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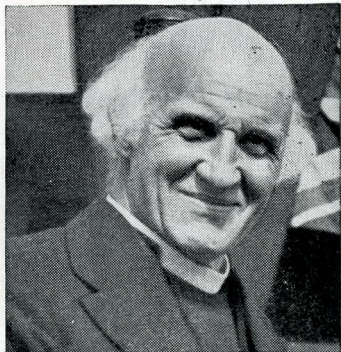
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*"I have seen an eagerness to
strive with . . . and to suffer with
Russia to achieve victory."*

R_T



by the
DEAN

OF

CANTERBURY

HITLER'S DEATH WARRANT!

THE BRITISH-SOVIET TREATY

TWOPENCE

1943

A RUSSIA TODAY PUBLICATION

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HITLER'S DEATH WARRANT!

by Dr. HEWLETT JOHNSON, Dean of Canterbury

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JUNE 1943

HITLER'S DEATH WARRANT!

By The Dean of Canterbury

JUNE 22, 1941, marked a turning point in world history. "At 3.05 a.m. on Sunday, 22nd June, 1941, Hitler signed his own and Nazi-Fascism's death warrant. At that hour, treacherously, he attacked the Soviet Union. In so doing he made certain his own ultimate defeat. Against the heroism of the Red Army, against the no less heroic labour of 193 million Soviet peoples, this Frankenstein monster of a war machine he has created will crash as upon a rock."

So I wrote on June 20th, 1941, on the fifth day of the Nazi attack, in a message sent, after it had been rejected by the London press, to the U.S.A. where it appeared at length in the epilogue to the million copy edition of my book, *The Socialist Sixth of the World*. This message was directed against the dangerous defeatist attitude—born out of an abysmal ignorance of all things Soviet which, well-nigh universal at that time in Britain and America—was even then endangering full co-operation with the U.S.S.R.

No formal alliance existed as yet between us and the Soviet Union. That came a year later and as a result of the magnificent defence of her country which the Soviet people had put up; as a result, too, of the growing appreciation of all that the Soviet Union stands for and has achieved. The formal deed was drawn up on May 26, 1942, when England and the Soviet Union signed a 20-year Treaty of Alliance.

Never can we forget Mr. Churchill's speech on that quiet Sunday evening in June a year earlier when Hitler had struck his blow, nor ever cease our gratitude for his uncompromising attitude at that crucial moment. Without an hour's hesitation, and after securing agreement of the British Dominions overseas he threw in our lot with the U.S.S.R. and defined our line with the pungent phrase: "Any state who fights against Hitler is our ally."

It might have been otherwise. Some in England and more in the U.S.A. saw in this change of front an opportunity to switch the war. Many in Germany perceived the possibility. Hess's visit is the proof. Wall Street was hesitant: "Now at length Hitler does the right thing and justifies Germany's re-arming" was a growing cry. Much hung in the balance. The situation was fluid. We waited with feverish anxiety for Churchill's words. Then came the speech and the crowning phrase: "Any state who fights against Hitler is our ally." The die was cast and the fear which had haunted some of us for a score of years was past, we were not to be found fighting on the wrong side in a Soviet war and the safety of the world's greatest experiment was assured. Russia was safe. We were safe. The future was safe.

Churchill's words fell like a bombshell on centres of reaction here and in Wall Street. The war was not to be switched. Britain, the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. had at one stroke, and that a stroke struck by Hitler himself, become allies in fact, if not yet by formal and signed agreement.

All honour to Mr. Churchill, who had seen so clearly the importance of the Soviet Union, for his share in forging this alliance. Had he at the same time been adequately informed as to the strength of Russia and had he on that account ventured to give speedier and more extensive help to her in military equipment, the course of the war might have been very different: the Dnieper Dam might still stand and the tide of invasion have been stemmed long before it reached the walls of Stalingrad. Peace might by now have been secured.

The formal alliance became inevitable as the war pursued its course. The people were ripe for it. A year of comradeship in arms; a year of growing appreciation by the masses and the rulers alike of what Russia really stands for and what she has achieved; a year of deepening respect for Russian courage, skill, steadfastness and moral quality had deepened the bonds between the two peoples and prepared the way for a full-fledged association. On May 26, 1942, a formal 20-year Treaty of Alliance was signed by M. Molotov, Soviet Commissar of Foreign Affairs, on his memorable surprise visit to England.

The alliance was to be more than a military pact. It was a

Treaty for peace as well as war. A Treaty for building up a new world when the aggressor was smashed. A Treaty planned to last for 20 years.

The Anniversary

ON May 26, this year, we celebrated the anniversary of the 20-year Alliance. And we did so, happily, at a moment when we had reason to be proud of the achievements of our army, navy and air force, especially our achievements in conjunction with our American allies in North Africa.

The outlook had not always been so happy. The high hopes of May 26, 1942, had been succeeded by grave misgivings. The Soviet people had borne for the second winter running the full weight of the German war machine; and for the second winter running had hurled the German armies back. Stalingrad turned the tide of war. Single-handed Russia had smashed the spear-head of the German forces, had surrounded and captured the cream of the German army with their Commander-in-Chief, von Paulus, his generals and a mass of war material. Russia had approved herself as the most mighty military force in the world. Russia had won her spurs. The lies which had defamed her for 20 years had been dispelled by the achievements of fewer weeks.

But the cost of Russia's resistance and counter-thrust had been colossal. The demand for fuller military aid had been insistent here and in Russia itself. Paul Winterton seeing the havoc at the Russian front and the brutalities perpetrated on Russian civilians marvelled at the restraint of the Russian cry for a second front: but there was no question as to the urgency of the demand that was being made. Russia was naturally dismayed and disturbed at our inaction.

But now, as the anniversary arrives, comes at last our swift and smashing blow in North Africa with the immediate possibility of a second front on European soil. The Soviet people have been unstinting in their praise of our victory. And when the alliance is celebrated in Moscow the names of Alexander and Montgomery will rank in honour and applause with those of Zhukov and Timoshenko.

" We have the right to be proud of our achievements; the right to be proud of the skill of our generals, the courage of our men and the masterly staff work which made the operation possible. But if we are wise we shall avoid getting dizzy with success. The Soviet people with far greater victories to their credit never viewed the future with complacency, " the bitterest is past, the hardest yet remains," was and is her attitude. Russia knows, and we should do well to recognise the fact too, that the enemy is still strong and that the war so far from being ended has only entered upon its most decisive and possibly for us its most costly stage.

Nevertheless, the fact that for the first time since the war began " the blows at the enemy from the east dealt by the Red Army, merged with a blow from the west, dealt by our allies, into one joint blow "—to quote Stalin's own words, is of incalculable importance. It has created the situation which Hitler has always sought to avoid and which the Soviet leaders have always advocated. Hitler is compelled to fight on two fronts at once.

The anniversary of the 20-year alliance is therefore being celebrated in an atmosphere vastly different from that which prevailed at the end of 1942 and the beginning of 1943. Never had any action of our Government in the sphere of foreign politics been so ardently welcomed as the pact with the Soviet Union. The effect has been electric. Hopes had soared. Morale had stiffened and a new and inspiring purpose had been given to our efforts. We had become assured not only of winning the war but of winning the peace as well. Had the June celebrations therefore taken place in an atmosphere of disappointment and suspicion arising from our lack of action, a weakening of the common struggle would have been the inevitable result. That danger point is past.

The People Impatient

HOW, we may well ask, comes it that the pact means so much to us? Why was it welcomed so whole-heartedly by the vast majority of British people and why should the fulfilment of all promises made concerning it be so urgently demanded? Some

of the biggest, and certainly the most determined, demonstrations ever witnessed in this country have been held in protest at the slowness on our part to fulfil to the utmost of our capacity all that our promises had implied.

I have witnessed impressive displays of this impatience in audiences at munition works, civic, industrial and agricultural centres from Penzance to Aberdeen, from Carlisle to Brighton, from Dover to Holyhead, and from Cardiff to Darlington, in a series of speaking tours methodically extending over England, Scotland and Wales. Any mention of a second front has been greeted with a storm of feeling and spontaneous applause.

The reason is that the man in the street has been learning fast. The prejudices and misunderstandings of years have been departing. It is hard now to believe that many responsible people in this country were able in 1939 to regard the Soviet Union as they regard Hitler, and that many more could only accept the Red Army, when it went into action, as a co-belligerent and by no means as an ally.

There have never been wanting some few who have striven to break down prejudice and anti-Soviet hostility. They have had some measure of success. But the main credit for the changed attitude goes without doubt to the Soviet people themselves. Their whole-hearted struggle against fascism; the magnificent courage and heroism of an 800 miles orderly retreat; the defence of Leningrad, Sebastopol or Stalingrad, followed by the surge of counter-attack and the destruction of the pride of the German armies, has swept away in a single year the misunderstandings of a quarter of a century. Admirations and trust have replaced contempt and suspicion. We are proud to call the U.S.S.R. our ally. Their fighting retreat against Nazi-fascism and their glorious offensive stir our imagination and call for speedy and ample action.

That is why the pact is dear to us. We have found an ally answerable to our desires. We have found ourselves in alliance with a country healthy in body and mind and animated by great ideals, and we desire to make that alliance a real and living thing, understood by all, accepted by all, honoured by all and fulfilled to the letter by all.

The first year of the Alliance has had its high lights. It has also had its deep shadows. Even now when battle blows resound from east and west, and when a mighty advance has been made by all the allies, disquieting notes are not wanting. In the war against fascism the political and military struggle must be supplementary or they cancel one another out. Bearing this in mind we shall do well to review the deeds of both sides and equip ourselves to review the situation on the basis of the facts.

The first salute of the year, we shall all agree, must go to Stalingrad. The most powerful and effective single blow against fascist reaction in 1942-3 has been struck by the defenders of Stalingrad.

When Germany held all the key points; when nothing remained but a ridge by the river-side dominated by a higher ridge in German hands and raked by German fire; when the town lay in ruins and Hitler could announce that the end had come and when he only awaited the last shot, the Red Army and Red Citizens upset all calculations they held on and struck back. In a contest of wills Stalin had won and Hitler had lost. Stalin had gained time to organise the offensive and inflict the world's supreme defeat. Stalingrad was saved; Hitler's schedule upset; and the British-American advance in North Africa had been expedited.

Never for one moment had morale weakened on the Soviet front. Faced with overwhelming odds, the Soviet Army had clung like limpets to the key town of the eastern front, and though they may have said bitter things about the absence of a second front—and who can blame them if they did?—they yet held on, and by holding saved humanity.

The defence of Stalingrad made possible the Russian winter offensive which flung the fascists from the territory seized in 1942 and rescued innumerable inhabited places which had been in German hands for 18 months. The enemy forces were weakened and big steps taken towards final victory.

News from the eastern front during these winter weeks was thrilling, but it had, unfortunately, led in this country to widely different conclusions, some of them dangerous and misleading.

Many, indeed the vast majority, felt a deep sense of frustration and shame that we were leaving our gallant ally to bear the brunt of the attack alone; there was acute exasperation that we could not strike the simultaneous blow that Hitler had always dreaded. The time seemed entirely opportune. The balance was so evenly struck. Just a few less German divisions on the Russian front might have sealed the fate of vast German armies and broken the Nazi armed might. So little might have meant so much.

And the price Russia was paying in these single-handed battles was colossal. Compare the lives lost in the final great assault on Tunis and Bizerta with the losses on the Russian front in the autumn and winter campaign. One morning of Russian loss would equal our total losses in all the final stages of the African campaign, and Russia's losses at this rate stretched over months.

That is why the demand for the second front grew insistent. "Fulfil our promise to the Soviet people" was the cry which echoed through factory and field.

There were some, on the other hand, who felt that the Soviet people could win the war over the Nazis by themselves. Our responsibility was fulfilled by supplying the Russian army with tanks, planes and other munitions of war. And even if the supply of war material yet consisted of little more than Russia had captured from Germany, it had proved of great use and it represented fine and devoted work in British factories.

Some, yet again, but happily they were few, were pleased rather than disturbed by the mutual weakening of Russia and Germany, regarding both as dangerous rivals to British imperialism.

Achieving The Impossible

THE apparent British and American inaction in Europe during these months have been very disturbing. No big western military events had been taking place. Excuses were made. Reasons were suggested: the bombing of Germany was an adequate contribution; lack of ships prevented any big-scale offensive; our main job was to tackle the U-boat menace and the like.

These and kindred arguments satisfied some here: they were less effective in the U.S.S.R. Our Soviet ally had, indeed, been the first to applaud the work of our gallant airmen, and to praise and reward the heroism of our seamen conveying ships to Soviet ports. They were less impressed by the difficulties of implementing our promises of a western front. Our prestige sank. Soviet people had been trained to regard difficulties as something to be overcome. They were trained to achieve the impossible. The building up from scratch of the mighty Soviet industry in less than 20 years had achieved the impossible. The electrification of Soviet Russia, symbolised by the Dnieper Dam, had achieved the impossible; the mechanisation and collectivization of Russian agriculture had achieved the impossible; the defence of Stalingrad, a city doomed in the opinion of all the experts owing to its geographical situation and difficulty of maintaining supplies and the weight of armour and man-power flung against it had achieved the impossible.

The experts had proved wrong again. And once again it had been proved that when people and leaders are convinced that a thing is necessary and right, nothing can prevent its execution. And that is just where the real difficulty lay. The large-scale conviction that a second front was the quickest way to end the war had been lacking.

Although, however, no great military contribution had been made until the advance in North Africa had begun, that does not mean that nothing had been attempted or achieved. The work of the Royal Air Force has won unstinted praise from the Soviet leaders and greatly encouraged the Soviet people who are swift to give credit where credit is due: "every blow delivered by your air force to the vital German centres evokes a most lively echo in the hearts of many millions throughout the length and breadth of our country," is the way in which Stalin expressed the feelings of Soviet people during the month of May, 1943.

But it was the merchant seamen who had won the warmest place in the hearts of the Soviet people. Soviet seamen and citizens know better than most the difficulties, trials and sufferings endured by the men in the ships conveyed to Soviet ports. For many a long year have they followed the radioed story of

Professor Schmidt or Papanin and his comrades in their combat with the elements in Arctic seas, and for many a long year have they struggled to open up the northern passage from the Atlantic to the Pacific oceans. Russia has always held Arctic exploration in high esteem, and now they see our sailors of the Merchant Navy and their gallant escort fighting the same bitter elements through seas infested by submarines and strewn with mines and never for a moment safe from the zooming plane.

Indissoluble bonds of friendship have been born on these hazardous voyages. Many of our seamen have been decorated for bravery by the Soviet Government. Their names and exploits are known to millions of Soviet people. In Archangel the Soviet authorities have welcomed our sailors to a club in which every form of recreation is provided and where British and Soviet people can become acquainted and form friendships which are destined to outlast their brief stay. As one Soviet citizen put it: "When you look at these gallant British seamen who are bringing us arms, you think, 'Hitlerite pirates will never beat our friends at sea.'" And Mr. Maisky when he distributed Soviet honours to our men added: "The Royal Navy and the Merchant Navy of Britain have in the words of Nelson done their duty in this war. They have shown themselves worthy of their best traditions."

The material imported on these perilous journeys looks impressive when the absolute figures are given. Relatively it looks less important. In relation to the material used on the vast Soviet front it is all too small. As Lord Beaverbrook stated in February: in the 2½ months of the winter offensive the Russians had captured from the retreating Germans more material than they had received in 20 months from Britain and the U.S.A. Naturally we needed the bulk of our own material to equip our own forces for the action they are now carrying through; but none can be completely happy at the full tale of our contribution in military action and military material during this first year of the pact in view of the price Russia has paid for her share of the common task. It is that which disturbs all right-minded people when they hear some argue that without our aid Russia would not be able to carry on. That is neither true nor generous and it takes no account of facts.

Salute The Workers!

IN view, then, of the enormous wastage of material on the vast Russian front, and in view of our relatively small contribution to it, our second salute must go to the Soviet industrial workers. Russian factories have indeed worked miracles. Russian industry, as all now recognise, has in the last few decades achieved extraordinary results. Starting from scratch, the land that scarcely knew a tractor 20 years ago was producing in one factory alone 40,000 high-powered tractors every year when the war broke out. Cotton operatives were producing a 50 per cent output exceeding the best Lancashire figures, and electrical furnaces an output of 44 to 48 tons against a European maximum of 38 tons.

The industrial achievements like these have redoubled themselves since the German attack. Evacuated hundreds of miles from their homes, reassembling their machinery in totally new surroundings, living in improvised dwellings, deprived for the time being of their normal facilities for recreation, the Russian factory worker has tackled his tasks with a will and an energy only equalled by the heroic Red Army.

Kalinin had astonished many when, before the great winter offensive began, he could say—and say truthfully as subsequent events have proved—that despite the loss of the Ukraine and the Caucasus the output of Soviet war material was as great then as at the beginning of the Russo-German war. And yet by November, 1941, the Nazis had captured 30 per cent of the population and 37 per cent of the railway network and an area producing 30 per cent of Soviet grain, 30 per cent of its cattle, 60 per cent of its 1940 pig iron capacity and 46 per cent of its steel capacity. The material equipment of the winter offensive substantiated Kalinin's claim; and to the heroes of labour, men and women, is due the fact that not a single Red Army man has fought inadequately equipped and inadequately clothed.

This must not, however, be taken to mean that the output of every commodity has been made good, and we dare not ignore the heavy privations suffered by the Soviet people or suppose that Russia has yet recovered from the Germans all that was lost

in the early stages of the war. Half of Russia's grain lands are still in enemy hands. Much of its industrial area is either in German hands or still suffers from the scorched earth policy.

Nor must we suppose that every Soviet factory has achieved miraculous results. Self-criticism is a healthy characteristic of Soviet life, and the *Soviet War News* refers explicitly and frankly to certain factories which have failed to reach the standard. The *Daily Express*, referring to these criticisms, rightly and generously, says: "The list is candid reproof given by Russians to Russians. No other people have a right to reproach them. If Soviet factories and farms have fallen below their back-breaking schedules we must give them still more from our own resources."

This is precisely the right approach and indicates a growth of understanding and friendship which is heartily to be welcomed.

And the work in Soviet factories has been emulated by the work in many a British factory whose workers merit equal praise. Stimulated by the Anglo-Russian pact, some British factories have achieved astonishing results, especially when they knew that they worked directly on material destined for Russia. Working 12 hours a day for seven days a week, the men and women in a Midland factory, to take one instance, completed a job for Russia in half the contract time in order to catch the convoy: they labelled their packing cases: "With love to Uncle Joe." Workers like these who are proud to contribute to the Soviet war effort will be no less proud, if given the chance, to co-operate in the days of peace.

Everywhere in Great Britain the common people have displayed eagerness to play their full part in the Anglo-Russian alliance; especially in the immediate task of providing Russia with medical aid. Few towns have lacked their special "Russia Week," in addition to day-to-day contributions. The Co-operative Society, the Trade Union and Labour Party have their joint fund. Mrs. Churchill's Fund and the Joint Committee for Soviet Aid provide the main channels, but personal and individual contributions of all kinds have reached the Soviet Embassy or the office of the *Soviet War News*.

And it is important to observe that these funds have a higher function than medical aid pure and simple. As Mr. Maisky said

burden from the back of man and puts it on the back of steel. We gave to Russia the model of democratic liberty. We gave asylum to Marx and Lenin.

But we have much to receive. Russia has created a new civilization, and the peace and well-being of the world depends vitally on a close study of what she has done and how she has done it. Russia has carried the human race a masterly step forward, and a right approach to Russia can secure not only a lasting and a world-wide peace, but a world of new happiness and new well-being.

Russian civilization is a matter of profound importance to the world. Out of the chaos of the tsarist regime, with its infantile industry, its wooden ploughs and its illiterate peasantry, there has emerged in a couple of decades a free, happy, prosperous and cultured people with a passionate faith in a glorious future.

With what skill the Soviet land had planned its national life and with what rapidity it had built up its industry and agriculture, its educational and health services; and with what far-sighted wisdom it had trained and equipped its superb Red Army we see more clearly now.

Within two decades, and starting from scratch, the Soviet Union has become the second greatest industrial state of the world, with the shortest working day and the amplest social services. And Russia's material achievements have their roots in moral causes: Soviet Russia has replaced the selfish motive of profit by the moral motive of service. Soviet Russia now possesses the most highly mechanised agriculture in the world.

A new intelligentsia emerges in Russia, with a growing mastery of science, engineering, chemistry, medicine, and the like, and linked by intimate ties with the industrial workers.

Soviet Education expands. The Russian schools of 1917 housed 8 million children; today they house 36 million. Education up to 15 years of age is universal among all the nationalities, and in great towns to 18 years of age. Russian universities enrol a higher percentage of the population than any other European country, while nearly 11 million scholars attend its secondary schools.

Nor are these benefits confined to one sex or one race alone. All that has been given to men and boys is given with an equal hand to women and girls, and the benefits extend to 193 national groups spread over a sixth of the world. This, too, is phenomenal and in vivid contrast even to our own administration. For instance, where we spend 1s. 6d. per annum on the education of the Hindu child and 1d. on its health service: the Soviet Union spends £39 per annum on the Turkmen child's education and £5 10s. on health.

Democracy has entered on a new era in Soviet Russia. Liberty becomes real, not merely formal. Soviet Russia enjoys an equality of opportunity unknown in other lands, and each citizen has a direct voice in the government of his country through direct election of representatives, even to the highest assemblies.

A new man appears and a new civilization grows. Soviet citizens enjoy great fundamental rights; the right to work, to leisure, to education, to health and to full security in sickness, incapacity and old age: equality of race and sex make these rights universal.

A new sense of order replaces the old chaos, a new creative enterprise the old apathy, a new comradeship the old suspicions, a new solidarity the old separations, a new sense of common tasks and common interest, the old limited, private and selfish goals.

Here, then, is the key to Russia's achievements on the eastern battle front. Here is the promise for victory in war. Here is the promise for victory in the peace which will follow war. In a very real sense it may be said that in the Soviet Union "a new type of man has entered the history of mankind." The world has need to enter into kinship with it.

The war has opened our eyes to this new Soviet man and given us his friendship. We must never close our eyes to him again nor spurn his friendship in the days of peace. The men and women who now fight so eagerly by our side against the fascist foe will fight as eagerly against the common enemies of all peoples—poverty, disease, distrust and all that makes brotherhood and well-being impossible.

It Makes Peace Possible

OUR pact with Russia then holds the promise of a lasting peace. It holds the promise of a world secure from poverty and international strife. We need set no limits to our hopes and no curb to our aspirations. The world is young. Its good things of peace and well-being are obviously possible. Russia has achieved them in two decades and throughout a sixth of the world. Russia has shown how national groups can live together in unity with an increase of national individuality. Russia has shown that peace within the nation, secured by a planned and co-operative economy, can likewise lead to peace between national groups. Russia points the road to universal peace and lasting prosperity.

Surely that is a goal worth striving for. The maintenance of the pact with Russia is worth our highest effort. Pacts may mean nothing or they may mean all. France had a pact with Russia which might have saved her had she willed it so. She spurned it and fell.

We have a pact with Soviet Russia. We need Soviet aid now and we receive it. We shall need it subsequently and we shall receive it subsequently if the pact remains and if it receives the scope and support and understanding it now demands. The mass of our citizens value the pact and yearn for the victory and the new world to which it may lead. Let them work for it. Let them act, and act now.

I am filled with hope as I gaze into the future. I have looked into the faces of scores of thousands, I may almost say hundreds of thousands of my fellow countrymen in the four quarters of this land, at great meetings organised to aid and to understand our mighty new ally. I have seen enthusiasm awake as understanding dawns. I have seen an eagerness to strive with Russia and to suffer with Russia to achieve victory. And beyond that I have seen a yearning to join with Soviet Russia after victory to build a new and better world. A great hope dawns. Let no apathy or indifference in us cloud its splendour.

Over the Radio
June 6th, 1943

Paul Winterton said

"Admiration and sympathy and battle for the same cause are not enough. The secret of enduring friendship lies elsewhere. Before we can be real friends we need to know much more about each other."

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