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How to end the Cold War and build the peace

National Council of American Soviet Friendship

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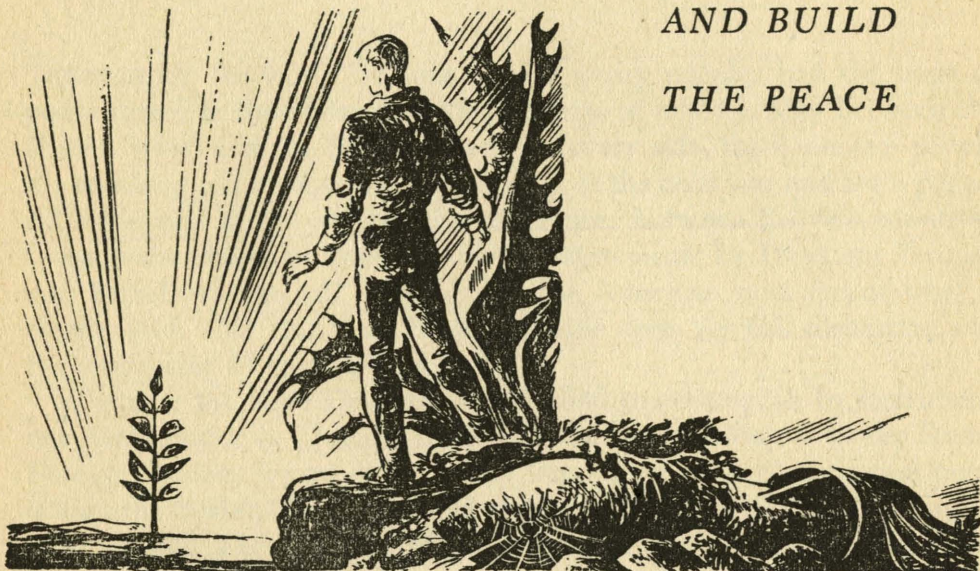
HOW TO
End the Cold War
AND BUILD THE PEACE

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NATIONAL COUNCIL OF SOVIET-AMERICAN FRIENDSHIP

HOW TO End the Cold War

AND BUILD
THE PEACE



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National Council of American-Soviet Friendship • New York, N.Y. • 1948

COVER AND ILLUSTRATIONS
BY THE
DISTINGUISHED AMERICAN ARTIST
LYND WARD

 412

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How to END THE COLD WAR AND BUILD THE PEACE

THROUGHOUT the world millions of war weary peoples had the hope of peace stirred in their hearts by the exchange of notes in May between the United States and the Soviet Union. On every side, the American people are speaking out against the continuation of the cold war and for a peaceful settlement of the outstanding differences between the two countries.

An avalanche of protests greeted the statements by President Truman and Secretary Marshall denying that the American note meant what it clearly said: that "the door is always wide open for full discussion and the composing of our differences."

Whatever the State Department intended to accomplish by instructing our Ambassador in Moscow to deliver the note of May 4 to the Soviet Foreign Minister is now of secondary importance. The all-important point is that the Soviet Union accepted it as a move for peace and responded affirmatively. The response of the American people made it clear that they do not support the cold war policy and are determined that it must be changed. The response of the people throughout the world demonstrated their belief that war is not inevitable, and that they look to America to follow up these moves with concrete steps toward peace.

Now is the time for those concerned with American-Soviet friendship as the basis for world peace to move into action. To this end, the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship has launched a "peace offensive" to crystallize the peace sentiments of the American people around a very simple position—that the United States should act on the expressed agreement of the Soviet Union for a conference to discuss and compose our differences.

In this pamphlet we are providing the tools with which *you* can do your part in building the peace. We are publishing the main documents in the recent exchanges so that you may be informed of the issues at stake and the possibilities for their peaceful solution. We have assembled a cross-section of the reaction to these exchanges so that you may know how varied and how powerful are the forces working for this great goal. Let us through common efforts develop an irresistible movement to end

the cold war and to build a lasting peace for all nations on the firm foundations of US-USSR friendship.

THE ISSUE IS CLEAR

The issue is whether our Government is ready to abandon the cold war policy and turn seriously to the pursuit of peace. The public response to Henry Wallace's Open Letter to Premier Joseph Stalin, proposing to settle all outstanding problems around a conference table, is compelling proof of how deeply the people want a rapprochement between the two governments. Premier Stalin's reply, while not expressing agreement on all the points raised by Mr. Wallace, established beyond any possible doubt that the Soviet Union is ready to seek a solution of the differences between us in free and open discussion.

Only those Americans who are bent on leading this country into a most disastrous war can maintain that it is useless to negotiate. The overwhelming majority of our people desire that all means leading to understanding and settlement between the US and the USSR be thoroughly explored. Peace and security can be achieved without sacrifice of our legitimate interests, our national honor, or detriment to the interests of other nations.

UN REQUIRES AMERICAN-SOVIET AGREEMENT

Secretary Marshall's suggestion that the United Nations and its agencies are the proper place to iron out the differences between the United States and the Soviet Union can only be interpreted as an excuse for refusal to negotiate. The United Nations Charter itself provides for preliminary bilateral negotiations in any disputes endangering peace. Secretary Marshall knows that American-Soviet understanding would eliminate the main source of tension and instability in the world today and would open the way for the rapid and just solution of international problems, both within or outside of the competence of the UN. Recent experiences have demonstrated that the difficulties in all international agencies are mainly the result of the cold war waged by our Administration against the USSR. Only when there is American-Soviet agreement can the UN and its organs, as well as all other international bodies, function effectively and in the best interests of all their member nations.

American-Soviet cooperation, once achieved, would make it possible to implement the UN resolutions on disarmament and against war propaganda, and lift the burden of armaments which all the peoples of the world are now compelled to carry. American-Soviet understanding would end the further waste of our national energies and wealth in fantastic schemes for military guardianship of every continent and a world ringed with American bases. The execution of the schemes of our super-militarists

proposed as an alternative to peace-through-understanding with Russia, is clearly beyond the reach of any one nation, even the strongest. Nor do they become more feasible through the involvement in our global military plans of other and smaller states impoverished by war, and dreading above all else a new conflict. Our country cannot hope that other nations will long accept a situation fraught with such dangers to themselves. The continuation of our military policies will reap not friendship, but fear.

THE PARTITION OF GERMANY

And yet, instead of seizing the opportunity that has been offered for reaching a settlement of our differences with the Soviet Union, our government has accelerated its policy of increasing rather than diminishing these differences. By applying economic pressure on five Western European nations, the United States succeeded in getting their cooperation for the plan of partitioning Germany. It was announced on June 7 that the United States, Britain, France and the three Benelux nations—Belgium, the Netherlands and Luxembourg—had agreed on the establishment of a provisional separate Western German government. The plan provides for the close association of the economic interests of these countries with those of Western Germany, and the internationalization of the industrial Ruhr without the participation of the Soviet Union. Such a “settlement” of the German problem means the final scrapping of the Potsdam agreement and the widening of the East-West schism.

The communique issued simultaneously in the six capitals stated that its recommendations for a separate Western German state were designed to solve urgent political and economic German problems and did not preclude four-power agreement and the unification of all Germany. However the communique itself contradicted this by saying in the same paragraph that the measures were in line with the policy of the economic reconstruction of Western Europe. Western Germany, according to the communique, is to be closely tied to the American European Recovery Program which applies to Western Europe only and which was devised by Washington to build up a bulwark against the Soviet Union. Thus it appears obvious that a split Germany is at the very basis of this six-power agreement and that no serious plan for unification on the part of the Western powers exists.

Contrary to the predictions in our press that the Soviet Union would counter this move by setting up a separate state in Eastern Germany, the Soviet Government has instead supported a move for renewed negotiations on the German problem. The Warsaw conference of eight Foreign Ministers of Eastern European nations, including Soviet Foreign Minister Molotov, issued a communique urging a new attempt to reach Four-

Power agreement on German demilitarization; real international control of the Ruhr's heavy industry; unification of all Germany under a democratic government with guarantees against a repetition of German aggression; the conclusion of a peace treaty in accordance with the Potsdam decisions and withdrawal of all occupation troops; and measures for the fulfillment of reparations obligations to victims of German aggression.

LET US ACCEPT THE CHALLENGE FOR PEACE

The Administration hopes to hypnotize the American people into inaction with the idea that the United States alone through a string of economic satellites, and world-wide military bases, can reorganize the world against the Soviet Union and her allies and thus maintain the peace. The idea is unrealistic and only courts disaster. We submit that no military or economic scheme is capable of holding a line that stretches clear around the world and that depends on the maintenance in power of reactionary groups who do not have the support of their own people. Above all, we are convinced that the people of Europe will never permit a revival of German military power.

The Soviet Union has declared before the whole world that she is willing to negotiate an understanding with the United States. Let us accept this challenge for peace and meet at the conference table together as equals, ready to respect the interests and obligations of both nations and explore the basic issues for understanding and settlement.

Even should only partial success attend the initial gathering, it still would set in motion a constructive process and create an atmosphere that would make it possible for the United Nations and all existing international agencies to return to positive work. All the organs of international cooperation born out of the agonies of the last war would be shaken out of the lethargy which grips them because of the "cold war," and begin to fulfill the hopes which humanity has placed in them.

THE BERLIN CRISIS

Still another Soviet move to reopen negotiations on over-all questions of German policy was made in connection with the Berlin crisis.

The separate currency reform introduced in Western Germany following the London Six-Power Conference, completed the economic splitting of Germany along with its political division. This measure meant that the invalidated notes would pour into Eastern Germany and create economic chaos. The Soviet authorities responded by prohibiting the circulation of the new Western banknotes in the Soviet zone and the area of Greater Berlin, which is under quadripartite control, but within the Soviet zone. They introduced a new currency of their own. And

they put severe controls on all communications between Eastern and Western zones, temporarily closing the main rail line into the Western sectors.

War talk mounted as the British and Americans organized air armadas to fly supplies into the Western sectors of Berlin. The Soviet Union was accused of condemning the Germans there to starvation, although several weeks' supplies were on hand when the restrictions were imposed and subsequently Soviet authorities arranged to supply the necessary products. The United States, Great Britain and France sent protests to the USSR, charging violations of existing agreements. The notes contained offers to negotiate, but on questions concerning the situation in Berlin alone, and only on condition that communications first be restored. The details of the Berlin situation are set forth in the United States and Soviet notes, the texts of which are published in this pamphlet. The important point to note is that the Soviet reply insisted that the situation in Berlin could be considered only in the framework of the problem of Germany as a whole, and expressed readiness for negotiations on this central issue on which world peace depends.

DEMAND ACTION NOW!

Let us not gamble on war. Let us put all our stakes on peace. Let us continue where the exchange of notes left off. Demand that our State Department immediately consult with the Soviet Union to arrange the time and place for a conference to seek peaceful settlement of the outstanding differences between the two countries and to work out an agenda.

Our peace, our security, our entire future depend on immediate action! Write to the President, to the Secretary of State, to your Senators and Congressmen! Organize for peace now, before it is too late!

For further information on peace action and for additional copies of this pamphlet and other material, write to:

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Treasurer: Dr. John A. Kingsbury

Executive Director: Richard Morford



A Statement CALLING FOR THE PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT OF U.S.-U.S.S.R. DIFFERENCES

[Circulated by the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship in May, 1948.]

THE exchange of notes between the United States and the Soviet Union has brought about a decisive change in the world situation. The fear of war has given way to the hope of peace—a hope which it is the responsibility of all of us to keep alive.

Ambassador Smith's note of May 4 contained the clear statement that the door is wide open for full discussion and composing of our differences with the Soviet Union. Despite the Administration's subsequent disavowals of the offer, the fact remains that the USSR has agreed to a discussion to establish good relations.

We cannot agree with the Administration viewpoint that the cold war policy has the support of the American people and is not subject to change. Recent weeks have seen mounting pressure for a new, peaceful foreign policy from widely varied groups. Religious, business and labor, women's and civic organizations, representing millions of people, have presented peace programs urging a cessation of war-breeding policies, and insisting that common grounds for American-Soviet agreement can and must be found.

Now comes the enthusiastic response to the American-Soviet exchanges throughout our country and the world. The American people clearly desire a peaceful settlement through conference.

Mr. Wallace's open letter to Premier Stalin was in tune with this trend. He declared that there are no differences between the two countries that cannot be settled, and offered a series of concrete proposals as a basis for negotiations. Premier Stalin welcomed this overture. He declared that the Wallace proposals could serve as a fruitful basis for American-Soviet agreement and international cooperation. He reaffirmed the position of the Soviet Government that "despite the differences in economic systems and ideologies, the co-existence of these systems and a peaceful settlement of differences between the USSR and the USA are not only possible but undoubtedly necessary in the interests of a general peace."

We submit that these several exchanges offer an opportunity that must be grasped. The issues at stake are, indeed, of world concern, but a peculiar responsibility rests upon these two great nations to resolve their differences first so that over-all settlements become possible. Never before in the history of our nation has so much depended on the sincerity and ability which our government brings to the task of building the foundations of a lasting peace.

We, therefore, call upon our Government forthwith to arrest the prosecution of the cold war and to take immediate steps to arrange the scope, the place and the time of a conference with representatives of the Soviet Union for a peaceful settlement of our differences. Such a venture will win the gratitude of the war-weary millions throughout the world and the fullest support of the American people.

Signed by:

- LOUIS ADAMIC, writer, New Jersey
DR. T. ADDIS, Stanford University, California
BISHOP C. C. ALLEYNE, A.M.E. Zion Church, Philadelphia
REV. WILLIAM G. ARMS, First Universalist Church, Peoria, Ill.
DAVID D. BAKER, Editor, *The Messenger*, Evangelical and Reformed Church
ZLATKO BALOKOVIC, President United Committee of South Slavic Americans
DR. EDWARD K. BARSKY, Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee
RT. REV. LANE W. BARTON, Protestant Episcopal Bishop of Eastern Oregon
SAMUEL H. BASSOW, businessman, New York
REV. MERRILL OTIS BATES, Grosse Pointe Unitarian Church, Detroit
RABBI SHEPHERD Z. BAUM, former National Director American Jewish Congress.
HOWARD BAY, scenic designer, California
HON. ELMER A. BENSON, former Governor Minnesota
ALGERNON D. BLACK, Executive Leader, New York Society for Ethical Culture
MRS. ANITA BLOCK, writer and lecturer, New York
PROF. DOROTHY BREWSTER, Columbia University
HENRIETTA BUCKMASTER, writer, New York
PROF. EDWIN BERRY BURGUM, New York University
ALLAN M. BUTLER, M.D., Professor of Pediatrics, Harvard University Medical School
DR. WILLIAM CARD, educator, Chicago
MRS. RUTH D. CARTER, New York
REV. RUTHVEN S. CHALMERS, Federated Church, Spencer, N. Y.
PROF. JOHN CIARDI, Harvard University
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JOHN O. CRANE, Friendship Fund, New York
PROF. HENRY W. L. DANA, writer and lecturer, Cambridge, Mass.
REV. JOHN W. DARR, JR., United Christian Council for Democracy, New York
REV. MARK DAWBER, Exec. Secy., Home Missions Council of North America
VERY REV. JOHN W. DAY, Grace Cathedral, Topeka, Kansas
NINA C. DEXTER, Encino, California
FREDA DIAMOND, industrial designer, New York
EARL B. DICKERSON, attorney-at-law, Chicago
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DR. W. E. B. DU BOIS, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People
DR. L. C. DUNN, Columbia University
JAMES H. BURKIN, President United Office and Professional Workers of America, CIO
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PROF. HENRY PRATT FAIRCHILD, New York University
HOWARD FAST, writer, New York
PROF. R. O. FEILD, Tulane University, Louisiana
FREDERICK V. FIELD, New York
REV. PROF. JOSEPH FLETCHER, Episcopal Theological School, Cambridge, Mass.
REV. STEPHEN H. FRITCHMAN, First Unitarian Church, Los Angeles
B. Z. GOLDBERG, President American Committee of Jewish Writers, Artists and Scientists, New York

- DR. HARRY GRUNDFEST, American Association Scientific Workers, New York
DR. RALPH H. GUNDLACH, University of Washington, Seattle
UTA HAGEN, actress, New York
ALICE HAMILTON, M.D., Hadlyme, Connecticut
E. Y. HARBURG, lyricist, New York
PROF. ROBERT J. HAVIGHURST, University of Chicago
REV. CHARLES A. HILL, Hartford Ave. Baptist Church, Detroit
DR. EUGENE C. HOLMES, Assoc. Professor of Philosophy, Howard University, Washington, D. C.
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REV. KENNETH DEP. HUGHES, St. Bartholomew's Church, Cambridge, Mass.
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REV. W. H. JERNAGIN, Fraternal Council of Negro Churches, Washington, D. C.
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(Organizations mentioned for identification only)



May 4: THE UNITED STATES NOTE

[On May 4, the Ambassador of the United States in Moscow, General Walter Bell Smith, called on the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the USSR, Viacheslav M. Molotov, and, on the instructions of the US Government made the following statement, subsequently put in writing at Mr. Molotov's request.]

TWO YEARS AGO during my initial conversation with Generalissimo Stalin and yourself, I stated as clearly as possible my estimate of the inevitable reaction of the American people to the continuance of a policy by the Soviet Government which would appear to have as its purpose the progressive extension of the area of Soviet power. At that time I pointed out that it would be a grave misinterpretation of the fundamentally pacific character of the American people to believe that they would not react strongly and vigorously to the progressive domination by one country of its neighbors and the clear threat to the world community which such actions would imply.

I emphasized at that time that the United States had no desire whatever to see the world divided into two major groupings, nor to divert a large part of its income to the maintenance of a military establishment which such a world situation would necessitate in elementary self-defense. It seemed apparent then that such a line of policy as that described would lead inevitably to a crystallization of the non-Soviet areas of the world, whose people would quite understandably feel themselves progressively threatened by such developments. It seemed also inevitable in such a case that the United States, as the strongest nation in this community, would be forced to take a leading part in this movement and to divert a large portion of its energies, which by preference our people would prefer to

MOSCOW

Russians crowded five and six deep in front of newspaper bulletin boards today to read a Russian-American exchange of notes which, they hoped, might lead to better relations.

Laboring men in overalls, shawled mothers with babies in their arms, white-collar workers and Army officers stood patiently awaiting their turn to read the full three columns of a Tass agency dispatch on the exchange. As they read, they nudged each other and made such comments as "Good, huh? Good!"—*New York Herald Tribune, May 12.*

utilize for assistance in the reconstruction of the ravages of the war, to the maintenance of a military establishment adequate to meet the developing world situation.

Unhappily the apprehensions I felt at that time have been realized.

Since that date, Soviet policies in Eastern Europe have produced the reaction which was predicted. The situation which has resulted is obviously one of great seriousness.

The European community and the United States have become alarmed at the implications of Soviet policy, and are drawing closer together in mutual self-protection, but only in self-protection.

It is for this reason that my Government desires me to outline to you with complete clarity and frankness the position of the United States Government.

There should be no mistake about the determination of the United States to play its part in these cooperative movements for recovery and self-defense. The concern and the determination of the people of the United States have been intensified by the inexplicable hostility of the Soviet Government to the European Recovery Program—a measure which in its inception and subsequent development is so obviously only a measure of American assistance for reconstruction on a cooperative basis without menace or threat to anyone.

The situation which has been produced by the actions of the Soviet Government or by political groups obviously under its control, and the natural and inevitable reaction on the part of other countries, including the United States, to these actions, is obviously one of great seriousness.

My Government has no idea what conclusions the Soviet Government has reached concerning the present attitude of the United States. It has noted that the picture of this attitude given by the Soviet press is dangerously distorted and erroneous. Whether, or in what degree, the members of the Soviet Government themselves believe this distorted version my Government has no means of estimating. For this reason I wish to make plain certain points on which my Government considers it extremely important that there be no misunderstanding at this time.

1. The policies of the United States Government in international questions have been made amply clear in recent months and weeks. They have

JOSEPH W. MARTIN, JR., (R., Mass.) Speaker of the House

I think every effort should be made to reach a rapprochement between the two countries.—*Washington, May 11.*

SENATOR THOMAS CONNALLY, (Dem., Texas)

Minority Member Senate Foreign Relations Committee

It's a very sensible thing. I'm very hopeful for improvement of our relations.—*Washington, May 11.*

the support of the overwhelming majority of the American people. They will continue to be vigorously and firmly prosecuted.

It would be a grave error if others were to assume that domestic considerations, such as the forthcoming elections, would in any way weaken the determination of the United States to support what it believes to be right. The American people have always known how to separate domestic and foreign policy at the proper moment.

Similarly, my Government is aware that Communist organizations here and there have been disseminating propaganda to the effect that a forthcoming economic crisis in the United States will soon produce a radical change in American policies. It is hoped that no one will be so foolish as to forfeit the chances of progress toward world stability for the sake of an economic prognostication which has been proven wrong time and time again. Even those who persist in believing such a prognostication must, at the very least, realize that an economic crisis would not affect in any way our basic productive capacity nor our concept of the basic factors underlying our foreign policy.

It must be emphasized that the present state of world affairs involves issues which the people of the United States consider to be vital to United States national security and to world peace. No one should deceive himself as to the seriousness of United States policy with respect to these issues.

2. On the other hand, my Government wishes to make it unmistakably clear that the United States has no hostile or aggressive designs whatever with respect to the Soviet Union. Assertions to the contrary are falsehoods which can result only from complete misunderstanding or malicious motives. United States policies have been so devised that they cannot possibly affect adversely the interests of a Soviet Union which seeks to live at peace with its neighbors and to refrain from attempts to exercise undue influence, directly or indirectly, in their affairs.

In fact, many of the elements of United States foreign policy to which the Soviet press takes such strong exception today, would never have come into existence if it had not been necessary for the United States to aid other countries to defend their own political integrity from attempts,

LONDON

The Russians could not be blamed for taking the keenest interest in that statement nor for regarding it as something more than a convenient expression of a desire for better relations. Neither could they have been blamed . . . if they had quietly followed it up and inquired what exactly the Americans had in mind.

Whatever may be said of the manner of its announcement, the Soviet acceptance is significant and indeed welcome.—*The London Times, May 12.*

on the part of Communist minorities, to seize power and to establish regimes subservient to foreign interests. Should these attempts cease, the necessity for some of the manifestations of United States foreign policy, which are apparently unwelcome in Moscow, would cease with them.

The present state of United States-Soviet relations is a source of grievous disappointment to the American people and to the United States Government. As far as we are concerned, it represents a painful and undesired alternative toward which we have been driven step by step, by the pressure of Soviet and world Communist policy. We still do not despair by any means of a turn of events which will permit us to find the road to a decent and reasonable relationship between our two countries, with a fundamental relaxation of those tensions which today exercise so unhappy an influence on international society everywhere. As far as the United States is concerned, the door is always wide open for full discussion and the composing of our differences.

My Government earnestly hopes that the members of the Soviet Government will not take lightly the position of the United States Government, as here expressed. They have it in their power to alleviate many of the situations which today weigh so heavily on all international life. It is our earnest hope that they will take advantage of these possibilities. If they do, they will not find us lacking in readiness and eagerness to make our own contribution to a stabilization of world conditions entirely compatible with the security of the Soviet peoples.

SENATOR ROBERT A. TAFT (R., Ohio)

A meeting between Russia and the U.S. might be a useful weapon for the accomplishment of peace.—*Washington, May 14*

MEXICO

A ray of hope amidst the anxieties oppressing us.—*Novedades.*

ITALY, Foreign Minister Carlo Sforza

Silences are dangerous, and conversations never are. It is for this reason, holding peace above all else, that I am happy contact has been made between Washington and Moscow.—*New York Herald Tribune, May 13.*



May 9: THE SOVIET REPLY

[On May 9, Foreign Minister Molotov received Ambassador Smith, and on the instructions of the Soviet Government, made the following statement.]

THE SOVIET Government has acquainted itself with the statement made by the Ambassador of the United States of America, General W. Bedell Smith, on May 4 this year, with reference to the present state of Soviet-American relations. The Soviet Government views favorably the desire of the Government of the United States to improve these relations, as expressed in the said statement, and agrees to the proposal to proceed, with this end in view, to the discussion and settlement of differences existing between us.

At the same time, the Soviet Government deems it necessary to state that it is unable to agree with the Government of the USA that the present unsatisfactory state of Soviet-American relations and the international tension are caused by the policy of the USSR in Eastern Europe and by the growing influence of the Soviet Union there.

As regards relations between the USSR and its neighbors, as well as other countries in Europe, the Soviet Government is in a position to note with satisfaction that these relations have indeed considerably improved since the war. It is known that this has found expression in the conclusion of treaties of friendship and mutual assistance between the USSR and those countries, treaties which are aimed exclusively against a repetition of aggression on the part of Germany and her possible allies, and which, contrary to the statement of the United States Ambassador in Moscow, General W. Bedell Smith, contain no secret protocols whatever. The above-mentioned countries, which were swept by German aggression, are especially interested in the conclusion of such treaties.

BERLIN

Hopes for solution of the German political deadlock were revived here today following publication of the diplomatic notes exchanged between the United States and the Soviet Union. Although American officials refused to discuss the notes pending clarification from the State Department, they acknowledged that direct negotiations between top American and Russian leaders would be the one practical way of ever getting four-power administration machinery working again in Germany.—*New York Herald Tribune, May 12.*

It is known that the United States is also pursuing a policy of consolidating its relations with neighboring countries, such as, for instance, Canada and Mexico, as well as other American countries, which is perfectly comprehensible. It is equally comprehensible that the Soviet Union is also pursuing a policy of consolidating its relations with neighboring and other countries of Europe. A policy of consolidating friendly relations with these countries of Europe will be pursued by the Soviet Union in the future as well.

The statement of the United States Government says that certain foreign policy steps of the United States in other countries which evoke the discontent of the USSR are caused by the excessive influence of the Soviet Union on the domestic affairs of those countries. The Soviet Government cannot agree with such an explanation. As regards the countries of Eastern Europe, which are referred to in this case, it is known that since the war important democratic transformations have taken place there, that they constitute a means of defense against the threat of a new war, and for this reason have created favorable conditions for the development of friendly relations between these countries and the USSR.

It would be utterly wrong to ascribe the democratic transformations which have taken place there to the intervention of the Soviet Union in the domestic affairs of the said countries. This would mean ignoring the indubitable fact that the above transformations constitute the natural result of the victory of the democratic forces over Nazism and Fascism, and are regarded by the peoples of Eastern Europe as a guarantee against the threat of a new war. In the light of the above, the promotion of Communists to leading positions is perfectly natural, because the peoples of these countries regard the Communists as the most consistent fighters against a new war.

No one has the right to dispute the fact that the implementation of democratic reforms is the domestic affair of each State. However, from the above statement of the Government of the USA, it clearly follows that this Government holds a different view, and on its part practices intervention in the domestic affairs of other States, which cannot but evoke serious objections on the part of the Soviet Government. Events in Greece are not the sole example of such intervention in the domestic affairs of other States.

The Government of the USA also explains the present unsatisfactory state of Soviet-American relations by the Soviet Government's attitude to the so-called European Recovery Program. Meanwhile, it is perfectly

SWEDEN

The conservative Svenska Dagbladet, foresaw a turn toward relaxation of the prevailing tension.—*New York Sun*, May 12.

clear that if the question of the economic recovery of the European countries had not been dealt with in the manner adopted in the said program, but on the basis of normal conditions of international economic cooperation within the framework of the United Nations organization and with due respect for the national rights and sovereignty of States, there would have been no reason for the negative attitude of the USSR to the European Recovery Program—the more so that the USSR, as one of the States which suffered most economically during the war, is highly interested in the development of postwar international economic cooperation.

At the same time the Soviet Government deems it necessary to declare that the present unsatisfactory state of Soviet-American relations and the international tension result from the recent policy of the Government of the United States. What helps to bring about such tension is, first of all, the actions of the United States Government, such as the progressive development of the network of naval and air bases in all parts of the globe, including territories bordering on the USSR, while the press and a number of official representatives of the USA plainly state that these bases are being set up for the purpose of encircling the USSR. Measures of this kind cannot be explained by the needs of self-defense.

It is similarly impossible to overlook the fact that the present international atmosphere is being poisoned by all kinds of bellicose threats directed against the USSR, and emanating from definite circles closely connected with the Government of the USA.

The Soviet Government, on the contrary, is consistently pursuing a peaceable policy in regard to the USA and other States, does not set up military bases in other countries, and does not resort to any threats in regard to anyone.

Moreover, a military alliance of the western countries, comprising Britain, France, Belgium, Holland and Luxembourg, was recently formed. Whereas all treaties of mutual assistance concluded by the Soviet Union with the East European countries, as well as with Britain and France, are aimed at preventing another aggression on the part of Germany and are not directed against any allied State, the military alliance of the five Western States set up at present, as evident from the treaty, does not have Germany alone in mind, but can equally be directed against those States which were allies in the Second World War.

The entire British, French and American press openly says that this alliance is directed against the USSR. One cannot overlook the fact that the formation of the said military alliance has become possible only due

THE BOSTON GLOBE

The exchange of diplomatic notes between U.S. and Russia is a hopeful and helpful development regardless of whether it is fruitful or otherwise.—*Editorial, May 12.*

to encouragement on the part of the Government of the USA. Clearly, the military treaty of the five Western States can by no means be regarded as a treaty of self-defense.

The unfriendly policy of the United States Government in regard to the USSR is also revealed in Soviet-American trade. Under the Trade Agreement concluded between our two States, the United States Government is obliged not to apply to exports of commodities from the USA to the Soviet Union any more burdensome rules or formalities than those applied in regard to any third country.

However, the present policy of the United States Government disregards this undertaking of the United States and completely contradicts the Soviet-American Trade Agreement in that it establishes discrimination against the USSR, despite the fact that the Soviet Union discharges its obligations under the said Agreement in good faith. As a result of this, the export of American goods to the USSR is being disrupted, although the Soviet Union has made advance payments for these goods, or has even paid in full for them. This also causes harm to the American firms concerned. It is perfectly obvious that such a situation cannot be tolerated.

At present, the United States Government declares that the United States does not entertain any hostile or aggressive intention in regard to the Soviet Union, and expresses the hope that it will be possible to find a way of establishing good and sensible relations between our two countries along with a radical relaxation in international tension, and expresses its preparedness to assist in such a stabilization of world conditions as would also meet the interests of the security of the Soviet people.

The Soviet Government can only welcome this statement of the Government of the USA, for, as is known, it has always pursued a policy of peaceableness and cooperation in regard to the United States, and this policy has always met with unanimous approval and support on the part of the peoples of the USSR. The Government of the USSR declares that it intends to pursue this policy with perfect consistency in the future as well.

The Soviet Government also expresses the hope that it will be possible to find a means for eliminating existing differences and for establishing good relations between our countries, such as would comply with the interests of our peoples and the cause of the consolidation of general peace.

LONDON

The whole world will be disappointed if the affair ends in a mere publication of rival manifestoes.—*The Daily Herald, Labor Party organ, May 12.*



May 9: COMMENT BY AMBASSADOR SMITH

[Following the report of the exchanges over the Moscow radio, widely published in the press, the State Department issued the full texts of the notes, with this additional comment by Ambassador Smith on Foreign Minister Molotov's reply to his note.]

AT THE CONCLUSION of Mr. Molotov's statement I said I would comment briefly. With regard to remarks about "development of United States bases, our policy of encirclement and war-like threats," I had only to say that our entire history was refutation of any suspicion of a policy which involved aggressive war.

As I stated during our previous conversation, the drawing together of the Western European countries and the support which was being given them by the United States was a direct reflection of the apprehensions and fears which had been aroused by the expansionist policy of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and that while I had no right to disbelieve his statements, I could not refrain from paraphrasing Mr. Vyshinsky's comment that facts spoke for themselves.

The United States was secure in its honesty of purpose with regard to ERP. Our people were, as stated previously, completely unable to understand implications placed on that program by the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

The United States appreciates and fully understands the desire and indeed the necessity of close and friendly relations between the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and its neighbors, but that here again facts spoke for themselves, and I was fully familiar with events which followed the acceptance by Czechoslovakia of the invitation to the ERP conference in Paris and subsequent reversal of this acceptance during the immediately following visit of Masaryk and Gottwald to Moscow.

RALPH MCGILL, *Columnist*

With Uncle Sam and Uncle Joe fairly sure to pull up chairs for a talk, hope for peace is revived.—*Atlanta Constitution, May 12.*

LESLIE C. ARENDS, *of Illinois, House Republican whip*

The least we can do would be to accept the peace conference suggestion.—*Washington, May 13.*

A country like my own which permitted complete freedom of political thought and expression did not oppose communism because of its Marxian ideology but purely and simply because we had seen repeated instances of Communist minorities coming into power by illegal means and against the will of the majority of the population in the countries referred to.

The United States remained convinced that these minority *coups d'état* would have been quite impossible without the moral and physical support of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

With respect to trade agreements, there was nothing the United States would like better under conditions of reasonable and honest understanding than to participate in expanding trade with the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and to contribute to the economic recovery of the Soviet states which had suffered during the war.

If proof were desired of our previous feelings in this respect it would be found in the fact that under Lend-Lease we had shipped to the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics enormous values in basic industrial plants which when shipped obviously would not be in production in time to contribute to the war effort. Our change in views with regard to trade was again a direct reflection of the Soviet expansionist policies referred to in my previous conversation.

I did not wish to indulge in a contest of words which might be interpreted as the "pot calling the kettle black," but I had recently reviewed some of our past agreements with the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, particularly the Roosevelt-Litvinov agreement and that I would remind him of what I am sure he already knows, i.e., that the only provision of this agreement which had not been violated by the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics was that permitting the presence of an American clergyman in Moscow.

However, these were matters which it would be profitless for us to pursue to the exclusion of the major issues. I had, I believed, made completely clear the policies of the United States and the reasons which prompted the adoption of these policies. I appreciated Mr. Molotov's statement of the policies of his Government, which I would communicate at once to Washington.

THOMAS L. STOKES, *Columnist*

Much has been made of the fact that Russia broadcast to the world a note from our Ambassador, Bedell Smith, which presumably was confidential. But if we meant what we said in that note, what is wrong with our people knowing about it? After all, our people have a fateful stake in our foreign relations no matter what some diplomats may think about it.—*World Telegram, May 20.*



May 11: PRESIDENT TRUMAN'S STATEMENT TO THE PRESS

WITH REGARD TO the recent exchange of views between Ambassador Smith and Foreign Minister Molotov in Moscow, it was felt by this Government that in view of the adoption of the European Recovery Program as a definite expression of policy and of the President's recent recommendations to Congress concerning the military establishment; it was important that there should be no misconception or confusion in the minds of the Soviet Government concerning the position of this Government.

Accordingly, Ambassador Smith was directed to seek an interview with Mr. Molotov in order to set forth as clearly as could be expressed the policies and purposes of the United States with regard to the Soviet Union, and thus avoid any unfortunate misunderstanding in view of the character of the current propaganda statements.

The statement made by Ambassador Smith represented no new departure in American policy. It was a reiteration of the American position as it has been repeatedly expressed both publicly and privately.

The two salient points of the statement made by Ambassador Smith were these:

"The policies of the United States Government in international questions have been made amply clear in recent months and weeks. They have the support of the overwhelming majority of the American people. They will continue to be vigorously and firmly prosecuted."

"On the other hand this Government wishes to make it unmistakably clear that the United States has no hostile or aggressive designs whatsoever with respect to the Soviet Union."

PARIS

For some reason, morning newspapers in Paris did not fully understand the meaning of President Truman's remarks yesterday in his special statement which intimated that Soviet-American talks were unlikely. Hope was still running high, and commentators were grasping at anything which might mean years of peace ahead.—*New York Herald Tribune, May 13.*

LEO E. ALLEN, (R., Ill.) Chairman of House Rules Committee

President Truman's puzzling efforts to shut off the chance for talks certainly are not enhancing the opportunity for peace.—*Washington, May 13.*



May 12: SECRETARY MARSHALL'S STATEMENT TO THE PRESS

WITH regard to General Smith's confidential interview with Foreign Minister Molotov, this was directed towards a very definite purpose. There had been in this country a confusion of publicity and of statements or speeches, relating to our actions and our attitude toward the Soviet Union. The number of such statements would probably increase as the political campaign becomes intensified. It was therefore felt to be highly important to distinguish in the minds of the Soviet Government between such statements and the definite policy of this Government, which remains unchanged.

Since our basic purpose was to reaffirm the formal position of this Government and to distinguish it from the mass of unofficial statements, our responsibility was to make clear the position of the United States Government, and of the United States alone.

General Smith did not ask for any general discussion or negotiation. We have had a long and bitter experience with such efforts.

This Government had no intention of entering into bilateral negotiations with the Soviet Government on matters relating to the interests of other governments. The discussion of any proposals in regard to outstanding issues which the Soviet Government may have in mind, must, as a matter of course, be conducted in the body charged with responsibility for these questions.

What we want is action in the fields where action is possible and urgently necessary at the present time. I refer to the matters before the Security Council and other United Nations bodies, such as the situation

JENNINGS PERRY, *Columnist*

Our door always is open apparently—except when Bedell Smith actually opens it. Then Mr. Truman bangs it to and Gen. Marshall jumps on it. All we get is a glimpse of the whole world cheering, then we bang on the door and pretend nothing has happened.—*PM, May 13.*

BARRON'S FINANCIAL WEEKLY

Mr. Marshall appeared to be intellectually not fully prepared for his great responsibility. . . . The Truman government failed because . . . it lacked the courage of its convictions. Apparently it doesn't quite believe what Americans preach—at least Messrs. Truman and Marshall don't.—*May 17.*

in Korea, questions before the Allied Control Council in Berlin and the Austrian treaty negotiations, where the utmost of difficulties have arisen and stalemates generally resulted.

It would be very unfortunate if an attempt were made to sit down at a table and enter into general discussions and have the discussion result in failure to reach agreements or result in disputes over the obligations which might be undertaken in such agreements. That would do the world great harm.

We cannot afford a continuation of such failures. What we must have is successful action where such action is now sorely needed.

NEW YORK TIMES

The abruptness with which President Truman has slammed the door on diplomatic discussions with Russia—apparently opened by the newly published exchange of views with the Kremlin—will come as a shock to many of his countrymen just as it will to others throughout the world who are looking to the United States for leadership.—*Editorial, May 12.*

LONDON

Not looking too closely at the motives, the public had assumed it was somehow a good thing that Molotov would like to talk. The dismay which now prevails is proportionate to that first optimism.—*London Daily Express, May 13.*

WESTERN EUROPE

It is clear that the American refusal to talk has caused a cold draught of disappointment and frustration to blow through the open door of Western Europe. . . . The disappointment in Paris is acute. . . . Your average Parisian is not interested in the niceties of diplomatic procedure and today dozens of them were heard to talk in this fashion: "It is a poor argument to say the Russian release was premature; how can a chance for peace be premature if you really desire it?"—*Edward Murrow, CBS commentator, May 12.*

PARIS, J. Alvarez del Vayo

The press stories gave no real idea of the excitement here when news came of the exchange of notes between Bedell Smith and Molotov. I spent the twenty-four hours between the two events listening to various European radio stations and talking with more Frenchmen and other Europeans than I would have thought possible in so short a time. It was impressive to discover all over again how deep-rooted is the European craving for peace.

The popular reaction was so intense that Leon Blum interrupted a series of articles on the Churchill memoirs to discuss the chance of reconciliation. He reminded his readers of words he had written a short time before: "I continue to hope that an accord between the United States and the Soviet Union is still possible. If that happened, it would change everything. The slightest gesture of friendship from Moscow would immediately break the present tension." On learning of Marshall's reluctance to enter into immediate negotiations, the French leader vigorously urged that the United States and Russia should begin discussions even if at first no other country participated. . . .—*The Nation, May 29.*



May 11: WALLACE'S OPEN LETTER TO STALIN

[At a mass meeting in Madison Square Garden on May 11, Henry A. Wallace, New Party Candidate for President, read the Open Letter to Premier Stalin which he was preparing before the American-Soviet exchange was made public.]

ALTHOUGH the notes of Ambassador Bedell Smith and Foreign Minister Molotov are both characterized by the same self-righteousness which has led to the international crisis, they represent great hope to those of us who have consistently maintained that peace is possible and they represent a severe blow to the propagandists on both sides who have insisted that the two nations cannot live at peace in the same world. The two letters assume what we have long contended—that the war-time cooperation between the two great powers can be rebuilt and strengthened in time of peace. The exchange of notes, opening the door to negotiations, must be followed by a meeting—an open, fully reported meeting of representatives of both the United States and the Soviet Union. With the prospect of such a meeting, I present my thoughts on the steps necessary to achieve the Century of Peace.

THE COLD WAR MUST STOP

The USA and the USSR must take immediate action to end the cold war. This involves taking definitive, decisive steps looking towards the following objectives:

1. General reduction of armaments—outlawing all methods of mass destruction.
2. Stopping the export of weapons by any nation to any other nation.

NEW YORK POST

Wallace proved that he was more aware of the needs of the world situation and the desires of the American people than the nation's President. . . .

We can only discover what the Russians are up to by agreeing to talk. Nothing could be lost by such a conference and there might be world peace to gain. A chance, however slim or suspect, to stop our witless stumbling towards war, has been offered us.—*Editorial, May 13.*

3. The resumption of unrestricted trade (except for goods related to war) between the two countries.
4. The free movement of citizens, students and newspaper men between and within the two countries.
5. The resumption of free exchange of scientific information and scientific material between the two nations.
6. The re-establishment of a re-invigorated UNRRA or the constitution of some other United Nations agency for the distribution of international relief.

Neither the USA nor the USSR should interfere in the internal affairs of other nations. Neither the USA nor the USSR should maintain military bases in other UN countries. Neither the USA nor the USSR should terrorize the citizens of member states of the UN by massing land forces, establishing air bases, or making naval demonstrations. Neither the USA nor the USSR should use financial pressure, economic pressure or the pressure of secret agents to obtain political results in other countries. Both the USA and USSR, in the spirit of the UN Charter, should collaborate to the limit in furthering the political, economic and cultural health of the world. To that end the USA and the USSR should join the various subsidiary agencies of the UN such as the World Health Organization, the Food and Agricultural Organization, and the UN Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization.

REHABILITATION OF EUROPE

It is to the advantage of both the USA and the USSR to give maximum economic help to Europe as promptly as possible within the framework of the UN, proportioned to the devastation and economic need. As soon as possible the European Cooperation Administration and the United Nations and the Economic Commission for Europe should be converted into a re-invigorated and expanded UNRRA for the purpose of building a highly productive, economically unified Europe in which there would be no barriers of trade, communication or culture between Eastern Europe and Western Europe.

LONDON

Western Europe's hopes for prolonged peace were reflected today in urgent demands for the United States and Russia to get together and settle their differences, no matter whose idea it was.

America is big enough and strong enough and earnest enough in her will to peace to take up Mr. Molotov's offer without loss of face or prestige, the Daily Express said. The same view was echoed in almost all other London papers.

Their idea, and that of other quarters in western Europe was that the Russian move could not be dismissed entirely as propaganda.

"A chance is offered, if a slender one, of a way out," the Manchester Guardian said.—*AP dispatch, May 12.*

SPEEDY PEACE WITH GERMANY

The USSR, the USA, Great Britain, and France should conclude a peace treaty with Germany at the earliest possible moment. The objective is the prompt re-establishment of a peace-loving German government in charge of a united Germany which is obligated to the strict fulfillment of the Yalta and Potsdam agreements. Russian, French, British and American troops should be withdrawn from Germany within one year after the signing of the German peace treaty.

PEACE IN THE FAR EAST

Neither the USA nor the USSR should send arms into China. Both the USA and the USSR should withdraw troops from both China and Korea. There should be set up as soon as possible a government for all of Korea. Both the USA and the USSR should adhere to the principle of equal rights for all nations in China, with respect for the sovereignty of China, and refrain from interference in the internal affairs of China. Both the USA and the USSR can benefit from a China which is strong and unified on the basis of economic and political democracy.

A peace treaty with Japan based on agreements heretofore arrived at should be made at the earliest possible moment. Both the USA and the USSR have a vital interest in a democratic and peace-loving Japan. All nations having occupation troops in Japan should withdraw them within a year after the signing of the peace treaty with Japan.

VETO AND ATOMIC ENERGY CONTROL

The excessive use of the veto and the impasse with regard to certain phases of atomic energy control are the expression of the lack of confidence between the two nations. They are symptoms, not causes. Both

MAX LERNER, *Editorial Writer*

What is it we are trying to avert—war or peace? Why is it that our officials and spokesmen are so panic-stricken when they are put into a position where they may have to negotiate the crucial differences between us and the Russians? . . .

But there is no reason for the American people to fear peace. The vast majority of Americans along with ordinary people all over the world, breathed more freely when they read the headlines about possible negotiations. They were plunged into gloom again by the denials of President Truman and Secretary Marshall. The stakes of war and peace are theirs. It is they who will in the end have to pay the heavy human cost of adventurism abroad and re-arming and suppression at home; they who will in the end have to become the targets for atom-bombs and germ warfare.

They can still keep the door of the peace-talks open. They and they alone. But they can do it only if they decide that just as it has been said that war is too important to be left to generals, so peace is too important to be sabotaged by the diplomats.—*PM, May 13.*

can be handled constructively once confidence is established in the major issues. The door should be promptly opened to the extraordinary benefits which atomic energy can bring to mankind at peace. Atomic energy for war is a crime and a curse. Atomic energy for peace can be science's greatest blessing.

The Atlantic Charter has provision for freedom of access to raw materials by the nations of the world. This is very important for the smaller nations and both the USA and the USSR should carry out the spirit of article 4 of the Atlantic Charter.

There are possibilities of increasing interchange of goods between the USA and the USSR to a volume many times the pre-war figure. Such an increase in trade excluding any discrimination will promote friendly relations between the two countries and thereby strengthen the cause of world peace.

ASSURANCE WITH REGARD TO RUSSIAN AND AMERICAN INTENTIONS

Millions of citizens in the USA believe it is the settled purpose of Soviet leaders to conquer the world. Millions of citizens in the USSR believe it is the settled purpose of the USA to invade the USSR. Both point to specific instances to make their point. Each nation should state definitely and categorically that it has no design on the territorial integrity of any other nation.

COMMUNISM AND CAPITALISM

The ideological competition between communism and capitalism is a different matter from the misunderstanding between the USSR and the USA. The latter can be solved in a way that will preserve peace. But the competition between the capitalist and communist systems is never ending. It is the concern of both nations to see that this competition remains constructive and that it never degenerates into the status of such a religious war as the Thirty Years War which so devastated Europe at the beginning of the Seventeenth Century.

Russia cannot be held responsible for the excesses of local Communists any more than the USA can be held responsible for the exploitation of backward peoples by many capitalists who are not citizens or only nominally citizens of the USA. Undoubtedly many Communists and capitalists have expressed the belief that their particular system will inevitably

UNITED PUBLIC WORKERS, C.I.O.

Called upon President Truman to set date for discussions with Soviet Union based on Wallace-Stalin exchange.—*Atlantic City Convention, May 11.*

dominate the world. But that does not mean that the USSR and the USA must engage in perpetual conflict. The two countries can agree to a modus vivendi while the slow process of time determines the strong and weak points of the two economic systems and the free peoples of the world make day by day the small choices which eventually will evolve, on the basis of empiricism, systems which will be best adapted for the various individual countries.

THE CENTURY OF PEACE MUST COME

There is no misunderstanding or difficulty between the USA and the USSR which can be settled by force or fear and there is no difference which cannot be settled by peaceful, hopeful negotiation. There is no American principle or public interest, and there is no Russian principle or public interest which would have to be sacrificed to end the cold war and open up the Century of Peace which the Century of the Common Man demands.

THE CHICAGO SUN-TIMES

The American people are face to face with the appalling fact that the Truman administration is ducking discussions which might compose our differences with Russia. . . .

Events of the past two days demand that a great surge of public opinion now must let the President and Secretary Marshall know that the country does not go along with the idea that the door is closed until after the Presidential election. . . .

Surely the Kremlin was justified in regarding all this as an overture for direct negotiations with us. At least it gave the Kremlin an opening to propose negotiation if it wished.

If our diplomats did not intend to leave that opening, as the State Department now says, then they were guilty of a colossal blunder in tactics which is almost as depressing as the blunder in strategy which places the U.S. in a position of declining to seek a settlement of the cold war.

The *Sun-Times* believes that this is a position which the U.S. cannot honorably sustain.

Nobody can tell, of course, whether the Russians are sincere in seeking talks for a settlement. But it would be reckless folly to proceed on the equally unprovable assumption that they are insincere.

So long as even the barest possibility of such a change in Soviet policy exists, the U.S. government has a solemn obligation to do what Ambassador Smith said we are ready to do—seek “full discussion and the composing of our differences.” Every day’s prolongation of the cold war increases the hazard that events may be frozen in a pattern leading to hot war.—*Editorial, May 14.*



May 17: STALIN'S REPLY TO WALLACE

[On May 17 the Moscow radio broadcast Premier Stalin's reply to the Wallace Open Letter, which was translated in London and published in the New York Times.]

I THINK that among the political documents of recent times which have as their aims consolidation of peace, the setting up of international co-operation and the insuring of democracy, the open letter of Mr. Wallace, Presidential candidate of the United States third party, is the most important document.

Mr. Wallace's open letter cannot be considered a simple declaration on the desirability of improving the international situation and on the desirability of settling the differences between the USSR and the United States, on the desirability of finding ways for such a settlement.

The inadequacy of the statement of the United States Government of May 4 and the reply of the USSR of May 9 consist in the fact that they go no further than declaring the desirability of settling the Soviet-American differences.

The important meaning of the open letter consists in the fact that it does not limit itself to a declaration but goes further, makes a serious step forward and gives a concrete program for peaceful settlement of the differences between the USSR and the United States.

It cannot be said that Mr. Wallace's open letter embraces all questions of difference without exceptions, nor can it be said that certain formulations and comment in the open letter do not need to be improved, but that is not the most important thing at the present time. The main thing is

MOSCOW

The comments of the Soviet public on this exchange of statements between United States Ambassador Smith and Soviet Minister of Foreign Affairs Molotov may be summed up as follows: The Soviet people are as one in their support of the peace policy pursued by their Government and share its good will to regulate Soviet-American relations. Moscow believes that there is similar good will among broad sections of the American people.

The commentators of both *Pravda* and *Izvestia* note that Wallace's open letter is a very positive and encouraging fact in the relations of two great peoples. The Soviet people share Wallace's opinion that there are no such difficulties between our countries as could be solved by force, and at the same time there are no such differences as could not be settled provided there is mutual desire.—*M. Mikhailov, Press Commentator, in USSR Information Bulletin, May 26.*

that Mr. Wallace in his letter makes an open and honest attempt to give a concrete program for a peaceful settlement, concrete proposals on all basic questions of differences between the USSR and the United States.

These proposals are known to everybody: A general reduction of armaments and prohibition of atomic weapons; conclusion of peace treaties with Germany and Japan and the question of evacuation of troops from these countries; evacuation of troops from China and Korea; respect for the sovereignty of individual countries and non-interference in their domestic affairs: the inadmissibility of military bases in member countries of the United Nations; world development of international trade excluding any sort of discrimination; in the framework of the United Nations, assistance to and economic restoration of countries which suffered from the war; defense of democracy and insuring of civil rights in all countries; and so on.

It is possible to agree or disagree with the program of Mr. Wallace, but one thing is, nevertheless, beyond doubt: There is no statesman caring for peace and cooperation among the peoples who can ignore this program, since it reflects the hopes and strivings of the peoples toward consolidation of peace, and it undoubtedly will have the support of many millions of ordinary people.

I do not know whether the United States Government approves of Mr. Wallace's program as a basis for agreement between the USSR and the United States.

As far as the Government of the USSR is concerned, it considers that Mr. Wallace's program could serve as a good and fruitful basis for such an agreement and for the development of international cooperation, since the USSR Government considers that, despite the difference in the economic systems and ideologies, the co-existence of these systems and a peaceful settlement of differences between the USSR and the United States are not only possible but also undoubtedly necessary in the interests of a general peace.

JOHN KNIGHT, *Publisher Chicago Daily News*

Firmness in foreign policy does not mean slamming the door in Russia's face. That is an evidence of weakness, not strength. . . .

There is an unnecessary truculence about our official attitude toward Russia which reveals the military mind at its worst.

Dozens of arguments have been advanced in defense of the State Department's retreat from its official statement that the "door is always wide open for full discussion and the composing of our differences." None of them is convincing. . . .

The contention that all discussions with Russia should be confined to the United Nations lest we offend other nations is, of course, utter nonsense. . . . In fact, the President has deliberately by-passed the United Nations whenever political expediency dictated that course.

If our own desire for peace is as earnest and sincere as our proclamations, no artificial barriers should be allowed to stand in the way of constant discussions with Russia through our diplomatic representatives.—*Editorial in Chicago Daily News, May 22.*



May 18: MARSHALL COMMENT ON STALIN REPLY

[On May 18th the State Department gave out the following statement on Premier Stalin's letter]

THE Department has seen the press reports of a statement by Premier Stalin in response to an "open letter" from Mr. Wallace.

Premier Stalin's opinion that a peaceful settlement of outstanding problems is possible and necessary in the interest of general peace is encouraging, but the specific issues listed in Premier Stalin's statement are not bilateral issues between this country and the Soviet Union. They are of intimate and compelling interest to many countries and have been under negotiation for the past two years or more in bodies where other countries are represented such as the United Nations and the Council of Foreign Ministers.

For example, the UN Atomic Energy Commission and its sub-committees have held over 200 meetings and the Commission just yesterday reported its inability to reach an agreement because of the adamant opposition of two of its members—the Soviet Union and the Ukraine—to proposals which were acceptable to the other nine nations represented on the Commission.

A similar situation exists with regard to other issues mentioned in Premier Stalin's statement.

Article 33 of the UN Charter provides: "The parties to any dispute which is likely to endanger the maintenance of international peace and security shall first of all seek solution by negotiation . . ."

Comment from

LEADING INDIVIDUALS



TRYGVE LIE, *General Secretary, United Nations*

The possibility that the Powers might get together for a fresh examination of their differences in an attempt to break the East-West impasse was welcomed in all corners of the world with significant enthusiasm. Nowhere was the expression of approval and relief more evident than in the United Nations.—*United Nations World, June, 1948.*

HON. JOSEPH E. DAVIES, *former Ambassador to the USSR*

I have complete confidence that the hysteria will subside and the will for peace of both our peoples will prevail.—*Message to dinner of American-Russian Institute, June 2.*

ALBERT EINSTEIN

Before we can hope for a solution to the security problem, we must make every possible effort to regain the mutual confidence which has been lost in the three calamitous years since the Axis powers were defeated. This can only be done through patient and understanding negotiations between the United States and the Soviet Union. . . . Let there be reasonableness and appreciation between the two countries in regard to each other and in full regard to the vital necessities and traditions of other nations.

We must do all in our power to mobilize our people so that their voices will be heard and their passionate desire for peace will become a powerful influence upon the spokesmen of our country. . . . Similarly, we must not spare any effort in using the great influence which our country now enjoys for the benefit of all the nations of the world. This is the only way to obtain security for ourselves and preserve our political heritage.—*Telephoned address to Carnegie Hall meeting of National Council of Arts, Sciences and Professions, June 17.*

REAR ADM. ELLIS M. ZACHARIAS, U.S.N. (Ret.), *Wartime Deputy Chief of Naval Intelligence*

Only a meeting between the President of the United States and Generalissimo Stalin of the USSR can bring an overall clarification of controversial issues, a general easing of world tension, and the peace and tranquility the world needs.—*United Nations World, June.*

STANLEY M. ISAACS, *Republican New York City Councilman*

I cannot understand how our leaders can fail to welcome an opportunity for the discussion and settlement of vexatious problems. . . . We must do our share to bring this about and welcome any practical approach to such a settlement. Unless we find a sound basis of understanding between Soviet Russia and the United States of America, we risk all. We must have peace or we will have no democracy, no prosperity, no future.—*Soviet Russia Today, July, 1948.*



May 19: STATE DEPARTMENT ON U.S.-SOVIET ISSUES

[Following is the text of the State Department statement on the status of the issues which Prime Minister Stalin said might be profitably discussed by the United States and the Soviet Union.]

I. REDUCTION OF ARMAMENTS: The problem of the regulation of conventional armaments was discussed in the 1946 General Assembly of the United Nations, and has since been under consideration in the Commission for Conventional Armaments of the Security Council.

II. ATOMIC ENERGY: In the field of atomic energy, agreement on an effective plan for international control has so far been blocked by the Soviet Union.

The representation of the third report of the commission marks the recognition of an impasse which has existed practically since the negotiations began almost two years and 220 meetings ago. Fourteen out of seventeen of the nations which are now or have been represented on the commission are agreed on the basic and indispensable requirements of an international control plan; the Soviet Union, Poland and the Ukraine have been the only members of the commission to disagree.

Despite its unceasing efforts, the commission has now been forced to declare that: "It has been unable to secure the agreement of the Soviet Union to even those elements to effective control considered essential from the technical point of view, let alone their acceptance of the nature and extent of participation in the world community required of all nations in this field by the first and second reports of the Atomic Energy Commission." In this situation, the commission has concluded that for the present no useful purpose could be served by carrying on negotiations at the commission level, and has referred the whole problem to the Security Council with a recommendation that it be forwarded to the General Assembly.

CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR

Sooner or later the State Department must deal with the impression that Russia is offering peace and the U.S. is refusing even to talk.—
Editorial, May 20.

The conclusion that further work at the commission level would be futile does not mean that the efforts to achieve international control of atomic energy are to be terminated, but it does mean that the commission has recognized that factors necessary to bring about agreement on an effective system for the international control of atomic energy are outside the competence of the commission. The United Nations is still confronted with the problem of international control of atomic energy, and the United States government is still ready to participate in genuinely effective control.

III. GERMAN PEACE SETTLEMENT: By common agreement, the question of a German peace settlement is one for the Council of Foreign Ministers. The council has held two long meetings devoted to this subject. Soviet opposition to virtually every proposition put forward by the United States, Great Britain and France has thus far blocked all progress on this question.

IV. JAPANESE PEACE SETTLEMENT: In July, 1947, the United States proposed to the ten other members of the Far Eastern Commission that a preliminary conference be held to discuss a peace treaty for Japan, the voting procedure of such a conference to be by two-thirds majority. Eight states indicated general agreement with this proposal. The Soviet Union held that the peace treaty problems should be considered by the Council of Foreign Ministers, composed in this instance of the United Kingdom, China, the USSR and the United States. China proposed that the peace treaty be considered by a conference of the eleven Far Eastern Commission countries and that decisions be taken by a majority which must include the four powers named above. It has so far been impossible to resolve the conflict between these widely different concepts as to the basis on which the Japanese peace-treaty conference should be convened.

V. EVACUATION OF TROOPS FROM CHINA: As of March 31, 1948, there were stationed in China, of the armed forces of the United States, 1,496 Army personnel and 4,125 Navy and Marine personnel. These forces remain in China at the request of the National government.

WOMEN'S INTL. LEAGUE FOR PEACE AND FREEDOM

The 33rd annual conference of the U.S. section of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, in session here, scored the Truman Administration's negative reaction towards the Soviet Union's positive approach to strengthening world peace.—*Pine Lake, Michigan, May 17.*

VI. EVACUATION OF TROOPS FROM KOREA: With respect to the suggestion that United States and Soviet occupation forces be withdrawn from Korea, the United Nations General Assembly, by resolution of Nov. 14, 1947, recommended a plan for the early achievement of Korean independence, to be followed promptly by the withdrawal of all foreign armed forces.

The General Assembly constituted a United Nations commission to assist in this program. The Ukraine was elected to membership on the commission but refused to serve. The USSR denied the United Nations commission entry into the northern zone of Korea. It has not only refused to collaborate in any way in the implementation of the United Nations plan but has attempted to proceed unilaterally with a plan of its own which threatens to lead to civil war among the Koreans themselves.

VII. RESPECT FOR NATIONAL SOVEREIGNTY AND NON-INTERFERENCE IN DOMESTIC AFFAIRS: The facts bearing on this subject are too voluminous for recapitulation here. The actions and policies of the two governments in this respect are a matter of public record, and speak for themselves.

VIII. MILITARY BASES: The policy of the United States in this respect has been governed by the unanimous resolution of the United Nations General Assembly of Dec. 14, 1946, which makes the retention of armed forces on the territories of members conditional upon the freely and publicly expressed consent of such members. In accordance with Article 103 of the Charter, the United States has made it a practice to register with the United Nations the instruments of agreements. It is of interest to note that the United States has proposed in the Security Council that armed forces acting under the Security Council have unlimited rights of passage and rights to use bases wherever located. The USSR has rejected this proposal.

IX. INTERNATIONAL TRADE: The representatives of twenty-three countries attended the session of the preparatory committee for the United Nations conference on trade and employment which was held in Geneva in the summer of 1947. The representatives of fifty-six

THE NEW YORK HERALD TRIBUNE

The world over, people who read newspapers and listen to radios are experiencing a feeling of letdown as the fires of hope kindled by the Soviet-American exchange of notes fizzle out. The disappointment will be mixed with a feeling that it was the United States that threw the cold water on these fires. . . .

The goal of American policy is peace, and that means first of all a settlement with Russia. Every avenue that might really lead to this settlement must always be held open.—*Editorial, May 14.*

nations participated in the final conference on trade and employment held in Havana, Cuba, from November, 1947, to March, 1948. This conference agreed upon the charter for an International Trade Organization, one of the main purposes of which is the elimination of all forms of discrimination in international trade. The Soviet government declined to participate in either of these meetings.

X. ASSISTANCE TO WAR-DEVASTATED COUNTRIES: The aid being extended by the United States to other countries on a worldwide scale, through both United Nations channels and others, should be an adequate answer to this point. In the case of the European Recovery Program, in which the USSR declined to participate, the proposal to create a new organization came from the participating European countries.

XI. HUMAN RIGHTS: The United Nations turned to the question of human rights as one of its first tasks, and its work in this field is well advanced. The Human Rights Commission, under the chairmanship of Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, may shortly recommend a draft declaration and covenant on human rights to the Economic and Social Council and to the General Assembly. Since both the USSR and the United States are active members of the Human Rights Commission, it is difficult to see how this matter could be advanced in any other forum. It lies in the nature of this subject that it is eminently a multilateral and international problem, and both the Soviet Union and the United States have, in the United Nations commission, a wholly adequate forum in which to put forward their views.

ARTHUR OSMAN, *Chairman Local 65, United Retail, Wholesale and Department Store Workers, C.I.O., New York*

Urge you welcome and pursue the suggestion for a meeting with representatives of the Soviet Government to bring an end to the cold war and open the door wide to peace and prosperity.—*Telegram to Secretary Marshall, May 13.*

MRS. E. C. DELAFIELD, *Acting Chairman, The Peacemakers, Croton-on-Hudson, N. Y.*

We call on all women of courage and determination to join with us at once in strong and courageous action for peace.

Your President, your Senators, your Representatives in Congress, your Governor, your religious, civic and educational leaders must know how you feel and must be urged to speak out—against the draft, against Universal Military Training, against all the steps leading to war, to speak for the rebuilding of Europe, for world disarmament and the settlement of differences through the United Nations.—*The Churchman, June 1.*



May 22: TASS STATEMENT

In connection with the latest statement of the US State Department on Soviet-American differences, TASS is authorized to make the following statement in regard to the attitude of leading Soviet circles:

THE Soviet public already knows about the open letter of Mr. Henry Wallace, Third Party candidate for the Presidency of the USA, to J. V. Stalin, published in the Soviet press on May 13 and containing a list of problems on which, in Mr. Wallace's opinion, an agreement between the Soviet Union and the United States is necessary.

In reply to this open letter of Mr. Wallace, the Soviet press published the letter of May 17 of J. V. Stalin, who declared that the proposals contained in Mr. Wallace's letter could be a good and fruitful basis for an agreement between the two countries.

In connection with this, the US State Department on May 18, published a statement to the effect that the concrete problems enumerated in Stalin's reply could not serve as a subject for a bilateral discussion between the United States and the USSR and that discussion of these problems in the United Nations organization and in the Foreign Ministers' Council had not given any positive results, allegedly because of the stand taken by the USSR.

In connection with this statement of the US State Department, a TASS statement was published on May 19 pointing out that this stand of the US State Department was in complete contradiction with the statement of the US Government on May 4, which, far from denying the possibility

DR. HARLOW SHAPLEY, *Director of the Harvard College Observatory and Chairman of the National Council of the Arts, Sciences and Professions.*

We should, of course, seek out Areas of Agreement between USA and USSR. There are many more than you suspect. The ideals of Americans and of Russians parallel each other in many ways and these agreements must be emphasized.

Note our common respect for music and art. Hundreds of great Russian compositions have been played today throughout America, played as though they belonged to us, which indeed they do.

Note our common respect for general and special education; our common desires that children be healthy and happy; our common programs for exploration into the mysteries of science.—*Carnegie Hall, New York, June 17.*

of bilateral negotiations, assumed on the contrary that such a possibility was self-evident.

In addition, the TASS statement pointed out that previously under the Roosevelt administration the most difficult international problems were settled in complete accord and unanimity by representatives of the United States, the USSR and Great Britain, and that if at the present time the State Department considers it impossible to reach agreed decisions of the Powers this should be explained, not by the stand of the Soviet Government, but by the fact that the present Government of the United States has departed from the Roosevelt policy and is pursuing now another policy, adopting an aggressive attitude.

On May 19 the US State Department issued for publication a new, supplementary statement, consisting of 11 points, on questions which give rise to differences between the USA and the USSR, published in today's Moscow newspapers. In connection with this new statement of the US State Department, TASS is in a position to state the following:

I. THE REDUCTION OF ARMAMENTS: In connection with the general reduction and regulation of armaments, the US State Department confines itself to the remark that this problem is under discussion in the Security Council's commission for conventional armaments. In reality, the decision of the UN General Assembly, approved unanimously in December, 1946, on the necessity of the speediest general reduction of armaments is not being put into practice, in the first place because the Government of the USA has taken a stand against this decision of the General Assembly.

Contrary to this decision on general reduction of armaments, the US Government is openly pursuing a policy of ever-greater increase of its armaments and armed forces, assigning ever fresh billions of dollars for these measures.

It is clear to everyone, however, that an agreement between the USSR and the USA for implementing the decision on general reduction of armaments would contribute to the fulfillment of this extremely important task, which is necessary in the interests of strengthening general peace and of alleviating the material privations of the population which bears the burden of the inflated military budgets.

BARTLEY C. CRUM, *Editor New York Star, (formerly PM)*

To say that I have confidence in the people—the American people and the Russian people—and in their capacity to find reasonable men who will lead them on the two-way road to peace is to run the risk of your thinking that I am escaping into rhetoric, or oratory, or a poet's dream. So I remind you that nothing has ever happened, to Russia or to the United States, to make us great, to make us strong, which did not start with the people—*From address at dinner of American-Russian Institute, June 2.*

II. PROHIBITION OF ATOMIC WEAPONS: The Soviet Union is in favor of an unconditional prohibition of atomic weapons and in favor of atomic energy being used exclusively for peaceful purposes. The prohibition of atomic weapons is necessary for the reason alone that they are, as is known, destined in the first place for the destruction of peaceful towns and civilian populations, something to which the conscience of the peoples cannot reconcile itself.

Nevertheless, the US Government for the past two years has rejected all the proposals of the Soviet Union for the prohibition of atomic weapons, substituting for this the idea of the so-called "international control." Yet it should be clear to everyone that only when there exists a decision on the prohibition of atomic weapons will the establishment of international control acquire significance as a means to ensure the actual implementation of this decision.

It is for this specific reason that the Soviet Union stands for the prohibition of atomic weapons and along with it the establishment of effective international control over the production of atomic energy in all countries, in order to preclude the possibility of atomic weapons being made.

Thus the State Department's allegation that the Soviet Union hinders the attainment of agreement on the establishment of international control over atomic energy is quite without foundation. Facts testify that in reality it is the US Government which bears full responsibility for the fact that no decision has as yet been taken on the prohibition of atomic weapons, while the absence of such a prohibition makes the proposal on the establishment of control over the production of atomic energy meaningless.

III. CONCLUSION OF PEACE WITH GERMANY: In its statement of May 19 the State Department evades the question of the desirability of the conclusion of a peace treaty with Germany and of the withdrawal of the occupation forces, and explains the absence of an agreement on the German question by the stand of the Soviet Union, in other words, an attempt is being made to shift the blame where it does not belong.

It is a matter of common knowledge, however, that on the subject of

BOMBAY

If Mr. Marshall's face is red at the moment, it is nothing to the fiery complexion it will take on when the world asks why the leader of the so-called Democratic Bloc, the champion of U.N.O. peace-on-earth is backing out of a proposal which it itself has put forward. . . . If America wants peace, it appears to be doing everything to deprive itself as well as the rest of the world of this commodity.—
Bombay Free Press Journal, May 30.

Germany there exist the decisions of the Yalta and Potsdam Conferences of the heads of the Governments of the USA, the USSR and Great Britain. If the Government of the USA adhered to the attitude taken up at the Yalta and Potsdam Conferences, on which the Soviet Government insists, the Council of Foreign Ministers would beyond any doubt have successfully coped with its tasks when it was examining the German question at the Moscow and London conferences last year. This was not the case mainly because the Government of the USA rejected the proposal of the Soviet Union concerning the preparation of the peace treaty with Germany, rejected also the proposal of the Soviet Union concerning the establishment of the central German economic departments, although this was directly provided for by the Potsdam Agreement, and similarly rejected the Soviet Union's proposal for the organization of an all-German Government, necessary for the restoration of the political and economic unity of Germany.

The United States Government, far from carrying out the Yalta and Potsdam decisions on the demilitarization and democratization of Germany, which is the most important condition for ensuring stable peace and security for the peoples of Europe, is pursuing a directly opposite policy towards Germany, relying for support on German aggressive circles and German monopolies which in the past served as a bulwark for Hitlerism, and helping to restore Germany's economic potential for war.

This policy is fraught with the danger of converting the Western part of Germany into a strategic base for future aggression in Europe. This policy of the United States of America is to this day being pursued at the London conference of six States on the German question.

From this it can be seen how far the Government of the United States of America has gone in its violation of the Yalta and Potsdam Conferences on the question of Germany and what responsibility it bears for frustrating these paramount decisions.

IV. CONCLUSION OF PEACE WITH JAPAN: The Soviet Union is in favor of the speediest conclusion of the peace treaty with Japan and for the withdrawal of the occupation troops.

It stands to reason that in this case, also, the preparation of the peace

THE NEW REPUBLIC

In every nation the quick, joyous hope for peace revealed how universal is the desire to halt the drift toward war, how deep is the world's need of direct peace negotiations. No matter how blundering or accidental their approach, the two biggest powers suddenly had to face the fact that all people everywhere have a touching need for reassurance.—*Editorial, May 24.*

treaty must be made in the manner envisaged by the Potsdam agreement, according to which the peace treaties with all the enemy states, and consequently with Japan as well, should be prepared by the Council of Foreign Ministers, acting in appropriate composition, which in the given case means with the participation of China. After this, the convening of a conference of all interested countries to examine the peace treaty with Japan will undoubtedly be absolutely necessary.

In complete contradiction to the Potsdam agreement, the Government of the United States of America declares itself against the preparation of the peace treaty being conducted by the Council of Foreign Ministers. As a result of this no progress is being made in the matter of the peace treaty with Japan.

Meanwhile the Government of the United States of America is assisting aggressive circles of Japan to restore Japan's economic potential for war, thereby prejudicing the cause of peace.

V. WITHDRAWAL OF TROOPS FROM CHINA: As far back as December, 1945, at the Moscow Conference of Foreign Ministers of the United States of America, the USSR and Great Britain, agreement was reached on the speediest withdrawal of Soviet and American troops from China. The Soviet Union long ago fulfilled the obligations it undertook and withdrew its military units from China, in accordance with the decision indicated. As for the United States of America, the statement of the State Department of May 19 confirms that American military forces remain to this day on the territory of China and that thus the United States Government has not yet fulfilled its undertaking. Beyond doubt this has merely contributed to the extension and aggravation of the civil war in China.

VI. WITHDRAWAL OF TROOPS FROM KOREA: At the Moscow conference of three Foreign Ministers in December, 1945, agreement was reached on the re-establishment of Korea as an independent State, on assistance in the formation of a provisional Korean democratic government and on the joint carrying through, in this connection, of a number of other measures by the Command of the American forces in Southern Korea and the Command of the Soviet forces in Northern Korea.

SAMUEL GRAFTON, *Columnist*

The really important thing to note is that twice within a week the Russians have made overtures toward discussion, and that both moves have been met on this side with negation or elaborate indifference.—*New York Post, May 20.*

In view of the fact, however, that the Command of the American forces in Southern Korea took the path of anti-democratic actions and support for reactionary, pro-Japanese Korean groups, an agreement between the Soviet Command in Northern Korea and the American Command in Southern Korea proved impossible, and the plan regarding Korea outlined at the Moscow conference was frustrated.

In order to expedite the unification of Northern and Southern Korea, to re-establish Korea as a united and independent democratic State and to give the Korean people an opportunity of settling their own domestic affairs, the Soviet Government in October 1947 made a proposal for the simultaneous withdrawal both of American and Soviet forces from Korea early in 1948. This Soviet proposal met with a sympathetic response among the broadest sections of the Korean people, and, in addition, the democratic parties and groups in Northern and Southern Korea undertook to prevent civil war in Korea following the withdrawal of the American and Soviet forces.

The Soviet proposal was, however, rejected by the United States Government, which resulted in the preservation of the present division of Korea into two zones—Northern and Southern—contrary to the decision of the Moscow conference to assist in the formation of a united, independent, democratic Korean State.

As for the commission, to which the State Department referred, which was set up by the General Assembly under pressure from the United States of America, this commission serves ends which have nothing in common with the decisions of the Moscow conference. This is eloquently shown by the experience of the activities of this commission which, jointly with the American Command in Southern Korea, organized in the beginning of May this year, sham elections of Government bodies in the Southern zone, despite the protests of wide circles of the Korean people and the boycott of these elections by the democratic political parties and organizations of Southern Korea.

All this points to the fact that the fulfillment of the well-known agreement on the re-establishment of Korea as an independent democratic State demands the speediest realization of the Soviet proposal for the withdrawal of all foreign troops from Korea.

ADOLPH J. SABATH, (Dem., Illinois)
Dean of the House of Representatives

Having been able to live in peace and to fight side by side with Russia under the tsarist regime, and having fought side by side with the Soviet forces in the recent World War, it is my fervent hope that we can bring about understanding and peace now with Russia, without in any way sacrificing our principles and properly safeguarding our democratic form of government.—*Message to dinner of American-Russian Institute, June 2.*

VII. RESPECT FOR NATIONAL SOVEREIGNTY AND NON-INTERFERENCE IN THE INTERNAL AFFAIRS OF OTHER COUNTRIES: Concerning the question of respect for national sovereignty and non-interference in the internal affairs of States, the State Department confines itself to the remark that on this question there exist numerous facts, that the policy and actions of both Governments in this respect are universally known, and that all this speaks for itself.

Yet, the recent policy and actions of the United States Government provide quite a few instances of interference by the United States of America in the internal affairs of other States, instances of the violation of the State sovereignty of other countries and of economic and political pressure on other States.

It is well known, for example, that the United States has actually converted Greece into its military base and that the Greek Fascists, supported by the American intervention, are pursuing a policy of merciless annihilation of Greek democrats.

It is also well known that the United States intervenes in the internal affairs of Italy, as was the case, in particular, in connection with the elections held in Italy on April 18 of this year. This intervention found expression in the economic pressure on Italy, in the sending of American warships to Italian territorial waters, in the demonstration flights of American war planes over Italian territory on the eve of the elections, in the political pressure on the whole internal situation in Italy, and in the exploitation of her economic want resulting from the war.

VIII. MILITARY BASES: In the statement of the State Department on the subject of military bases in the territories of other member States of the United Nations, an attempt has been made to cite the decision of the General Assembly of December 14, 1946, as a justification for the existence of numerous American military, naval and air bases in the territories of many countries of the world often removed by many thousand kilometres from the frontiers of the United States.

The United States Government tries to justify the existence of American military bases in the territories of other member States of the United Nations by claiming that the Governments of those States consented to this. In doing so it certainly evades such questions as the economic and

PARIS, *Leon Blum*

Bilateral negotiations between the United States and the Soviet Union might be extremely useful. The interests of other states such as France could be safeguarded. The system is worth a good try.—
Socialist newspaper Le Populaire, May 21.

political dependence on the United States of a number of countries in whose territories the military bases are situated and the aims and purposes which certain United States circles connect with the establishment of such military bases.

The representatives of the USSR have repeatedly, and in particular at the General Assembly of the United Nations in 1946, pointed out that maintenance of military bases by some States in the territories of other member States of the United Nations is impermissible. The existence of such bases as well as the presence of foreign troops in the territories of member States of the United Nations after the end of the war, after the defeat of the enemy States and the establishment of the United Nations organization, cannot be justified.

It will not be superfluous to point out once again in this connection that military bases of the USA also exist in the territories of States bordering on the Soviet Union.

The present situation where certain countries, and especially the United States, have numerous military bases in the territories of other member States of the United Nations is incompatible with the fundamental principles of that organization and tends to aggravate anxiety and instability in the international situation.

IX. INTERNATIONAL TRADE: The trade relations between the Soviet Union and other countries are steadily developing on normal, mutually beneficial business terms. The same cannot be said, however, of Soviet-American trade relations because the Government of the USA violates the Soviet-American Trade Agreement by practising discrimination against the USSR. This shows with whom rests the responsibility for the intolerable situation that has arisen in this sphere.

As to the Geneva and Havana international conferences on commerce to which the State Department refers, it is well known that those conferences did not result in anything useful, while at the same time provoking numerous complaints against the impermissible pressure brought to bear on the participants of those conferences by the USA.

X. ECONOMIC AID TO THE COUNTRIES WHICH SUFFERED FROM THE WAR: The State Department deals in its statement with the question of aid to the countries that suffered from the war. It alleges that the USA renders aid to other countries through the medium

DAVID LAWRENCE, *Editor U. S. News and World Report*

The whole world wants the doors to peace discussion kept wide open and American statesmanship must hold those doors from ever being slammed again.—*May 21.*

of the United Nations as well, and that on a large scale. This allegation does not however, correspond to fact.

The so-called aid which the United States is rendering certain countries is not being directed through the United Nations but in a unilateral manner, and the United Nations organization is being ignored in this matter.

More than that, the late UNRRA, the activity of which was based on international principles and which rendered substantial aid to the countries that had suffered from the war, was abolished on the initiative of the United States, since the United States Government bluntly refused to take part in this organization.

It may also be well to recall that the United States Government declined a proposal made by the USSR delegation in the Security Council during the discussion of the Greek question, to the effect that aid being rendered to Greece should be distributed only in the interests of the Greek people and under the supervision of a special commission of the Security Council.

This proposal, as well as a number of other Soviet proposals to the effect that aid to countries should be organized through the United Nations, aroused opposition on the part of the leading circles of the United States, who are exploiting the aid they render other countries in order to secure political and other advantages, despite the fact that the United Nations organization has pronounced this to be impermissible.

XI. DEMOCRACY AND CIVIL LIBERTIES: The exceedingly important issue of defending democracy and ensuring civil liberties in all countries has been reduced by the United States State Department to a secondary question of the Human Rights Commission of the United Nations Economic and Social Council, even though this Commission failed to achieve any success in its work.

And yet at the present time United States Government circles are not concerned about the defense of democracy and civil liberties but about the maintenance and implantation of reactionary, anti-democratic and Fascist regimes in other countries (Greece, Spain, Iran). These circles are so busy carrying out this thankless mission that they naturally cannot bother about the defense of democracy and civil liberties.

THE NATION

Now that the smoke has cleared away, it is perfectly obvious that in the Smith-Molotov skirmish we lost an important battle of the cold war. In an unbelievable display of ineptness, we put ourselves in a poor light with the people of Europe and of the United States, who dread a hot war.—*Editorial, May 22.*

The Soviet Union has insisted, and continues to insist, that democracy and civil liberties should be defended in all countries.

From all that has been said above it is clear who bears the responsibility for the present state of Soviet-American relations.

The State Department asserts that it is impossible to adopt agreed-upon decisions because of the non-compliant attitude of the Soviet Government. The facts, however, refute this assertion of the State Department.

Everyone knows that under the Roosevelt Government the most difficult international problems were settled in accord and unanimity by the USA, the USSR and Great Britain. And at that time this was possible because the fundamental decisions of the Teheran and Yalta conferences were observed in good faith, while practical decisions on specific questions were taken on the basis of those fundamental decisions, and in pursuance of those fundamental decisions.

What has changed since then? It is the attitude of the Government of the USA that has changed. What has happened is that the Government of the USA disregards the decisions of these conferences and systematically violates them.

It is not only the decisions of the Teheran and Yalta conferences that it violates, but even the decisions of the Potsdam conference, which were taken with the participation of President Truman and which he signed.

We do not mention the occasions on which the Government of the USA has violated or ignored the Charter and the principles of the United Nations organization, on which it has ignored the United Nations organization itself.

Clearly this attitude of the Government of the USA is not conducive to progress in international affairs.

AMERICAN LABOR PARTY

The State Committee of the American Labor Party, through Arthur Schutzer, state executive secretary, urged Representative Leo E. Allen, chairman of the House Rules Committee to substitute for the draft bill a joint resolution calling for a prompt conference between representatives of the United States and the Soviet Union, as suggested by Mr. Wallace in his open letter to Stalin.—*New York Times*, June 12.

HIGH SCHOOL STUDENTS, at youth forum

High school students placed greater emphasis on the need for cooperation between the United States and Russia than on current difficulties between the two governments in their discussion yesterday at the Youth Forum sponsored by the *New York Times* and broadcast from the studio of WQXR.—*New York Times*, June 13.

Comment from the Clergy

FEDERAL COUNCIL OF CHURCHES

The Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America yesterday sent a telegram to President Truman "rejoicing" in the diplomatic exchange between the United States and the Soviet Union, and saying that if this led to discussions for settling their differences "it would meet with the approval of the overwhelming majority of the peoples of our churches."

"The improvement of Soviet-American relations is a matter of such pressing urgency that an exploration of the possibilities in conversations between the United States and the USSR should be made a matter of high priority."—*New York Herald Tribune, May 12.*

QUADRENNIAL GENERAL CONFERENCE OF THE METHODIST CHURCH

It is our conviction that neither the peoples of the Soviet Union nor of the United States desire war. We call upon all of our peoples promptly to undertake to change the prevailing mood which we believe conducive to war.—*The Churchman, June 1.*

GENERAL ASSEMBLY, PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH

SEATTLE, JUNE 2—The United States Government was urged today by the 160th General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church to make new efforts to confer with Russian leaders on conflicting policies.

The 900 official representatives of the church, ending a week-long session, declared:

"As a nation, we must be prepared to spend years, if necessary, seeking equitable solutions to the multitude of problems dividing Russia and the western world. We must, at all times, maintain an attitude of patience in the face of provocation and attempt to excel Russia in constructive statesmanship rather than in toughness."—*New York Times, June 3.*

RABBI STEPHEN S. WISE

Differences between the United States and Russia, no matter how great they appear to be, can be settled and must be settled.—*At annual luncheon of the Essex Chapter and Greater Women's Division, American Jewish Congress, May 25.*

AMERICAN FRIENDS' SERVICE COMMITTEE

The American Friends' Service Committee announced today that it is making a gift of streptomycin to the people of Russia as "a testimony of good will. . . ." "It is hoped that this gift will be the first of a series of reciprocal gestures between Russians and Americans which will lead them and us to more understanding," Clarence E. Pickett, executive secretary of the Committee, said in announcing the gift.—*Philadelphia, June 27.*

NORTHERN NEW YORK CONFERENCE OF METHODIST CHURCH

OSWEGO, N. Y. (RNS)—We deeply deplore the hesitancy and reluctance of our own Government to open conversations with the Soviet Government on the foreign policies of both nations, in an effort to harmonize them and remove the cause and frictions leading to war. We urge our government representatives in Washington to see that these conversations are opened and that every possible means be used to cause talks along lines of removing causes of war and friction between these two great nations.—*The Churchman*, June 15.

REV. DR. EDWIN T. DAHLBERG, *President of the Northern Baptist Convention*

The churches of America were called on today by the Rev. Dr. Edwin T. Dahlberg of Syracuse, N. Y., to join forces in a crusade for world peace powerful enough to permeate all fields of endeavor. . . . He also proposed that the President appoint a civilian commission to enter into peace negotiations with Russia.—*New York Times*, May 25.

CHURCH CONFERENCE ON SOCIAL WORK

A conference between representatives of Russia and the United States in the immediate future was urged in a resolution adopted at the annual meeting of the Church Conference on Social Work.

The resolution urged President Truman and Secretary of State Marshall "to seek out and pursue all such possible avenues toward an amicable adjustment with Russia."—*The Churchman*, May 15.

L'OSSERVATORE ROMANO, *semi-official Vatican newspaper*

If the notes will lead to a meeting of unequivocal sincere intentions, they reveal the persuasion of the two sides that their points of difference are capable not only of being brought closer together, but of being surmounted. They are the reality which authorizes optimism.

It points out that on both sides and not by each side separately, agreement is preferred to struggle, accord to antagonism and peace to war.—*New York Herald Tribune*, May 12.

TWELVE MINISTERS: *Leon M. Adkins, Bertram Atwood, C. Victor Brown, Clair E. Carpenter, Dow S. Clute, Martin DeWolfe, H. Victor Frelick, Robert S. Hoagland, Tarrance F. Ogden, E. R. Michael, William E. Rice and Francis W. Trimer.*

There was widespread dismay at the apparent confusion of the President of the United States and the Secretary of State as to what was meant by Bedell's statement.

The question was raised in many quarters as to whether the national administration was so committed to enormous expenditures for armaments and was so desirous to secure its selective service and universal military training projects that it was discouraging all talk about other measures to avert war. . . .

What seems to be lacking are vision and imagination, both of which are primary attributes of statesmanship. We believe that peace may be achieved without militarizing our nation and without yielding sound democratic principles.—*Address to Senators Ives and Wagner and Representative Kearny*, May 30.



July 6: THE UNITED STATES NOTE ON THE SITUATION IN BERLIN

THE United States Government wishes to call to the attention of the Soviet Government the extremely serious international situation which has been brought about by the actions of the Soviet Government in imposing restrictive measures on transport which amount now to a blockade against the sectors in Berlin occupied by the United States, United Kingdom and France. The United States Government regards these measures of blockade as a clear violation of existing agreements concerning the administration of Berlin by the four occupying Powers.

The rights of the United States as a joint occupying Power in Berlin derive from the total defeat and unconditional surrender of Germany. The international agreements undertaken in connection therewith by the Governments of the United States, United Kingdom, France and the Soviet Union, defined the zones in Germany and the sectors in Berlin which are occupied by these Powers. They established the quadripartite control of Berlin on a basis of friendly cooperation which the Government of the United States earnestly desires to continue to pursue.

These agreements implied the right of free access to Berlin. This right has long been confirmed by usage. It was directly specified in a message sent by President Truman to Premier Stalin on June 14, 1945, which agreed to the withdrawal of United States forces to the zonal boundaries, provided satisfactory arrangements could be entered into between the military commanders, which would give access, by rail, road and air to United States forces in Berlin.

Premier Stalin replied on June 16 suggesting a change in date but no other alteration in the plan proposed by the President. Premier Stalin then gave assurances that all necessary measures would be taken in accordance with the plan.

Correspondence in a similar sense took place between Premier Stalin and Mr. Churchill.

In accordance with this understanding, the United States, whose armies had penetrated deep into Saxony and Thuringia, parts of the

Soviet zone, withdrew its forces to its own area of occupation of Germany and took up its position in its own sector in Berlin.

Thereupon the agreements in regard to the occupation of Germany and Berlin went into effect. The United States would not have so withdrawn its troops from a large area now occupied by the Soviet Union had there been any doubt whatsoever about the observance of its agreed right of free access to its sector of Berlin. The right of the United States to its position in Berlin thus stems from precisely the same source as the right of the Soviet Union. It is impossible to assert the latter and deny the former.

It clearly results from these undertakings that Berlin is not a part of the Soviet zone, but is an international zone of occupation. Commitments entered into in good faith by the zone commanders and subsequently confirmed by the Allied Control Authority, as well as practices sanctioned by usage, guarantee the United States, together with other powers, free access to Berlin for the purpose of fulfilling its responsibilities as an occupying power. The facts are plain. Their meaning is clear. Any other interpretation would offend all the rules of comity and reason.

In order that there should be no misunderstanding whatsoever on this point, the United States Government categorically asserts that it is in occupation of its sector in Berlin with free access thereto as a matter of established right deriving from the defeat and surrender of Germany and confirmed by formal agreements among the principal allies. It further declares that it will not be induced by threats, pressures or other actions to abandon these rights. It is hoped that the Soviet Government entertains no doubts whatsoever on this point.

This Government now shares with the Governments of France and the United Kingdom the responsibility initially undertaken at Soviet request on July 7, 1945, for the physical well-being of 2,400,000 persons in Western sectors of Berlin.

Restrictions recently imposed by the Soviet authorities in Berlin have operated to prevent this Government and the Governments of the United Kingdom and of France from fulfilling that responsibility in an adequate manner.

The responsibility which this Government bears for the physical well-being and the safety of the German population in its sector of Berlin is outstandingly humanitarian in character. This population includes hundreds of thousands of women and children, whose health and safety are dependent on the continued use of adequate facilities for moving food, medical supplies and other items indispensable to the maintenance of human life in the Western sectors of Berlin.

The most elemental of these human rights which both our Governments are solemnly pledged to protect are thus placed in jeopardy by these restrictions. It is intolerable that any one of the occupying authorities should attempt to impose a blockade upon the people of Berlin.

The United States Government is therefore obliged to insist that in accordance with existing agreements the arrangements for the movement of freight and passenger traffic between the Western zones and Berlin be fully restored. There can be no question of delay in the restoration of these essential services, since the needs of the civilian population in the Berlin area are imperative.

Holding these urgent views regarding its rights and obligations in the United States sector of Berlin, yet eager always to resolve controversies in the spirit of fair consideration for the viewpoints of all concerned, the Government of the United States declares that duress should not be invoked, as a method of attempting to dispose of any disagreements which may exist between the Soviet Government and the Government of the United States in respect of any aspect of the Berlin situation.

Such disagreements, if any, should be settled by negotiation or by any of the other peaceful methods provided for in Article 33 of the Charter in keeping with our mutual pledges as co-partners in the United Nations. For these reasons the Government of the United States is ready as a first step to participate in negotiations in Berlin among the four Allied occupying authorities for the settlement of any question in dispute arising out of the administration of the city of Berlin.

It is, however, a prerequisite that the lines of communication and the movement of persons and goods between the United Kingdom, United States and the French sectors in Berlin and the Western zones shall have been fully restored.

WALTER LIPPMANN, *Commentator*

. . . . If there is to be another world war, let it not be begun lightly. For it will not be concluded easily. . . . Above all, let it never be said of the United States that it resorted to war before it had exhausted the possibilities of negotiation and peaceable settlement. Yet on the record, which all mankind has before it and history will judge, the possibilities of negotiation have not been exhausted. . . .

Not only the attitude of France and Great Britain but the developments in Western Germany make it necessary and wise to recognize that our reply to the Russians must go beyond the blockade to the wider issues of a German settlement. We now know that the plan to establish a western German government at Frankfurt, which precipitated the crisis over Berlin, does not have the support even of those western German politicians who are directly dependent upon the British and American military governors. . . .—*New York Herald Tribune, July 20.*



July 14: THE SOVIET REPLY TO THE U.S. PROTEST ON BERLIN

FIRSTLY, the Soviet Government has acquainted itself with the note of the Government of the United States of America of July 6, in which the situation that has at present arisen in Berlin is ascribed to measures taken by the Soviet side. The Soviet Government cannot agree with this declaration of the Government of the United States and considers the situation that has arisen in Berlin has arisen as a result of the violation by the Governments of the United States of America, Great Britain and France of an agreed decision adopted by the four powers in relation to Germany and Berlin, expressed in carrying out a separate currency reform, the introduction of special currency notes for the Western sectors of Berlin and a policy of dismembering Germany.

The Soviet Government repeatedly warned the Governments of the United States, Britain and France of the responsibility they were incurring by taking the path of violation of agreed decisions with respect to Germany previously adopted by the four powers. The decisions adopted at the Yalta and Potsdam conferences, as well as the agreement of the four powers on the control machinery in Germany, set as their aim the demilitarization and democratization of Germany, undermining the very basis of German militarism, and prevention of the revival of Germany as an aggressive power, and hence, the conversion of Germany into a peace-loving and democratic state. These agreements stipulate Germany's obligation to pay reparations and thus even if only partially, to compensate for the damage done to countries that suffered from German aggression.

In accordance with these agreements, the Governments of the four powers accepted the responsibility for administering Germany and undertook to determine jointly the status of Germany or of any areas, including Berlin, that are part of the German territory, and conclude a peace treaty with Germany which should be signed by a democratic government of Germany adequate for the purpose.

The highly important agreements by the four powers in relation to Germany have been violated by the Governments of the United States

of America, Great Britain and France. Measures for the demilitarization of Germany have not been completed and such an important center of German war industry as the Ruhr region has been removed from the control of the four powers. Fulfillment of the decision on reparations from the Western zones of occupation of Germany have been disrupted by the Governments of the United States of America, Great Britain and France. The quadripartite council has ceased to function.

Since the London conference of the three powers with the participation of the Benelux countries, measures are being carried out by the Governments of the United States of America, Great Britain and France aimed at splitting and dismembering Germany, including the preparation now taking place for the appointment of the separate government for the Western zones of Germany and the separate currency reform carried out June 18 of this year for the Western zones of occupation.

Inasmuch as the position that has arisen in Berlin, as in the whole of Germany, is a direct consequence of the systematic violation of the decisions of the Potsdam conference by the Governments of the United States of America, Great Britain and France;

As also from the agreement by the four powers on control machinery for Germany;

The Soviet Government must reject as altogether unfounded the declaration of the Government of the United States of America to the effect that measures for restricting transport and communications between Berlin and the Western zones of occupation of Germany, introduced by the Soviet command to protect the economy of the Soviet zone from disorganization, allegedly constitute a violation of existing agreements relating to the administration of Berlin.

The Government of the United States declares that it occupies its sector of Berlin by a right deriving from the defeat and surrender of Germany, referring in this connection to the agreement between the four powers in relation to Germany and Berlin.

Thereby it merely confirmed the existence of the above-mentioned right in relation to Berlin, bound with the obligatory fulfillment by

T. O. THACKREY, *Editor New York Post*

We are deliberately risking war—at times seem to be actually courting it—rather than demanding a top-level peace conference: one to settle the terms of the most neglected peace in the world today—the peace between Russia and the United States. . . .

An immediate realistic conference for an over-all peace settlement should be proposed, without strings, by the United States to all the allies.—*New York Post, July 21.*

the powers occupying Germany of the quadripartite agreements concluded between them in relation to Germany as a whole.

In accordance with these agreements, Berlin was envisaged as the seat of supreme authority for the four powers occupying Germany and the agreement was reached on the administration of "Greater Berlin" under the direction of the [Allied] Control Council.

Thus, the agreement on the quadripartite administration of Berlin was an inseparable component part of the agreement on the quadripartite administration of Germany as a whole.

When the United States, Great Britain and France, by their separate actions in the Western zones of Germany, destroyed the system of quadripartite administration in Germany and began to create in Frankfurt am Main a capital for the government of Western Germany, they thereby undermined also the legal basis on which rested the right to participate in the administration of Berlin.

The Government of the United States points out in its note that its right to stay in Berlin also is based on the fact that the United States withdrew troops from certain areas of the Soviet zone of occupation which they entered during the period of military operations in Germany and that had it foreseen the situation which has arisen in Berlin, it would not have withdrawn its troops from these areas.

However, the Government of the United States knows that by withdrawing its troops to the confines of the United States zone, as established by the four-power agreement on zones of occupation in Germany, it had merely fulfilled the obligations it had undertaken and the fulfillment whereof alone could give the United States the right to take its troops into Berlin.

A perusal of President Truman's letter to Premier Stalin June 14, 1945, and Mr. Stalin's reply June 16, 1945, which mentioned the note of the Government of the United States, confirms that because of the agreement then reached, troops of the United States of America, Britain and France obtained the possibility of entering both Berlin, capital of Germany, and Vienna, capital of Austria, which as is known, were captured only by troops of the Soviet Army.

It is also known that the above-mentioned agreements on Berlin and Vienna are only part of the agreements on Germany and Austria, on the fulfillment of which the Soviet Government continues to insist.

The Government of the United States declares that temporary measures introduced by the Soviet command for restricting transport and communications between Berlin and the Western zones created difficulties in the supply of the Berlin population in the Western sectors.

It cannot, however, be denied that these difficulties were caused

by the actions of the Governments of the United States, Great Britain and France and, above all, by their separate actions in introducing a new currency in the Western zones of Germany and a special currency in the Western sectors of Berlin.

Berlin is in the center of the Soviet zone and is part of that zone.

The interests of the Berlin population do not admit to a situation where there has been introduced into Berlin, or even only into the Western sectors of Berlin, a currency that is not in circulation in the Soviet zone. Moreover, the introduction of a separate currency reform in the Western zones of Germany placed Berlin, and with it the entire Soviet zone of occupation, in a position where the entire mass of currency notes invalidated by the Western zones threatened to pour into Berlin and into the Soviet occupation zone of Germany.

The Soviet command was compelled, therefore, to adopt urgent measures to safeguard the interest of the population as well as the economy of the Soviet zone of occupation and the area of "Greater Berlin."

The danger of the destruction of normal economic activity in the

THE PROGRESSIVE PARTY PLATFORM

AMERICAN-SOVIET AGREEMENT: Henry Wallace in his open letter suggested, and Premier Stalin in his reply accepted, a basis for sincere peace discussions. The exchange showed that specific areas of agreement can be found if the principles of non-interference in the internal affairs of other nations and acceptance of the right of peoples to choose their own form of government and economic system are mutually respected.

The Progressive Party therefore demands negotiation and discussion with the Soviet Union to find areas of agreement to win the peace. . . .

Responsibility for ending the tragic prospect of war is a joint responsibility of the Soviet Union and the United States. We hope for more political liberty and economic democracy throughout the world. We believe that war between East and West will mean fascism and death for all. We insist that peace is the prerequisite of survival.

We believe with Henry A. Wallace that "there is no misunderstanding or difficulty between the USA and the USSR which can be settled by force or fear and there is no difference which cannot be settled by peaceful, hopeful negotiation. There is no American principle or public interest, and there is no Russian principle or public interest, which would have to be sacrificed to end the cold war and open up the Century of Peace which the Century of the Common Man demands."

We denounce anti-Soviet hysteria as a mask for monopoly, militarism and reaction. We demand that a new leadership of the peace-seeking people of our nation—which has vastly greater responsibility for peace than Russia because it has vastly greater power for war—undertake in good faith and carry to an honorable conclusion, without appeasement or saber rattling on either side, a determined effort to settle current controversies and enable men and women everywhere to look forward with confidence to the common task of building a creative and lasting peace for all the world.—*From the Peace Plank adopted at Founding Convention, Philadelphia, July 25.*

Soviet zone of occupation and in Berlin has not been averted even yet, since the United States, Britain and France continue to maintain their own special currency in Berlin.

At the same time, the Soviet command constantly manifested and continues to manifest concern for the well-being of the Berlin populace and for ensuring it normal supplies and everything necessary and is striving for the speediest elimination of difficulties that recently have arisen in this matter. Moreover, if necessary, the Soviet Government will not object to ensuring sufficient supplies for the whole of "Greater Berlin" through its own means.

As regards the declaration of the Government of the United States of America, that it will not be induced by threats, pressure or other actions to abandon its right to participate in the occupation of Berlin, the Soviet Government does not intend to enter a discussion on this declaration, for it has no need for a policy of pressure since by the violation of agreed decisions on the administration of Berlin, the above-mentioned Governments themselves are rendering null and void their right to participation in the occupation of Berlin.

The Government of the United States of America note of July 6 expresses a readiness to begin negotiations among the four Allied occupying powers for the examination of that which has arisen in Berlin, but passes over in silence the question of Germany as a whole.

While not objecting to negotiations, the Soviet Government, however, deems it necessary to declare it cannot link the start of these negotiations with the fulfillment of any preliminary conditions, and, secondly, that quadripartite negotiations could be effective only if they were not confined to the question of the administration of Berlin, since this question cannot be separated from the general question of quadripartite control in relation to Germany.

It's not enough just to WANT peace —

You must WORK for it

A name at the right time can be more powerful than a gun.

A million names at the right time can hold back the fury of an A Bomb.

Now is the time for people to speak up because in this fateful election year the voice of America's people will have its greatest effect.

A "Roll Call For Peace" campaign has been launched by the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship to convince our government that the American people want an end to the "cold war" and a renewal of peace and friendship with the Soviet Union.

Join in—NOW—with your friends and neighbors in every city, every town, every school, church, union or lodge; on farms and in factories; in your homes and in your offices. Let's all join hands to talk, work and fight for peace.

THIS IS WHAT YOU CAN DO:

1. Circulate "Roll Call For Peace" petitions among your friends, neighbors and co-workers. You can get them from the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship, Suite 804, 114 East 32 Street, N. Y. 16, N. Y.
2. Have the organizations to which you belong pass and send to the White House resolutions calling for an American-Soviet Peace Conference.
3. Write to the President and Secretary of State urging a general settlement of outstanding problems with the Soviet Union through conference.

NATIONAL COUNCIL OF AMERICAN-SOVIET FRIENDSHIP
Suite 804, 114 East 32 Street, New York 16, N. Y.

I am interested in helping end the "cold war" and guarantee peace for our country and the world by helping circulate "Roll Call for Peace" petitions. Please send me necessary material and information.

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ Zone _____ State _____

