas, Dr. Willard Uphaus, Dr. John A. Kingsbury, Mr. Carl Flodquist

We sat in the Bolshoi Theater, Moscow, near the box which had once been reserved for the Tsar and his court. The opera house is maintained in all the royal splendor designed in tsarist days to serve the aristocracy of old Russia. Now it was filled with factory workers, miners, farmers, professionals, artists, and students. In the Tsar's box, as in the rest of this world famous theater, workers and their families were enjoying a finished performance of Gounod's opera, *Romeo and Juliet.* It was a young audience and their enthusiasm for the lovely youthful star Irina Maslennikova, who sang the part of Juliet, was ardently expressed. We saw acting of a very high quality, and were impressed by a stage setting which artistically combined realism with the non-realistic elements of operatic style.

During the long, leisurely intermissions we joined the rest of the audience in a large lower lounge, set with small café tables in the European style. Here food and drinks were served—sandwiches, cheese, fruit, ice cream, candy, and all kinds of drinks—and as we ate, we listened to those around us carry on

discussions about the opera, which was sung in Russian and was therefore understood easily by everyone. From a neighboring table we overheard critical comments by people who were themselves singers, and had played in these same roles. We noted with interest that although the audience represented a good cross section of the Moscow population, we saw very few people in uniform.

On another evening we saw *Swan Lake,* the exquisite classical ballet known throughout the world. All our evenings spent at the ballet, opera, the theater, and the movies—and we were invited to witness an outstanding performance every night—were convincing evidence that there is a great cultural upsurge among the Soviet people. Tickets are in such great demand that only the fact that we were honored guests made them available to us. Our delegation was often accompanied by distinguished Soviet artists or scholars. At one concert in the Tschaikovsky Hall, the famous Zavadsky, director of the Mossoviet Theater and husband of the beloved ballerina, Ulanova, was among our hosts. During the performance, our presence was announced to the audience and we were greeted with rounds of warm applause.

The Soviet theater, ballet, opera, movies, and concerts play a significant part in the cultural life of the people. Theaters are the place to see Soviet citizens, *en masse,* serious and gay.

Wide appreciation and active participation of the working people are found in all aspects of cultural life. Literature, too, afforded us innumerable examples of this. During the last days of our visit, the sale of subscriptions for a new edition of the collected works of Theodore Dreiser was announced, a 12-volume set of 70,000 copies. In less than two days, the subscriptions were sold out. In 1950, alone, we found

new editions published of the works of Mark Twain, Jack London, O. Henry, James Fenimore Cooper, George Bernard Shaw, Maupassant, Balzac, Stendhal, Smollett, Thomas Hardy, Shakespeare, Frank Norris, Dickens, Thackeray, Schiller, Galsworthy, Lawrence Sterne, Hugo, and the great Polish poet Adam Mickiewicz. And this is only a partial list. During the period from the Revolution to 1940, 40,000,000 copies of the works of Maxim Gorky were issued in 65 languages, 10,500,000 copies of the works of Jack London in 26 languages, and 21,000,000 copies of Leo Tolstoy in 57 languages. During the siege of Leningrad, Tolstoy's *War and Peace* was very popular among the defenders of the city. An edition of 100,000 copies was printed in the midst of the siege itself.

We discovered that the Soviet citizen is an avid reader of books on history, economics, philosophy, science, and technical subjects as well as fiction. We found all this taking place in a country which in 25 years had raised its literacy rate from a position of nineteenth among the nations of the world to the front rank.

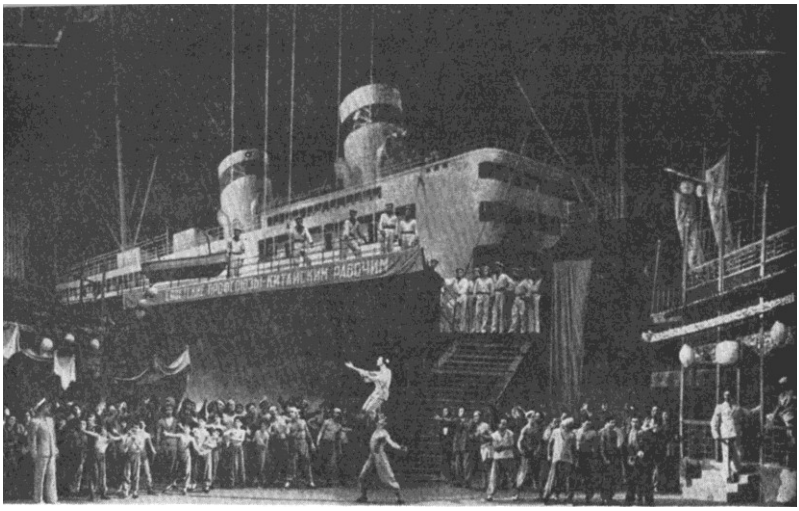
In addition to book sales, some 75,000 public libraries service the people, aside from the numerous libraries of clubs and Palaces of Culture. Every republic has its own central library which receives a free copy of every book published in that republic, and thus serves as a complete repository of the national culture.

While we were in Moscow, some of the delegates visited the Lenin Library, which has long been the world's largest collection of books. Its reading rooms service 2,500 people in a typical day, and in an average year it lends out 4,000,000 books. As a repository of the varied cultures of the Soviet Union, the Lenin Library gets at least one copy of each book and peri-

odical printed in the USSR. Books are delivered to the call desk from its 120 miles of stack shelves by pneumatic tubes. It took us less than 10 minutes to obtain a volume. In the periodical room we found a file of current American magazines and newspapers on the open shelves. Like any other library in the Soviet Union, the facilities of the Lenin Library are available to everyone.

Even in times of crisis and danger, the Soviet people are reluctant to sacrifice any part of these opportunities to participate in culture which are such integral parts of their lives. Our host,

Nikolai Tikhonov, one of the Soviet Union's leading poets, and chairman of the Soviet Peace Committee, told us that during the siege of Leningrad, he wrote and published poetry as well as articles concerned with defense. He said that even though the people were on near starvation rations, and there was



A scene from Gliere's ballet "Red Poppy," devoted to the liberation of the Chinese people, at the Bolshoi Theater in Moscow

no fuel with which to combat the cold of Leningrad winters, the Leningrad Library was kept open and used at all times. Publication work also was continued, and even books of poetry were published and distributed during this period.

The well known author and playwright, Konstantin Simonov, told us that he recited his poetry to the soldiers of the Red Army while he was on duty as a war correspondent, including his famous poem, "Wait for Me." He emphasized that the presentation of plays for troops, not only those in the rear areas but those in the front lines as well, was important, and that troupes of actors had gone to the front and performed outdoors, producing not only comedy and contemporary works, but such classics as the plays of Pushkin and Shakespeare. We witnessed a performance by the Red Army Ensemble of singers and dancers, outstanding example of the development of artistic talent in the armed forces of the USSR. This performance, in which the ensemble presented not only traditional songs and dances but also some of their own composition, enabled us to perceive the sense of strength and general well-rounded development of a group of people dedicated to the military defense of their country, and simultaneously enjoying the pleasure of creating fine music and dance for themselves and for others. The quality of the performance was amazingly high, for the Red Army is concerned with the development of the individual abilities of its personnel, and scouts continually search for artistic talent in the armed forces.

Soviet culture is for the people. We found striking evidence of this in the Palaces of Culture which we visited. These Palaces of Culture were a unique experience for us, for they have no parallel in our experience. We found the scope, variety, and richness of

their programs so complex as to challenge description. They are something like a vast publicly supported system of great community centers, offering cultural activities, recreation, and education on a scale never before conceived or attempted anywhere in the world. These palaces and clubs were established and are supported by the large industrial plants in the cities and on the collective farms. The use of their facilities, however, is open to everyone.

Although we visited only the Palaces of Culture in Leningrad, Stalingrad, and Moscow, such palaces are to be found in all cities of any size throughout the Soviet Union. They originated at the Kirov Plant in Leningrad in 1927. Holland Roberts had visited them in 1934. "But now," he said, "they are entirely transformed, and would be unrecognizable to anyone who had not kept up with the blossoming of Soviet culture during the last 20 years." In them we saw libraries stocked with many thousands of books of all kinds, scientific laboratories with excellent modern equipment, and we saw the encouragement which these cultural centers give to the people in art, music, sculpture, literature, dance, and the drama. We had the opportunity to observe instruction in the most intricate folk dances; we saw art of a very high, almost professional quality done by non-professional artists; and we attended political meetings and concerts.

We visited Vyborgsky Palace at the Kirov Plant in Leningrad. It occupies a tremendous building, with three huge halls for dancing and concerts, and many smaller meeting rooms, a theater, a library, reading and study rooms, classrooms, dining rooms, and club rooms for everything from foreign languages to ballet. The Vyborgsky Palace is visited regularly by 5,000 persons a day, and by 10 to 12 thousand on Sundays and holidays. When we entered, we found ourselves

in a spacious, high-ceilinged hall, stretching away into the distance. On either side there were long checking spaces for wraps.

We passed children in several of the rooms working with flowers, handicrafts, and making dolls of all nationalities, with an emphasis on the friendship of all the dolls. We saw a children's library in use, a small reading room, and a dancing room.

The director invited us to visit the youth clubs—circles, they call them—and mentioned six or seven to us: handicrafts, photography, balalaika, nature study, graphic arts, literature, and folk dancing. After we had looked quickly in on a dozen or more, including several that he hadn't mentioned, we finally asked, "How many clubs do you have operating here?"

"About a hundred." he answered casually.

After several such experiences we were convinced that visitors to the Soviet Union often miss many fine new developments simply because the Soviet people are so accustomed to them, that they do not bother to point them out. They think that everyone must have these things that are as common to them as bread and butter.

The young people we saw were busy in the brightly lighted rooms, working with the assistance of one or more specialists. The equipment is excellent; the microscopes in the nature study club, for example, Professor Roberts noted, "were fine instruments such as I have used in teaching a college biology class."

Among the clubs there were a number of original conceptions along with the many familiar ones. The "Room of Entertaining Sciences" caught our fancy, and we stayed there while the director gave us a demonstration. In this darkened room there were a dozen ingenious projects, most of them graphic presentations of the laws of life. We looked askance at

one large crude sketch presenting some vague landscape until the director turned out the lights. Then as our eyes became accustomed to the darkness, the picture deepened, new details came out and the whole scene was transformed and glowed with delicately shaded luminous colors.

"When our club is ready with a new demonstration like this," the director told us, "we present it to several science and art classes or other groups of interested young people. Afterwards they always ask us: 'How does it work? How is it made? Why is it beautiful only in the dark?'

"Then we tell them, 'Come to the lecture Tuesday evening and we will explain it all to you. If you come early you will get a seat near the demonstration table where you can see everything clearly.' "

Other projects in this unique Room of Entertaining Science opened up new fields in color photography, stereoscopic motion pictures, and new dramatic aspects of interstellar spaces. For this field of astronomy they used phosphorescent globes and projections on the ceiling of the science room.

The purpose throughout is to provoke interest and to give youth a stimulus for serious long-time study.

The result of this universal interest in science raises the whole level of understanding and often produces startling effects. Thousands of Soviet youth are carrying on practical work in the field of genetics, producing new varieties of plants, increasing production in field, orchard and garden crops, and exploring the whole field of growth.

At least one young gardener is growing a plant which has potatoes on the roots and tomatoes above ground.

Some Palaces of Culture offer outstanding instruction in particular fields. One, for example, is noted for

its instruction in the ballet, and the Palace of the Stalin Auto Plant is famous for its training in the theater. It has a fully equipped theater seating 2,500 people, and the drama group is divided into many clubs. Leading professional actors of Moscow train and work with the troupe. During our attendance at a rehearsal of a play that was being prepared for production, we learned that recently more than forty workers in the Stalin Plant theater group have become full time artists in the professional theater. Groups of workers are often sent out on the road with plays to perform in other areas. During their absence, they continue to receive their full wages in addition to expense money. When the special instruction of a particular Palace is well known, students are often drawn to it from all over the area, but for the most part people use the Palaces of Culture in their own communities.

We found a thousand young people dancing in the beautiful marble hall of the Kirov Palace, older people listening to a concert, and we were treated to a festival of song and dance for peace. The need and longing for peace colors all cultural expression. At this festival, we saw exquisite dancing in native costume, folk dances from the Urals and from Mongolia, from the Uzbek Republic, from Moravia, the Caucasus, and Poland. We heard fine oratory from the young people of many nationalities. The warm, exuberant welcome given to us by the youth who stopped their dancing when we entered, left us with a feeling that here were happy young people, free, secure, thinking only of one thing—that this good life must continue, and that it can become even better and richer. Young girls asked if we had children, and, when some of us said we did, they asked if we would take them greetings of *Mir, mir eshcho raz mir.* Peace, peace, and once again, peace.

Folk art is another cultural form which flourishes in the Soviet Union, for the attempt is not only to bring art to the people, but also to encourage the art forms of the people themselves. We found that there is a renaissance of wood carving, embroidery, ivory carving, rug making, the making of lacquered furniture and wooden toys, and miniature painting throughout the Soviet Union. Folk art, such as the unique Palekh work, is highly respected and flourishes today. For example, we found that in the Russian Museum in Leningrad, an entire wing is devoted to collections of folk ceramics, frescoes, lace, weaving and the like.

The gifts sent to Stalin on his 70th birthday were outstanding examples of the creative and artistic talents of the people in all fields of expression, and represent perhaps the finest collection of the results of the flourishing of folk art in the Soviet Union ever assembled in one place. In addition to such gifts as a complete railroad train, and a working model of a giant excavating machine, the gifts included examples of woodwork, painting, sculpture, weaving, rug-making, tapestry, cloisonné, clay, and work in copper and other metals.

No discussion of Soviet culture could omit the Metro, which may be considered a symbol of the future of the arts in the Soviet Union. It is here that culture is truly joined to the everyday life of the people. Art is for the people, but it must be for *all* the people, and visitors to a museum can never equal the number which use the subway each day. We visited about seven stations, one more beautiful than the next. The designers of two stations were awarded Stalin Prizes. These stations were made of the finest marble from the Urals and the Caucasus, and were paneled with bas-reliefs appropriate to the name of the station. At

the Gorky Park of Culture and Rest, we found pictured scenes from outdoor life, figures of a tennis player, a rower, and children playing chess, all by the finest sculptors in the Soviet Union. One Metro station was dedicated to workers, and had bas-reliefs of various types of industrial workers—a welder, a steamfitter, a lathe operator, and others. The Elektrozavod Station, near a huge electrical equipment plant, had sculptured portraits of famous scientists in the field of electricity, such men as Faraday, Benjamin Franklin, Lomonosov, and Popov. The rest of the station was designed around the theme of industrial production and had fourteen bas-reliefs of aircraft, metal, oil workers, and others. One magnificent rotunda was dedicated to Stalin's plan for changing the face of nature. Mosaics of small colored pieces of aluminum in garlands of fruits and flowers were shown against a background of verdant countryside cut through with irrigation canals. Art and politics, peace and economics are combined, and between the mosaics we found banners with pictures of Stalin and slogans about abolishing drought and want, and really making the desert blossom. Our last visit was to an older station where life-sized statues of various types of people who took part in the Revolution are displayed in bronze.

We saw a love of culture among the people too in the manner in which the art of the past—cathedrals, monasteries, fortresses, museums, and rare art objects—are carefully restored, preserved, and appreciated.

When we remembered that this is a classless society, and that in former times 85 per cent of the workers and peasants were illiterate, we understood that all we saw is part of a new cultural pattern, in which the whole people are carrying the culture of the past on to

new, higher levels. Although the USSR has not yet produced enough to bring the very best to all its people, the evidence of the beautiful china, glassware, service, and cultural activities is symbolic of what in time all the people will have, throughout the whole land, for all the people are entitled to it.

While the men and women of the Soviet Union know indeed that productive labor is the core of living, that someone without a job, a contributive function, and responsibility in his society, is a pitiful and useless creature, they understand deeply too the value of culture, rest, recreation, and enjoyment. They know that their constitution guarantees them the right to leisure as well as the right to work, and they take full advantage of these guarantees.

13: Brotherhood of Peoples

by Mrs. Dorothy Cole, Mr. Charles Collins, Mrs. Yolanda Hall, Mr. Charles Howard, Mrs. Mollie Lucas. Prof. Holland Roberts, Mrs. Pauline Taylor, Dr. Willard Uphaus, Mrs. Therese Robinson

To us, the friendship of the peoples of the USSR, as we observed it even during our short stay, is one of the finest and most impressive achievements of the Soviet system. Almost from the moment we left the plane at the Moscow airport, we were reminded of the fact that the Soviet Union is not a nation but a federation of many nations and nationalities, made up of 16 constituent republics and inhabited by about 180 different nations, nationality groups, and tribes. All people, regardless of nationality and color, are equal citizens of the Soviet Union, and all enjoy equally the rights granted under the Constitution.

All live together freely and in close harmony. We saw them attending the same theaters, opera houses,

and movies, and sitting in the same sections. They stop at the same hotels, eat in the same restaurants, travel in the same railroads cars. Job opportunities are open to all equally, as are the opportunities for rest, leisure, and culture. All vote in elections and hold political office on the same basis.

For us, who had fought at home against the cancer of jim crow, anti-Semitism, and the other forms of prejudice and discrimination, that are eating away at the heart of American democracy, this was a new and overwhelming experience. It was, as Mrs. Pauline Taylor, a Negro member of our delegation from Youngstown, Ohio, expressed it, "like being in another world."

Here being lived dramatically before our eyes, was the answer to all the theories of gradualism and assimilation that were ever offered as a solution to the problem of prejudice. For the Soviets have accomplished this multinational unity in a matter of thirty years, and have accomplished it by the encouragement of the fullest expression of individual national cultures, and not by any theory of the "melting pot." And all this has been done in a land which, before the Revolution, had been torn by dissension and national strife, prejudice, anti-Semitism, pogroms and sharp animosities.

Today, the free equality of peoples has been achieved. Charles P. Howard, the distinguished Negro lawyer in our delegation, summed up his feelings about Soviet democracy in these words:

> "When I set foot in that land where, within our own history, Stalin welcomed the backward peoples, and they were admitted to full citizenship, I felt like a new man. For it was there that one nation proved in one lifetime that everyone of every color could have equal status and live in friendship.

> Never in my life have I felt so free as in Eastern Europe and in the Soviet Union, and this feeling was shared by all the nine Negro delegates to the USSR. Russia has solved the problem of minorities. If she had not made any other contribution, she could have my profound, lifelong devotion for this alone."

We *all* felt like new men and women, for these were not only the sentiments and reactions of the nine Negro delegates, but of our entire delegation, Negro and white.

This achievement was no miracle. The Soviet people told us again and again that the solution had been achieved rapidly and simply because they had gone directly to the root of the problem—the exploitation of man by man. Peace, friendship, and socialism are the fundamental principles of Soviet society. Guided by the theory developed by Stalin in his well-known book, *Marxism and the National Question,* and put into practice under his direction immediately after the Revolution when he was Commissar for Nationalities, the diverse peoples of the Soviet Union have today achieved the unity and harmony which they sought, and upon which the very existence of the country depended.

A Russian worker explained to us that the basic roots of national and racial prejudice are economic. The Soviet people believe that poverty, depression, unemployment, and exploitation cause various national groups to fear each other as competitors. The elimination of prejudice and mistrust was therefore not merely a problem of gradual education, but one of affording economic security to all, affording equal opportunity in all aspects of life, and in helping those people with underdeveloped economic and social systems to participate fully in all opportunities. This

meant planned and continuous assistance to the peoples of the Soviet Union who were living under nomadic and semi-feudal conditions, to those who under the Tsar had been treated as alien and colonial subjects, so that they could take their rightful place in this federation of states and nations.

Under the Tsar, Russian nobles, landlords, and capitalists ruled the land. The Russian people, themselves exploited and subjected to poverty, were encouraged to consider the peoples of other nationalities, who were officially called "aliens," as inferior races. Almost all government positions were held by Russian officials, all proceedings were conducted in the Russian language, and the oppressed areas were kept in ignorance. In a confidential report to Tsar Nicholas I on "the condition of the aliens inhabiting the Kazan Gubernia," a Russian official wrote quite frankly: "Experience of all times proves that it is easier to rule an ignorant people than a people that has received even the slightest degree of education.... In accordance with this precept the authorities over the Chuvash people are exerting every effort to keep them in ignorance."

When a governor of one of the districts under Nicholas II informed the Tsar that he had opened several elementary schools in Karelia, he was told, "Needless haste is not desirable." The tsarist government prohibited the use of native languages in the schools and in publications of any kind. Many nationalities were completely illiterate right up to the time of the Revolution. Other peoples such as the Uzbeks, the Tadzhiks, the Kazakhs, and the Azerbaidzhanians had a literacy rate that ranged from 0.5 to 5 per cent.

Many of the older people that we spoke to told us about anti-Semitic pogroms under the Tsar and some of them had lived through the Armenian-Tatar mas-

sacre of 1905 in which tens of thousands of people had been killed. These pogroms and massacres continued right up to the Revolution. The year 1920, before establishment of Soviet Armenia, was one which several Armenians whom we met remember out of the horror of their own past experience, and they described for us graphically the massacre which took place in the winter of that year during which the Armenian section of the city of Shusha in Azerbaidzhan was leveled to the ground and the bodies of women and children were thrown into the wells.

In all three cities that we visited—Moscow, Leningrad, and Stalingrad—we saw people of all nationalities upon the streets, in the factories, in the Palaces of Culture, and in the schools and universities, both as teachers and as students. Everywhere, among all peoples, we saw a spirit of friendship, confidence, and well-being. In the Leningrad Palace of Culture we witnessed a remarkable program presented by the Conservatory of Music and Drama, made up of the unique contributions of 100 different nationalities. Each group did a performance expressive of its own culture and treating the theme of peace. Throughout the evening we were aware of a harmonious *esprit de corps* among the performers and a sense of unity among the people of diverse cultures.

When we returned to our hotel, we asked our guides and interpreters to tell us more of the Soviet nationalities program and its achievements, especially in the areas of the country that we were unable to visit in our ten-day stay.

We were reminded that the Soviet state is a union of equal nations, consisting of 16 union and 16 autonomous republics, 9 autonomous regions, 10 national districts. People of all nationalities, however, live throughout the entire land, from Moscow to Vladivos-

tok, from the Arctic Circle to the tropics. The Russian Federated Soviet Socialist Republic, the largest of the union republics for example, is inhabited by representatives of 100 nationalities; the Georgian SSR by nine, including in addition to Georgians, Abkhazians, Adjarians, Ossetians, Russians, Armenians, Azerbaidzhanians, Greeks, and Jews; the Turkmen SSR by seven, including Russians, Uzbeks, Kazakhs, Belujians, and Persians in addition to Turkmenians. Under the tsar, the Turkmenian language was banned, and the literacy rate of the country was 1 per cent. Today, in this republic there are 60 newspapers, 40 in Turkmenian, 1400 schools, 30 scientific institutes, 37 theaters, 700 libraries, and 600 reading and recreation rooms. The development in the Tadzhik SSR surpasses even this example. Under the tsar only one in every 200 Tadzhiks could read and write. Today this republic can boast of 4000 elementary schools, 300 secondary schools, 7 establishments of higher education, 30 technical schools, 70 newspapers, and hundreds of public libraries and reading rooms.

Such progress is representative of the development to be found among all peoples formerly termed "alien" and "backward" by the tsarist regime. Industrialization, mechanization of agriculture, and electrification has been developed in all of these areas. While the Soviet Union as a whole has forged ahead by many decades in the period since the Revolution, some areas, particularly the republics of central Asia, have undergone the development of centuries in the same period of time. From the wooden plow to the tractor, from the mattock to the excavator, from poverty to prosperity, from slavery to freedom, and from feudalism to socialism.

The tremendous economic and cultural progress of the formerly oppressed peoples under the Soviet

nationalities program, has also led to a rapid growth in their populations. Increases have been tabulated in the census ranging from 25.6 per cent in the Turkmen SSR to 45.7 per cent in the Kirghiz SSR. And these increases, our guide told us with a smile, are to be found among people that the rest of the world had given up long ago as dying cultures and vanishing peoples. She pointed out a passage in the book *Unknown Mongolia* written by the explorer Douglas Carruthers as representative of that attitude. He speaks, for example, of the Tuvinian people as a "race who are on the decrease," and a country which "must soon disappear." Today that country is very much in evidence. Its population is growing, and it is expanding culturally and economically. Before the war, the Tuvinians had no written languages, and *no* schools. Today, there are 163 schools conducted in the Tuvinian language and using standard textbooks in that tongue. We met some of the many Tuvinian students at the universities in Moscow and Leningrad. This autonomous region has built power plants, developed electrification and industry as well as collective farming. Its people have moved into village houses from their nomadic tents, and it has a flourishing culture. Poets and other writers of the Tuvinian people are widely known, and an autobiographical novel by Salchak Toka called *The Birchbark Tent* is popular throughout the entire Soviet Union. Six representatives of the Tuvinian people sit in the Supreme Soviet of the USSR."

We saw the friendship and brotherhood among the diverse: peoples of the USSR. We saw it in the absence of anti-Semitism: in the USSR, in the position of equality which all Jewish people have achieved in the Soviet Union, whether they live in the Jewish autonomous region of Birobidzhan, the first homeland es-

tablished for Jews in any country, or anywhere else in the Union. We saw it in the announcement of the Stalin prizes of which 114 in the sciences and technology and 31 in literature and art went to representatives of the Jewish people.

We learned about it too from a well-known American Negro actor, Wayland Rudd, whom we met quite by accident in the hotel lobby in Stalingrad. He told us that he was on an extended lecture tour of the Soviet Union, and for the past three years had travelled the length and breadth of the land. He described the intense sympathetic interest of the people in him, and told us how the children would talk to him to verify all that they had heard about the treatment of Negroes in other lands, and would express their indignation and concern.

The results of the Soviet program of friendship for all nationalities was manifest in their attitude toward the Negro members of our delegation. Mrs. Pauline Taylor describes it in this way:

> Racial discrimination was impossible to find and looked upon by the Russian people as, say, cannibalism would be in the United States. The Soviet people were even kinder in their treatment of the Negro delegates than of the other members of our delegation, and showed a great interest in our problems. I slept in the homes of the people, talked with them, ate with them. Always they were friendly and sincere. I knew what it meant to feel really free and equal. In my 50 years as a mother and a grandmother it's the first time that I felt I was being treated like a human being.

No one is better able to speak on the question of the treatment of minority peoples in the Soviet Union than the Negro people who have visited the USSR. The following statements by Mollie Lucas and

Charles Collins, two other Negro members of our American delegation, speak for themselves. Mollie Lucas wrote:

> "All through Europe, but particularly in the People's Democracies of Eastern Europe, I found an amazingly widespread knowledge of and interest in the status of the Negro in America. It is considered by most as America's foremost problem, and the treatment of our Negro minority is used abroad as a measuring rod of American democracy and future intentions. Many considered the Negroes as oppressed colonials. They were sympathetic to the problems which we face, and inclined to be very skeptical about America's claim to moral leadership, and her eagerness to spread democracy as she holds the Negro people who live in her midst in such contempt. They were gratified, but not surprised to find such a large percentage of Negroes among the delegates. They seemed to take it for granted that we should be in the forefront of any and all movements of a progressive nature.
>
> "The Africans and other colonial peoples at the Warsaw Peace Congress felt a strong bond of friendship with us, and we had many discussions about our common problems. They spoke ardently and eloquently of the desire of their people for freedom, *now,* but made it painfully clear that they had no desire to be liberated by the Americans.
>
> "Our journey to Warsaw was wonderful. I shall never forget it. Much of the time on the train was spent in group singing. We sang our national anthems, the Freedom Song, and many others. I soon formed a close friendship with a young Polish delegate on the train, and we had several long chats. She was intensely interested in every aspect of my life, and in the Negro people in America. I found that she was extremely well-informed about American life in general and about Negroes in particular.

"For the first time in my life, I felt completely free of any discrimination. I chatted, sang, and laughed with people from every corner of the world in perfect ease and companionship. There was no thought of color or rank on that train, only friendship and an eagerness to find a common ground for all people to live in peace.

"My first and most vivid impression of the Soviet Union was the complete absence of jim crow. Everywhere we went the Negro delegates received the warmest possible welcome. We saw people of the different republics living in harmony and friendship. The Negroes we met confirmed the evidence that there were no racial barriers whatever.

"As a Negro, I was intensely interested in the position of minorities. I am very grateful to the people of the Soviet Union for their warm and friendly co-operation in helping me to find the answers to the many questions I brought with me.

"Throughout the entire visit, I experienced the most heartwarming welcome from the people of all walks of life.

"On my visits to the classrooms, I noticed that the children were taught the different contributions that the various races have made to civilization. I found no sign of any teachings that might lead to intolerance or contempt of other people. I did find an intense and sympathetic interest in the problems of my people.

"I was often surprised at the extent of their knowledge of Negro affairs and the importance attached to them. In the minds of the people of the Soviet Union, the problem of the Negro people and the colonial people of the world is closely linked with the question of world peace, and peace is surely the most talked about subject in the country."

And here are the impressions of Charles Collins:

"As I sit to write these impressions of a Negro in the Soviet Union, the radio is heralding the news from Laurel, Mississippi—to the utter shame of all true Americans—a 36 year old Negro worker is lynched by the State of Mississippi.

"The President, the Supreme Court judges, the heads of the Democratic and Republican parties, the hierarchy of established religion, governors, mayors, senators, congressmen, all know that McGee was innocent. But most of these acquiesced in his murder by their silence or their refusal to help. This is so because oppression of the Negro people is the official policy of every section of the ruling circles of this country.

"I can state categorically from my recent visit that such a thing could not happen in the Soviet Union. And why? Because there is no race or nationality in the Soviet Union that claims or dares to claim superiority over any other.

Writer Ilya Ehrenburg toasting Mrs. Jacqueline Clack and Mrs. Mollie Lucas at the farewell banquet to the American delegation.

"To be sure, I did not meet all the sixty-odd different national groups that make up that country. But I saw many non-white Russians; brown, tan, dark, oriental, and Indian types, and some Negroes, in Moscow, Leningrad, Stalingrad, Minsk and the villages through which I travelled going to and from these cities. So I am able to state truthfully to my fellow-Americans that the fascist doctrine and practice of white-supremacy which creates a Martinsville Seven, a Trenton Six, a Willie McGee, together with jim crow, lynching, and such savagery, do not exist there. My experiences have also convinced me that the equally fascist doctrine of anti-Semitism has no place in the Soviet Union.

"In the restaurants and hotels, in the theaters and other places of amusement in Moscow, capital of the Soviet Union, where I visited, there is no exclusion of any racial or national group. This is something that we cannot say of our own capital, Washington, D.C. I lived, ate and enjoyed entertainment wherever I pleased. No one stared at me. There were no annoyed and hateful looks from patrons because a Negro entered; no familiar hurried conferences between the head-waiter and the manager, with the usual 'Sorry, no Negroes allowed.' On the contrary, I received courteous and dignified treatment and service just like every Soviet citizen.

'These are my brief impressions as a Negro in the Soviet Union. One may argue that an accurate picture of a country cannot be gotten in a three weeks' visit. Generally that may be true, but I submit that a Negro does not even need three days in a country I in order to be able to judge whether the air has the stench of jim crow oppression, or the sweet and glorious breeze of freedom and human dignity. As far as I, a Negro, have been able to observe, the atmosphere of freedom and human dignity does, in fact, exist in the Soviet Union.

"Apart from the general impressions I have indicated, the entire American delegation were treated as visiting dignitaries. No prince or potentate ever received greater honors. Actors and audience at the world-famous Bolshoy Theater rose to their feet and greeted us. The well-known Red Army chorus saluted us and sang hymns of friendship and peace between our two great peoples. I myself occupied a box at the opera which only 34 years ago was reserved for the Tsar and his lords and ladies who thought themselves invincible. Imagine a humble Negro worker receiving such honors.

"My impressions of the Soviet Union renewed my faith in the future of my own country. Some day soon, I hope, lynchings, jim crow, Negro ghettos and all the evils of white supremacy will be no more. And America will honor her own sons and daughters, black and white, even as we were honored in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics."

There is little that the other members of the delegation can add to these statements, except to state that for all of us, Negro and white, this was one of the richest experiences of our lives, and to repeat part of a statement made to the All-Union Soviet Peace Society by the nineteen of us before we left the USSR:

"Who can seriously say that a federation of such varied people as live in the Soviet Union want war against other peoples, when we Americans—Negro and white—have seen with our own eyes how respect for all people is rooted in everyday Soviet life?"

14: Objective: Peace

by the Delegation

Today, the USSR has thrown its borders open to visitors from all walks of life and from every section of

the world. Thousands of visitors from other countries travel to the Soviet Republics every year to learn at first hand the truth about the Soviet people. Many kinds of delegations—men and women, Negro and white, workers, farmers, artists, professionals, clergymen—travel freely throughout that vast land. All are welcomed, just as we were, as special guests of an organization such as the Soviet Peace Committee, a trade union, the Women's Anti-Fascist League, or VOKS. In 1950, 162 delegations from many lands visited the USSR to see for themselves. VOKS alone played host to delegations from 30 different countries. We saw and learned of delegations of various kinds from Great Britain, Australia, the Netherlands, Norway, Sweden, India, China, Italy, Germany—including the western zone—France, Canada, Poland, Korea, Iceland, Finland, and Denmark. Since our visit, two delegations of trade union representatives from America have also been to the USSR. Throughout the world there are many groups of men and women who have just returned from the Soviet Union, or who are making preparations to go, or are on their way.

This encouragement of the exchange of representative delegations between countries is a basic and well established principle in Soviet policy and Soviet life. In answer to our proposal for continuation and extension of the exchange of visiting delegations, Nikolai Tikhonov, Chairman of the Soviet Peace Committee, told us in an official statement published in Pravda:

> "The Soviet Peace Committee considers that the exchange of delegations is one of the most important means for strengthening cultural relations among peoples, and that this exchange can in many respects contribute to strengthening and developing the peaceful and friendly relations between

peoples of the United States and the Soviet Union.

"The Soviet Peace Committee can assure its American friends that it is prepared to do its utmost to promote our constant relations and our efforts to achieve peace the world over."

On March 14, 1951 the USSR tried to get the United Nations to put this principle into practice on an even larger scale. At a meeting of the U.N. Social and Economic Council, the Soviet representative, Chernyshev presented a resolution which no paper in our country published or even commented upon. Chernyshev proposed:

"That there be set up an international commission of representatives of workers by hand and brain, united in all existing trade unions irrespective of the political views and religious convictions of their members, with the object of making a comprehensive and objective survey of the labor conditions of factory and office workers in countries where private capitalist ownership predominates, on the one hand, and in the Soviet Union and the People's Democracies, on the other."

The UN body rejected this proposal, but the Soviet leaders continue to extend their policy of the exchange of delegations.

Our delegation of 19 Americans of diverse backgrounds, beliefs, and political opinions was almost completely unknown to the Soviet government and the Soviet people. Only two of our members, Dr. John Kingsbury and Professor Holland Roberts, had been to the Soviet Union before. For the rest, our knowledge of this vast country ranged from confusion and little information to whatever facts we had been able to gather from published reports and lectures. Some of us were sympathetic to the Soviet pro-

gram; some of our party were openly skeptical. All of, us wanted to know the facts. We were all interested in attempting to understand this country which had been our major ally during the war against fascism, and which during that war had been so highly praised by the very same American government, military leaders, and press correspondents who are now so quick to heap abuse upon her.

Our concern was not socialism. Many of us knew little about either the theory or the practice of socialism. Our cause was *peace,* international understanding, and friendship among all peoples. On these terms, the Soviet people welcomed us. To them, we were ambassadors of peace, and they met us everywhere with warmth, enthusiasm, and friendship.

There was little talk of politics all during our stay, and no one ever questioned our political beliefs either before or during our visit. Not once were we subjected to any form of censorship. We addressed meetings and issued statements without ever being asked to submit copies to anyone in advance. We were invited to speak on the Soviet radio. Many of us did, and again, no one asked for scripts in advance; most of us spoke only from notes, saying exactly what we wanted to say. We visited freely the places of our own choice, and we talked with whomever we pleased, whenever we wanted to. Our report is the result of the observations of a free delegation of American citizens travelling in the USSR.

We found in the Soviet Union a friendly people, dedicated to the construction of a great country. We found no war talk, no hysteria or tension, no signs of mobilization, and of course, no air raid drills for school children or for anyone else. Ilya Ehrenburg, the noted author, told us that if anyone in the Soviet Union were to suggest dropping the atomic bomb on the

United States, he would be placed in a lunatic asylum.

In Moscow, an old woman whom we happened to meet, told us:

> "I never knew happiness in my youth in the days of the Tsar. I never ate meat. I had no schooling. I saw my mother in rags working to keep the family alive. Now my family is well and happy. My children are getting a higher education and going into the professions. You can see why I want peace."

Peace is no abstraction to the Soviet citizen. On every street, in every factory, we saw many slogans calling for an end to war, for international understanding, and urging the people:

"Talk peace, write peace, produce for peace."

"*Six tractors to fulfill the plan, and a seventh for peace!*"

Millions of workers take an active part in the work of the Soviet Peace Committee, an organization of six and a half million members, with branches in every section of the country, and active committees in every shop and plant. This we found as true in Stalingrad, rising out of ashes and ruins, as it is in Moscow, much less damaged by bombing.

When we went to Leningrad, under siege for some nine hundred days of the war, we talked to workers who had lived through the war, and to women who had fought to prevent Leningrad from falling into the hands of Hitler. They are all of one mind. The people of Leningrad know war, and above all else, desire peace.

In Stalingrad, whose defense was the turning point of the whole war, we talked to children who had lived there during the siege, and who were now playing with their sleds, throwing snowballs like any

other group of youngsters anywhere in the world. They told us how they had lived in holes and in trenches. We stayed in a hotel across the street from the spot where the German general, von Paulus, had surrendered. Wherever we looked there were marks of destroyed houses and buildings. The destruction was so complete that even after five years of intense work the ugly scars of war stand out on every side. Stalingrad was saved—but at the cost of Stalingrad. Russia was saved—but at the cost of fifteen million lives and more than one-fourth of the nation's resources.

The Soviet people have their own way of life and they are determined to preserve it. At the Stalingrad Palace of Culture, a representative of the Soviet workers greeted us with these words:

> "I am not a speaker, but I know to work. We workers often sing the Anthem of the Soviet people. We not only sing it, but by our work we reveal its meaning. Friendship is strengthened by labor. I have a friend in Poland, another friend in China. We never hide our achievements. We want to share them with our friends. We Russians make much of our prize winning for creative labor. We are building sports arenas while Americans and British are building airfields for fighting planes. We do not want war. We want friendship and creative labor.

Because the trade unionists in our American delegation know something about machinery and production, we were impressed by the tremendous job which the Soviet workers have accomplished.

It is clear to all of us that our own working people and business men could have plenty of work ahead—work in peace—if only our government turned its funds to the development of peaceful trade with the

Soviet Union, instead of using them for weapons that promise only death to us all. Because the educators and clergymen in our delegation were alert to moral values and educational standards, and because we all knew what is present and what is absent in our own country, we were all deeply impressed with the high level of moral and educational values in the Soviet Union. We were especially moved by the Soviet youth growing up imbued with a love for creative work and a determination to live out their lives in peace.

The people of America need to know the Soviet Union better. Peace can be based only upon knowledge, understanding, and the friendship which comes with these.

Reverend Robert Muir summed it up for us all when he said:

> "The things we saw with our own eyes, the hundreds of people to whom we talked, convinced

New apartment houses on Oktyabrskaya Street in Stalingrad, where the delegates saw a new and more beautiful city rising from the ruins.

me that socialism is a fact in the world, and that over one-third of the human race looks upon socialism as liberation from their previous poverty of soul and body. Perhaps we in the United States do not agree that it would solve our problems, but wars will not take away their way of life from them. We must therefore recognize the Eastern Europeans and the peoples of the Far East as equals and not treat them as inferiors. We cannot have peace by mutual terror, but only by mutual good will, exchanging not only goods but cultures."

Every man, woman and child we met in the USSR stands like a rock for peace. "No, there will not be a world war. Times will be difficult, but the many who stand for peace are stronger than the few who stand for war." So we were told by a steel worker at the Kirov plant in Leningrad. It was repeated to us in other words by the young hostess on our plane, by students in the university, by a waiter in the Savoy Hotel, Moscow, and by young pioneers in a club at the Moscow Palace of Culture. In the Soviet Union, this is the settled conviction of the man in the street. This is the *hope* of the common people of America. And it is a hope which can be realized.

We members of this first American peace delegation to the Soviet Union since 1927, are proud of many things in our democratic American heritage, and in the creative record and great potentialities of our people. Because we want to save our land from disaster and keep alive the advance of democracy, we know that there must be agreement between the U.S. and the USSR, and a long period of peaceful coexistence and competition between their two systems. Before he died, Franklin Delano Roosevelt left a last message for the American people in the Jefferson Day address which he did not live to deliver. The final

words of that message set clearly before us our task for today:

The work, my friends, is peace—I ask you to keep up your faith. I measure the sound solid achievement that can be made at this time by the straight edge of your own confidence and your resolve. And to you and to all who dedicate themselves with us in the making of an abiding peace, I say: The only limit to our realization of tomorrow will be our doubts of today. Let us move forward with strong and active faith.

15: We Return Home

by Mrs. Mollie Lucas, Rev. Robert Muir, Mr. Carl Flodquist, Prof. Holland Roberts, Mrs. Pauline Taylor

In the recently devastated lands of Europe where many millions of men, women, and children were killed in the war or consumed in the crematories, we saw city after city—Warsaw, Minsk, Stalingrad—rising from their ashes. We know that these people, rebuilding their homes, their schools, and their hospitals with their work-worn hands, will do all in their power to prevent another war, if they can prevent it. We are confident that this is also the feeling of the people of America.

Many memories accompanied us back to the United States and to our separate homes in different parts of the country. We remember the English official who told us how he and his wife and child had cowered, sleepless, night after night in a bomb shelter. "For months after the war," he said, "my little girl would run screaming in fear to her mother every time she heard a plane. Even now she runs frightened into the house whenever a plane passes overhead."

We remember the little girl in London, who told

us, "In England, when we had the war, many little children were killed. We hope the children of America will not have a war. We never want to have a war again."

And the farmer from a southern province of France who did not like to think of war. "But," he told us, unconsciously patting his injured leg, "I served in the last one, and I do not want to see another one. In France, things are no better after the war. The people still don't have enough money to live. War is very bad."

We remember all that we saw in the Soviet Union, and the warmth, gaiety, and affection of the farewell party given to us on our last day in Moscow—a party attended by distinguished writers, teachers, artists, people of the stage and screen, scientists, industrialists, and workers, all paying tribute to us as representatives of the genuinely peaceful aspirations of the American people.

We came home bearing gifts from Stalingrad, and a peace message from the people of the Soviet Union. Most Americans have been prevented from even seeing these gifts, and most Americans have not read that peace message, because our government and our press choose to ignore them.

On the cold Sunday morning that we left Stalingrad, we were met at the airport by a delegation that included a worker in a tractor plant, a railroad machinist, a professor at the Stalingrad Medical Institute, a construction worker, a steel roller, an architect, and the famous child care center worker, Anna Cherkassova, described in the section entitled on "Women of the Soviets." To us they presented their gifts: a handful of soil, a fragment of stone, and a handful of wheat, and with them, this message to carry back to the people of America:

"The people of Stalingrad know what war is and what peace is. The great victory of Stalingrad which opened a bright road of peace and friendship to the peoples of the world was achieved at a tremendous cost. The many foreign delegations which have visited Stalingrad during these years have been convinced graphically by the example of our city that the people of the Soviet Union have no other aim but creative and peaceful labor. The people of Stalingrad stand four-square for peace and for real friendship with the American people.

"More than 115 million citizens of the Soviet Union, the entire adult population of this country, have signed the historic Stockholm Appeal. Our people, who have worked hard in the postwar years to reconstruct the economy of the land and are now undertaking the building of gigantic hydroelectric power stations and irrigation canals, are vitally concerned with the establishment of international security.

"Sharing the friendly feeling of the American delegation, the Stalingrad Chapter of the Soviet Peace Committee greets them as representatives of all peace-loving Americans, all those who are for the strengthening of cultural relations between the peoples of the USA and the USSR.

"We ask you to convey to the American Peace Committee these gifts.

"First, a handful of sacred Stalingrad soil on which no invader has succeeded in entrenching himself. Let this soil be a token of the hospitality which the friends of peace will always find in our city.

"Second, a fragment of stone from a building destroyed in the battle of Stalingrad—as a token of the Soviet people's historic victory over the dark forces of fascism.

"Third, a handful of wheat grown on the blood-

soaked soil of Stalingrad—as a symbol of the fertility of our soil and of the grain which the great new work on the Volga and the Don offers to all peace-loving nations of the world.

"We ask you to tell the American people that Stalingraders send sincere and heartfelt greetings to American fighters for peace, and wish them every success in their noble endeavors. Heroic Stalingrad firmly clasps their courageous hands, the hands of plain people who in the long run decide the future of their country.

"Long live the friendship of the American and Soviet peoples!

"Long live peace over the whole world!"

Our experiences here at home have emphasized graphically why the people of the Soviet Union make a clear distinction between the desires and aims of the American people on the one hand, and the policies of the rulers and special interest groups on the other.

We found a feeling of warmth and friendship for the people of America and a determined opposition to the war makers. Everywhere in Czechoslovakia, Poland, and the Soviet Union, we were greeted with enthusiasm as representatives of peace, particularly by the youth and children, even while our U.S. foreign policies were being sharply criticized. There is hope and confidence in the Soviet Union that the American people will stop those who are trying to set off another world war.

We are determined to reach the American people with this peace message from the Soviet Union and with the truth of what we saw on our visit there. When we have been able to reach them, the people have responded with interest and enthusiasm to all that we've had to say about life in the USSR, and have asked probing and stimulating questions. In contrast

to this, the officials greeted our return with indifference and hostility, and the press met us at first only with silence. Whenever it became apparent, however, that we were beginning to reach the people in spite of attempts to block us, the policy of silence by the commercial press changed to one of editorial attacks. Few have been willing to give us a single inch of news space for our reports. In addition, in some places attempts have been made to prevent our meetings from

School children reading at the Palace of Young Pioneers in Sverdlovsk, in a room decorated with murals from Pushkin's fairy tales. The delegates were struck by the new type of palaces to be found everywhere in the USSR – Palaces of Culture for workers, and palaces of many-sided delights where the children spend their after-school hours

being held, and individual members of our delegation have been harassed and persecuted in many ways.

Since our return, the Reverend Robert Muir, an Episcopalian minister, has been unable to get a church. Charles P. Howard, noted lawyer, newspaper publisher, and political leader in the state of Iowa, has been forced to give up his law practice. Mrs. Pauline Taylor was summoned before the Ohio House Committee on Un- American Activities. James Miller has been repeatedly fired by employers and threats have been made to drive him from his home. And Dr. Willard Uphaus has been forced to resign his position as Executive Secretary of the National Religion and Labor Foundation, although the statement issued by the majority of the board which voted for his resignation declared that "Throughout his tenure [Dr. Uphaus] has sought to bring together people of diverse opinions on behalf of justice," and that his leadership "has been an inspiration to countless men and women in the labor movement, and in the church and synagogue." The statement continues: "...rarely have the qualities of mind and soul been so consistently expressed in a human being. Upon his resignation from office at a time of crisis for the peace of the world, we welcome him as a member of the national executive board."

In spite of opposition and intimidation, we have addressed hundreds of interested audiences and have participated in numerous discussions and debates. We have written many articles, reports, and letters about our trip, and fought hard for publication in the commercial press, occasionally breaking through in scattered paragraphs and in letters to the editor.

Carl Flodquist was subjected to a series of editorial attacks in the *Minneapolis Tribune.* He finally succeeded in getting a part of his reply published. In it he told

the 600,000 readers of the *Tribune:*

If there is anything significant in my experience in visiting Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union, it is one fact I can report—that the people of these countries do not talk of war or want war. They want peace and believe they can win peace. Neither I nor anyone else is going to insist that anyone has to put the stamp of approval on the socialist system of the Soviet Union to work for peace together... I am and will remain an Isanti County farmer who exercises my right to debate issues of war and peace. If my recent visit to Europe has made many Minnesotans conscious of the need to debate and discuss this issue, and to search for a way to keep peace, it has certainly been worth while.

Following the publication of his answer, he began to receive letters—ten in the first two days—commending him on his stand, and including such comments as "God bless you and your family."

After this episode Carl Flodquist reported: "I have been very busy speaking at many meetings, and they have all been very good, magnificent response, and a great deal of interest. I am booked almost solid for the next month."

Within a few months Mrs. Pauline Taylor has addressed more than 60 meetings, including community circles, church groups, garden clubs, and women's clubs. She has talked to people of diverse political beliefs and found them always interested in what she had to say. They were unanimous in their determination to have peace. At one meeting, she said, the audience was amazed at the war damage and reconstruction photographs of Poland, and at another, several women wept when she recounted the speech of Mme. Pak Den Ai of Korea at the Warsaw Peace Congress.

All the other members of the delegation have had

similar experiences in their own sections of the country. We have received many interested and encouraging letters from people at home and abroad. One Negro woman, for example, wrote: "I just don't believe that a country that got rid of jim crow and treats all people as equal could be really bad. It never did make sense to me."

A youngster, who was getting his first real taste of Negro history, told Mrs. Mollie Lucas: "I never did see how they could be making slaves of them and at the same time trying so hard to educate them. You know how hard they tried to keep the Negro slaves from even learning to read because they knew they couldn't keep them slaves any more."

Wherever we have gone in our own country, especially among the Negro people and other nationality groups, we have found audiences eager to hear about the Soviet Union and about life in the USSR. Many are incensed that the truth about the peaceful aspirations and achievements of our war time ally was being kept from them. The people of America are worried about the threat of war; they all desire peace, but many told us that they see no way of achieving it. To them we say:

Help to circulate the truth about the Soviet Union. It is the key to peace.

Talk peace to everyone. Discuss peace in every type of gathering that you attend. Organize for peace.