

REPLY TO MALONEY

THE REAL FACTS ABOUT

RUSSIA

DEMOCRACY - ELECTIONS - PUBLIC
OPINION - CENSORSHIP - EDUCATION
WORKING CONDITIONS - FOREIGN
POLICY - TRADE UNIONS - LIVING
CONDITIONS

ISSUED BY AMERICAN-BORNE NEWS SERVICE

PRICE **3^D**

"Do not either praise us or scold us, just know us and judge us as we are, and base your estimate of us upon facts and not rumors."—STALIN TO SENATOR CLAUDE PEPPER.

Since returning to Australia, Mr. J. J. Maloney, M.L.C., until recently Australian Minister to the U.S.S.R., has spent much of his time attacking that country in a series of radio talks, syndicated newspaper articles, and lectures. In all that he has said, one looks in vain for a single word of commendation or approval.

This pamphlet is published in the interest of truth, for it is only through seeking to know and understand Russia that we can assist that co-operation between the English-speaking peoples and the Soviet Union upon which the hopes of the world depend.

"Truth is more than a matter of detail," writes Professor R. M. Crawford. "Some of Mr. Maloney's facts I do not dispute; others I do. What is more important is that, by a distorted selection of some true facts, by their telling out of relation with history and the demands of circumstances, and by mis-statement of other facts, he gives a very misleading picture."

In these pages we quote side by side with Mr. Maloney a number of writers, more competent to speak of Russia than he, in the hope of correcting both his "misleading general picture" and his mis-statement of simple facts regarding such matters as elections, living and working conditions, trade unions and cultural opportunities.

THIS IS RUSSIA AS I SAW IT

By PROFESSOR R. M. CRAWFORD

Professor Crawford is Professor of History at Melbourne University, and formerly on the staff of the Australian Legation at Moscow. The following is taken from an article by Professor Crawford in the MELBOURNE "HERALD," 22/5/34.

I have no more sympathy with those who can see no faults in the Soviet Union than with those who can see nothing but faults. My quarrel with Mr. Maloney's articles is not that he finds some faults but that he gives a distorted and misleading general picture.

During my service with the Australian Legation in the Soviet Union, I acquired an ability to talk to the Russian people in their own tongue. I got to know some of them intimately, to the point that we discussed frankly their experience and their feelings. The result of such experience allied with some knowledge of Russian history was a general impression quite contrary to that given by Mr. Maloney's articles.

I believe that Mr. Maloney's activities since his return have done damage to Australia's fine record in diplomacy, and that the publication by an ex-Minister of accounts so inimical in tone is not usual except where a state of war exists between the countries concerned.

Truth is more than a matter of detail. Some of Mr. Maloney's facts I do not dispute; other I do. What is more important is that, by a distorted selection of some true facts, by their telling out of relation with history and the demands of circumstances, and by mis-statement of other facts, he gives a very misleading general picture. It just is not possible to understand Russia today without reference to Russian history, for no country can ever build except on its own past.

Even without knowledge of earlier Russian history, it should have been evident to him that weight must be given to the tremendous difficulties of building, in short time, a modern industrialised nation in what was still in 1917 mainly a backward agricultural country, one, moreover, thrown into the most grievous chaos by the First World War. We have learnt from the war that the mobilisation of a country's resources for great national ends may require considerable sacrifice of comforts and even of necessities. We have further learnt that such an effort requires controls and a discipline that in the ordinary way we would prefer to dispense with.

Russia has of necessity had that sort of experience since 1914. War, chaos, revolution and the war of inter-

vention were only the first stage. A ruined country had to be rebuilt. Standards of living, more oriental than European, could be raised, and the country's security in an unfriendly world could be ensured only by industrialisation on a vast scale.

The Five-Year Plans represented the sort of mobilisation of resources that we have known during the war. The search for security against Nazi attack—which gives meaning to the changes in Soviet foreign policy in the late 1890's—again required, just when the strain was beginning to ease, a renewed concentration on heavy industry and armament, and the further postponement of that concentration on consumer goods and services for which Russians naturally long.

This last war came as the grand climax of strain. The Soviet peoples took terrific punishment, and could not have survived it victorious, if Mr. Maloney's picture were anywhere near the truth.

I saw ruined Stalingrad three times, and saw in it some symbol of their losses. In Koshyabev, a pre-war town of 250,000 people where I lived for seven months in 1943, 1,000,000 people had to be packed in that year of war.

Now, after the war, letters from English friends in Moscow give me a picture of a considerable lightening of the strain; but the huge task of rebuilding remains, and it would not be possible for any government of any color simply to withdraw controls and the pressure for continued high production.

I do not desire to justify everything in Russia. They have made bad mistakes and done some bad things, and because they, like any other people, are fallible human beings, they will continue to make their share of mistakes. But we may get on with them better—and the hope of the world depends on our doing so—if we try to understand their huge problems and their policies instead of jumping to half-baked and unskilled condemnation.

Because of the general tenor of Mr. Maloney's articles, what I have written is concerned with contributing to some understanding of the hardships, shortages and discipline of Russia. But the positive side of the picture has, so far at least, not appeared at all in Mr. Maloney's articles.

There is nothing in his statements of the tremendous vitality and good humor of that overstrained and tired, but delightfully individualistic people; nothing of the eager interest in the world and the warm humanity that I found in them. There is nothing in his articles of the great achievements which offset the trials and mis-

takes and difficulties of these years of strain, achievements without reference to which, however, their will to effort and victory must remain unintelligible.

Whether we like the Soviet Union or not, it is important that we should try to understand it. For the reasons I have given, I believe that Mr. Maloney's articles are misleading, and contribute, not to understanding, but to misunderstanding.

If his concern is less with Russia than with political controversy here at home, it is dangerous to use for local ends weapons so damaging to international peace.

MR. SLATER'S VIEW

The Hon. W. Slater, M.L.A., who was Australia's first Minister to the U.S.S.R., gives the following endorsement of Professor Crawford's criticism of Maloney.

"Although my stay in the Soviet was limited in point of time, and occurred when the war, so far as Russia was concerned, had reached its most critical stage, I do not hesitate to express general agreement with Professor Crawford's observations.

"No one surely can quarrel with the earnest plea Professor Crawford makes for a better understanding between the Soviet and ourselves, and it is because I strongly share this view that I readily subscribe to what appears to me to be a temperate and factual statement by Professor Crawford."

MALONEY ACCOUNT A CARICATURE

Says IRENE SAXBY

"I returned to Sydney last year (1945) after spending over ten years in Moscow, working on Soviet jobs all but the last two years, when I was archivist to the Australian Legation in Moscow. I want to make it public that I am in complete disagreement with Mr. Maloney's views, and consider that he is putting before the Australian people a wildly distorted picture of life and conditions in that country. I lived happily in the Soviet Union, and intend some day to return there. Mr. Maloney's account is a caricature of normal Soviet conditions."

SO MUCH FOR MR. MALONEY'S GENERAL PICTURE; IN THE FOLLOWING PAGES WE DEAL WITH SOME OF HIS MIS-STATEMENTS OF FACT.

IS THE SOVIET UNION A DEMOCRACY?

According to Mr. Maloney the Soviet peoples do not govern themselves in a democracy but are oppressed by a dictatorship.

MALONEY—

Dist
"The Soviet Union was a dictatorship more severe than that of Germany under Hitler," said Mr. J. J. Maloney, M.L.C. former Australian Minister to Moscow, "SYDNEY MORNING HERALD, 13/3/46.

"The Russian people can have no freedom from fear . . . the secret police are a constant threat to their well-being and safety. Of want, there is evidence all over the Soviet Union. There is no freedom of speech. The fourth freedom—worship—is allowed only in restricted circumstances . . ."—Radio Speech by Maloney over STATION 5SM, as reported by the SYDNEY MORNING HERALD, 24/5/46.

SIDNEY and BEATRICE WEBB, noted British research workers in their monumental text-book, "SOVIET COMMUNISM"—

"The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics does not consist of a Government and a people confronting each other, as all great societies have hitherto been . . . the U.S.S.R. is a government instrumented by all the adult inhabitants, organised in a varied array of collectives, having their several distinct functions, and among them carrying on with a strangely new 'political economy' nearly the whole wealth production of the people."

BEATRICE WEBB, in "THE TRUTH ABOUT RUSSIA"—

"Widespread knowledge and devotion to the public welfare is the keynote of Soviet Democracy."

SIR CHARLES TREVELYAN, noted British historian—

"From one end of the Union to the other in local assemblies up to the Supreme Soviet the people govern themselves . . . A deep new principle has come to full fruition in the new constitution of the U.S.S.R. . . . There are many races in the Union, speaking many tongues, in various stages of development . . . whom we British would call inferior, whom we would claim to rule for their good and hope to lead on to a higher civilization. In the U.S.S.R. they are all equal, they are all citizens, their rights are equal."

IS THE SOVIET UNION A DEMOCRACY?

H. J. KAISER, leading American industrialist, and builder of the famous "Liberty" ships, speaking in New York, 16/11/44—

"The drama of the new Russia . . . is the release of a great people from ignorance and fear. It is a scientific achievement second to none. It is art, music, and the humanities, vibrant and vigorous with the spirit of the new day. It is an industrial revolution accomplished in the brief span of fifteen years . . . if, today, as a plain citizen I was asked why Russia has accomplished all this, I would reply that it is because her people—all of her people—believe that Russia belongs to them. It is theirs to build, to defend, and to enjoy."

J. B. PRIESTLY, noted English writer, states in his recent book, "RUSSIAN JOURNEY"—

" . . . make no mistake about this. The most ruthless discipline in the world cannot compel people to make such sacrifices—half-starved to carry ammunition to workers-turned-soldiers, to volunteer for any possible bit of service, to escape if necessary and fight for years behind the German lines, as the Guerrillas did—unless people are ready and willing to sacrifice themselves. Hitler had his S.S. men and his Gestapo, but where were the Leningrads and Stalingrads of Germany when Hitler's empire was invaded?"

"Hitler's mistake was in assuming that the Soviet regime has been imposed by force on the Russians, who therefore would not fight to defend it, and that there are people who still talk like that . . ."

EDMUND STEVENS in his recent book, "RUSSIA IS NO RIDDLE." Edmund Stevens lived, worked and studied in Russia for six years, was war correspondent for the CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR, and accompanied Winston Churchill to Moscow as interpreter and technical adviser—

"In every collective farm village throughout the land it is the meeting of the members that elects all the collective farm officers, that within the framework of the general plan determines the crop plans, and apportion the value, in kind or money, of each work day. In the factories, shop meetings, departmental meetings, and general factory meetings discuss the production programme; send in their proposals, suggestions and criticisms; and take the management to task. It is on this firm foundation of elementary local democracy that the Soviet leaders expect to build the future edifice of Soviet democracy around the frame of the Stalin Constitution."

ARE SOVIET ELECTIONS FREE?

Mr. Maloney would have us believe that Soviet elections are merely a machinery designed to secure applause for the Government and to prevent the expression of disapproval of the Government.

MALONEY:—

"Soviet citizens have fewer rights when it comes to nominating or electing a deputy to the Soviet Parliaments than do the people in any other country where a parliamentary system of election is operating.

"In not one electorate throughout the whole of the U.S.S.R. is more than one candidate nominated."—MELBOURNE "HERALD." 16/5/46

"An elector may vote against the candidate by crossing out his name on the ballot paper, but as such a practice could not alter the result, but might expose the elector to unpleasant consequences, no advantage could be gained by not dropping the ballot paper into the ballot box without marking it in any way.

"Actually there is not the slightest semblance of democracy in the Soviet elections."—MELBOURNE "HERALD." 16/5/46.

J. T. MURPHY, formerly War Office Official Lecturer to H.M. Forces on Russian Affairs, in his "MANUAL OF SOVIET ENTERPRISE" —

"Besides the Central Government and the Supreme Soviet, Russia has also its elected local governmental institutions which correspond to our County Councils, Urban and Rural District Councils, etc.

"Any group of people working in a factory, an office, a college, a collective farm or unit of labour is entitled to nominate candidates at a meeting of the institution. The candidates appear before a local conference composed of representatives from the nominating groups. The candidates are considered on their merits. They address the conference and make a case for their nomination. The number of candidates is steadily reduced by a process of eliminating voting until the required number of candidates is left. These are then put before the electors for acceptance or rejection, and must receive 50% of the total votes in the constituency.

"Every member of an elected body in the Soviet Union has to be prepared to report back to his constituents. The electors can "recall" their representatives and replace them without waiting for a general election."

ARE SOVIET ELECTIONS FREE?

SIDNEY and BEATRICE WEBB in "SOVIET COMMUNISM":

"The Soviet Electorate does not limit its activity to attendance at the poll.

"The universal electorate of the U.S.S.R. does a great deal more than elect. At its incessant meetings it debates and passes resolutions by the hundred thousand in which it expresses its desires on great matters and on small, by way of instruction or suggestion to the deputies whom it chooses and can recall, and who habitually take notice of these popular requirements, even when it is not found immediately practicable to carry them into effect . . . The working constitution of the U.S.S.R. . . is rooted in an almost inconceivable amount of public discussion, in literally a million or two of small local meetings in the course of each year."

THE FACTS

The plain and easily verifiable facts about Soviet elections are these:—

- Universal suffrage is the basis of all Soviet elections. "Persons of 18 years and upwards, irrespective of race or nationality, religion, standard of education, domicile, social origin, property status or past activities, have the right to vote in the election of deputies and to be elected."—ART. 135.
- Each citizen is entitled to one vote only—there are no plural votes.
- Women have the right to elect and be elected on equal terms with men.
- Voting is by secret ballot and is not compulsory.
- Any organisation or group of people can nominate candidates.
- Although it is usual for only one candidate in each electorate to stand for the actual election on polling day, this candidate is the winner of an exhaustive preselection of candidates by the electors prior to polling day. Even so, the selected candidate must secure at least 50% of the total votes in the constituency on polling day, and can be "recalled" by a majority of the electors at any time.

In the 1946 general election of Deputies to the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R., of the total registered electors, namely 101,717,686 persons, 101,430,936 or 99.7% voted.

CENSORSHIP AND PUBLIC OPINION

Mr. Maloney makes a good deal of Soviet censorship and the resultant ignorance of Soviet citizens on happenings outside the U.S.S.R.

MALONEY—

"Censorship within the Soviet Union is almost unbelievable."—**SYDNEY MORNING HERALD**, 14/5/46.

"They (the general public of Russia) have no knowledge of anything beyond themselves, except what is told to them in the Soviet press and over the radio."—Mr. Maloney, address to United Nations Assembly, Sydney.—**SYDNEY MORNING HERALD**, 14/5/46.

"Books in English and other languages are sometimes available to the general public in the U.S.S.R. but great care is exercised to ensure that it is only such books that show up the sordid side of things in other countries that are freely available."—**MELBOURNE HERALD**, 15/5/46.

MR. A. HARRIMAN, former U.S. Ambassador to the U.S.S.R., writing in the **NEW YORK TIMES**, 22/4/44—

"All information for which I asked was given to me, and I was received with great hospitality and cordiality by everyone I met."

GENERAL DWIGHT EISENHOWER—

"Our liaison with Russia always has been as close and intimate as necessary to meet any situation at any particular moment. They have given me the information I desired, willingly and cheerfully. I am completely satisfied."

J. B. PRIESTLY, the English author, in his recent book, "RUSSIAN JOURNEY"—

"Here is the time to state emphatically that we did not spend our time hedged around by interpreters, detectives and dictaphones, that we saw what we wanted to see and often made last minute choices and so paid unexpected visits, and that if we wanted to be alone, and my wife knew enough Russian to enable us to talk to people, then we were left alone."

MAURICE DOBE, lecturer in Economics at Cambridge University, in his book, "THE U.S.S.R., HER LIFE AND HER PEOPLE"—

"There is probably more publishing activity in the U.S.S.R. than in any other country in the world. Editions of serious literature sometimes run into hun-

CENSORSHIP AND PUBLIC OPINION

dreds of thousands; and the number of copies of books of all kinds printed yearly runs to more than 500,000,000. "In Moscow there is a special Public Library of Soviet Literature. The librarian of this has announced a great demand recently for books by Priestley, Cronin, Arnold Bennett and Somerset Maugham.

"The newspapers give much more space to serious economic and political information and to political discussion than they do here or in America; and these newspapers are very widely and seriously read."

EDGAR SNOW, noted American journalist, who was in Russia during the war, in the **SATURDAY EVENING POST**, 25/2/42—

"I continually encountered among adolescents a better familiarity with the physical setting of American life through their knowledge of the works of Mark Twain, Sinclair, Hemingway and Dreiser than many American adults have of the U.S.S.R."

IRENE SAXBY, who lived for ten years in Russia, the last two years as archivist to the Australian Legation at Moscow—

"The average Russian knows very much more about our English literature than we know about Russian literature. Foreign literature is much more widely read in Russia than in England and Australia. . . I went through the Honours course in English literature at Sydney University, but was put to shame by some of my Russian colleagues—the English reading required of them is very extensive."

HEWLETT JOHNSON, Dean of Canterbury in his "SOCIALIST SIXTH OF THE WORLD"—

"Foreign writers in general are extensively translated and widely read: Upton Sinclair, Maupassant, Victor Hugo, Anatole France, Balzac, Dickens, Darwin, and of the moderns Theodore Dreiser, Earnest Hemingway, H. G. Wells, Frank Norris, Leon Feuchtwanger, Heinrich Mann, Gustav Regler, and Arnold Zweig . . ."

WENDELL WILKIE, in his book, "ONE WORLD"—

"The Soviet Government gave me every chance to find out what I wanted to learn. It permitted me to examine in my own way its industrial and war plants, its collective farms, its schools, its libraries, its hospitals, its war front. I came and went as freely as though I had been making a similar trip through the United States, and I asked questions, unexpected questions of unexpected people—without limit or interference, and always in the presence of an American who understood and spoke Russian."

EDUCATION AND CULTURAL DEMOCRACY

The whole effect of Mr. Maloney's spoken and written reports is to present the common people of Russia as uneducated and lacking opportunities for cultural development.

MALONEY:—

In his address to the United Nations Association in Sydney, Mr. Maloney said, "there is no hope for the working man in Russia, nor for any cultural organisation."—**SYDNEY MORNING HERALD, 14/5/46.**

J. B. PRIESTLY, in "RUSSIAN JOURNEY":—

"Seats for the theatre, opera, ballet, concerts, are relatively cheap, as are books and everything else to do with knowledge and the arts. In Moscow, for less than the price of an ice-cream there, you can see theatrical productions of a perfection that not all the money in America can buy."

HAROLD J. LASKI, President of the British Labor Party:—

"No intelligent Socialist can deny that the Revolution represents one of the supremely beneficent epochs of history.

"It has awakened a whole people from its slumber. In education, in public health, in economic construction, in the degree to which it has ended the exploitation of man by man, in its reclamation of wealth from the few for the masses, in its opening-up of the potentialities of production for the many, revolution has made possible in Russia a new epoch in the history of the world."—**LONDON DAILY HERALD, 12/3/37.**

HEWLETT JOHNSON, Dean of Canterbury, in his recent book, "SOVIET STRENGTH, ITS SOURCE AND CHALLENGE":—

"Russia's strength, to put it in a nutshell, lies in her moral and scientific achievements. Russia has introduced moral principles and scientific method into the heart of her productive life.

"... a magnificent efflorescence of culture springs forth ... a renaissance of joy and love of life akin to that which stirred our own great Elizabethans."

MAURICE DOBB, lecturer in Economics at Cambridge University, in his book, "THE U.S.S.R. HER LIFE AND HER PEOPLE":—

"Two things are specially noticeable about the political system of the U.S.S.R. One is the much greater interest shown by the ordinary person in political questions

EDUCATION AND CULTURAL DEMOCRACY

than is usually the case in this country or America; the other is the extent to which ordinary citizens take an active share in political affairs. The political duty of a citizen is not thought of as consisting simply in voting at an election or in being able to discuss questions of the hour intelligently. It is regarded as the political duty of every citizen to take a hand in running things, and not to leave them to officials and professional politicians. The stress is not only on formal democracy but on active democracy."

RABINDRANATH TAGORE, renowned Indian sage and poet, wrote in his "LETTERS FROM RUSSIA":—

"It is astonishing to watch the extraordinary vigour with which education spreads throughout Russian society. The measure of education is not merely the number involved, but its thoroughness; its intensity. What abundant preparation, what tremendous effort, so that no one should remain helpless or idle! Not in European Russia alone, but also among the semi-civilised races of Central Asia, they have opened the flood-gates of education. There is no limit to the effort made to bring the latest fruits of science to them. The theatres here are crowded to over-flowing, but those who come to them are peasants and workers. Nowhere are they humiliated."

EDWIN S. SMITH, in his "ORGANISED LABOR IN THE SOVIET UNION." The author was sent in 1933 by President Roosevelt as a special observer to the International Labor Conference in Geneva, and served as a member of the U.S. Labor Relations Board from 1935 to 1941:—

"The facilities at the disposal of the Soviet Trade Unions for what they call cultural work are very large. The smallest shop or department of a factory has a clubroom with library and recreational facilities. The union local in any enterprise of considerable size owns a clubhouse, having regular performances of movie and stage plays. It has dances, a gymnasium, billiard tables, bowling alleys, ball teams, chess clubs, classes in music, arts and dramatics, rifle teams and about anything else the members desire.

"Even in the areas to which industry has been evacuated in wartime, huge timber club-houses go up as soon as the plant itself and the workers' housing has been built.

"In 1940 Soviet Unions owned 6,000 clubhouses, 15,000 libraries and 10,000 movie projectors. They also ran 100,000 clubrooms on factory premises."

WORKING CONDITIONS AND TRADE UNIONS

Mr. Maloney has made many derogatory statements concerning general working conditions in the U.S.S.R. and the role of Soviet Trade Unions.

MALONEY—

"Undoubtedly the greatest part of the work of the Soviet trade unions' internal activities is devoted towards enforcing industrial discipline upon its members and ensuring to the Government a continuance of a trade union organisation that is subservient to the State."—MELBOURNE HERALD, 18/5/46.

"Wages and conditions in Russia are determined by Soviet authorities without any prior consultation with the trade unions or their members . . ."—MELBOURNE HERALD, 20/5/46.

In his article in the HERALD, 17/5/46, Mr. Maloney made several charges against the Soviet relating to industrial conscription, child labour, and the employment of women in heavy industry.

SIDNEY and BEATRICE WEBB, renowned British authorities on trade unions, in their book, "SOVIET COMMUNISM"—

" . . . the trade unions retain and continue to exercise all the influence and authority in the administration of the factory and in the settlement of wages that they have possessed for the past fifteen years. The new control over social insurance, and the entire administration of funds and services of such magnitude, can hardly fail to strengthen the trade unions in their work of raising the standard of life of the workers and even to knit more closely together their far-flung membership."

CLIFFORD McAVOY, Legislative Representative of Greater New York Industrial Union Council, C.I.O. and formerly Deputy Administrator, Department of Welfare, New York City—

"Trade unions exist in the Soviet Union for the same reason as they exist in any other free country. Their first job is to see that the particular needs of the workers in the industries under their jurisdiction are made known and taken care of . . . to raise the general living standard of workers. The Soviet trade union functions as a free organisation . . . negotiates and enforces collective bargaining agreements with management, establishing wages, hours and working conditions in each factory . . . it represents its members in taking up and adjusting grievances. Grievances, including discharges, of which management must give advance notice, are first taken up between representatives of the factory

WORKING CONDITIONS AND TRADE UNIONS

committee and the management. Failing adjustment, any grievance involving a violation of the labour code may be taken to a special labour session of the people's court, composed of three members, one of whom must be a trade unionist.

"Until war came Soviet trade unions bettered wages and working conditions year by year. Since 1940 the unions themselves have suggested and accepted certain changes for the duration of the war.

"1940 WORKING CONDITIONS—Maximum day, 7 hours. Six hour day in heavy industry. Six-hour maximum at regular rate of pay for workers 18-18 years. Four-hour maximum at regular rate in rare cases where minors 14-16 are permitted to work. Five day week . . . Full wages to women workers for 35 days before childbirth and 28 days after . . . Time and a half for overtime. In peace-time, overtime limited to 120 hours per year . . . Twelve days vacation with pay for every worker. Twenty-four days with pay for workers in heavy industry and for 16 to 18 year old workers. All national holidays off . . . Excellent safety precautions and sanitary conditions . . . Frequent physical check-ups for workers in unhealthful occupations and transfer to safer jobs at first sign of injury to health . . . Management subject to severe penalties for failure to carry out labor protection obligations undertaken in agreement with labor unions."—THE TRADE UNIONS OF OUR SOVIET ALLY, 1942.

E. THORNTON, National Secretary of the Federated Ironworkers' Association of Australia, who visited the U.S.S.R. in 1940—

"At the Plenary Sessions of the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions, I heard V. V. Kuznetsov, the Chairman of the All-Union Central Council, give a report on the work of the trade unions in relation to working and living conditions, in which he laid his ears back and subjected trade union executives, managements and Government departments to the most biting criticism I have ever heard."

IRENE SAXBY, writing in reply to Mr. Maloney—

"Unemployment is unknown . . . Talk about labour regimentation (apart from ordinary wartime manpower controls) is a slanderous fabrication. In fact there are always so many jobs offering that the individual has a very wide choice of occupation, and every opportunity to qualify himself or herself for it."

LIVING CONDITIONS

Mr. Maloney is guilty of three major sins against objective reporting. First, he describes a wartime condition as if it were a picture of normal life; secondly, he exaggerates the contemporary deterioration in living standards; thirdly, he makes use of deliberate mis-statements of facts.

MALONEY—

"Food rations were less than those received by persons who were on the dole in New South Wales during the last depression."—Maloney, in the New South Wales Legislative Council, reported in SYDNEY MORNING HERALD, 13/3/46.

"Food and clothing have always been scarce commodities for the common people of the U.S.S.R."—Maloney, broadcast over 2FC, reported in SYDNEY MORNING HERALD, 27/4/46.

WAR LOSSES

It is difficult for an Australian to grasp the extent of Nazi destruction in the Soviet Union. Mr. Molotov, in November, 1945, gave the following official figures of losses suffered as a result of the war:—

1,716 cities and towns and 70,000 villages demolished or seriously damaged. 6,000,000 buildings destroyed and 25,000,000 people left homeless; 31,850 industrial enterprises and 98,000 collective farms ruined.

Live stock losses: 7 million horses, 17 million cattle, and tens of millions of pigs and poultry.

The direct loss inflicted on the national economy has been estimated at 679,000,000,000 rubles.

Who but Mr. Maloney would wonder that there are serious shortages of food, clothing and housing?

JOSEPH E. DAVIES, former U.S. Ambassador to the U.S.S.R., writes in August, 1949.—

"Life in Russia today is geared to the terrific intensity of their tremendous war effort, which is total. Rationing is very strict. On the other hand, the people I saw appeared to have enough to eat and were dressed, if anything, better than when I was here five years ago."

EDGAR SNOW, well-known American journalist, writes in his recent book, "PEOPLE ON OUR SIDE"—

"... it was only the most vigorous enforcement of food rationing that saved some two million people from ac-

LIVING CONDITIONS

tual starvation . . . in war as in peace the rationing system was based on the principle 'from each according to his ability, to each according to the work performed' . . . if India, China, Persia or Egypt had enforced rationing half as well, tens of thousands need not have died of starvation."

IRENE SAXBY, ten years resident in the Soviet Union, writes—

"During the later war years when Mr. Maloney was there, there were many refugees in Moscow from the devastated western republics. His account is a caricature of normal Soviet conditions. I lived in an ordinary Moscow flat and had a lot of friends and acquaintances whose homes I visited, and to say that 'all ordinary families lived in one small room,' is silly. Families did very often have to do with one large room sub-divided with partitions, with additional store room or cupboards, use of kitchen, bathroom, etc., but I knew quite a number of ordinary people who had nice, self-contained flats of several rooms. Many folk owned summer cottages around Moscow in addition to their own homes. Practically all Moscow houses are centrally heated by the 'house committee,' which meant a degree of indoor comfort which we do not know here."

FREDERICK L. SCHUMAN, in his recent book, "SOVIET POLITICS AT HOME AND ABROAD." Professor Schuman is Professor of Government at Williams College, served at Washington during 1942-3 in the Foreign Broadcast Intelligence Service, has studied and travelled extensively in the Soviet Union and has taught at Cornell University in the programme on Contemporary Russian Civilization.—

"Only those observers who are invincibly ignorant, or blinded by irrational fear and hatred, will deny that the Soviet system has, for all its abuses and crudities, promoted the liberation of men from impoverishment, exploitation, illiteracy and prejudice, and served the cause of human dignity and self-respect on an immense scale. These purposes are of the essence of the democratic dream. In this sense the U.S.S.R. is a democratic polity—in its ends and in its achievements, if not always in its means.

"These Soviet workers who have attained the status of well-paid technicians are still a minority. But millions have risen from poverty to comparative affluence. To have risen the rest rapidly is the aim of Politburo, Sovnarkom and Gosplan, and the goal of all the activities of the Soviet trade unions."

LIVING CONDITIONS

The most glaring of Maloney's mis-statements of fact is his description of markets and prices—his mis-representation of "closed" and "commercial" shops.

MALONEY:—

"The highest strata of Soviet society do not have to worry over these shops ("commercial shops"), they have special class shops in which to shop at special State prices, but it is not the lot of the common people to ever see inside such "closed" shops, for admittance can only be gained by special passes."—**SYDNEY MORNING HERALD**, 27/4/46.

"Astronomic figures of the cost of living in Soviet Russia were quoted by Mr. J. J. Maloney, former Australian Minister to Russia, in a national broadcast from 2FC last night."—**SYDNEY MORNING HERALD**, 27/4/46.

Mr. Maloney quoted fantastic prices, which he claimed were typical of the prices in the "commercial shops." Translating these prices into Australian currency a man's suit was said to cost £450, a white voile dress £265, eggs 10/6 each, and so on.

THE TRUE FACTS

Many who heard Mr. Maloney's broadcast must have asked themselves this question: If in general a suit cost a working man a year's wages, and a few eggs a week's wages, why is the whole Russian race not extinct?

The truth is, of course, that Maloney's assertion that most workers are forced to buy at the "commercial" shops is a lie.

The truth is that the workers bought their basic rationed goods—their food, clothes, etc.—at the "closed" shops or State stores where prices were strictly pegged at pre-war levels. After purchasing their food and clothing at pegged prices in the "closed" or State shops, the people could spend their surplus funds in purchasing extras at the "commercial" shops or open peasant markets where much higher prices were allowed by the Government as a measure to combat inflation and black-marketing.

IRENE SAXBY, who shopped in Russia for ten years:—

"The commercial shops to which Mr. Maloney draws such exclusive attention represented certainly well under 10% of Soviet trade (in Moscow there were twenty commercial shops, as against thousands selling goods

LIVING CONDITIONS

at pre-war prices) and they were instituted by the Government in 1944 to combat the inflation on the small legal open peasant markets."

EDGAR SNOW, in his book "PEOPLE ON OUR SIDE," supplies a comparative price list:—

Product	Open Market Price	State Store (Closed Shop) Price
Bread (per lb.)	60 rubles	1 to 1½ rubles
Milk (per lb.)	40 "	1 "
Carrots (per lb.)	35 "	1½ "
Butter (per lb.)	400 "	1½ "
Sugar (per lb.)	500 "	3 "
Flour (per lb.)	50 "	2 "
Eggs (each)	20 "	65 kopeks

MALONEY:—

"Rest homes, sanatoria and such like come under the control and administration of the Soviet Trade Union Movement. It is only the privileged that can hope to gain admittance to such places."—Broadcast over 2FC, 26/4/46, and reported in **SYDNEY MORNING HERALD**, 27/4/46.

How can Mr. Maloney deny what every reputable writer on Russia freely admits, that these facilities are open to all workers either free of charge or at a nominal fee?

THESE ARE THE FACTS

The Soviet Union has a very comprehensive and essentially non-contributory health and social insurance scheme. It includes the following features:—

- (1) Sickness and accident benefits, paid for the full period of the worker's incapacity;
- (2) Old age pensions paid to all workers upon reaching a certain age (60 years for men, 55 years for women), having completed a certain period of service. Pensions fixed at 50-60 per cent. of the worker's salary;
- (3) A free medical service, general and specialist attention;
- (4) Guaranteed employment;
- (5) An elaborate system of nurseries and kindergartens—nearly five million babies were handed daily by these institutions in 1941;
- (6) Maternity leave with pay;
- (7) Family endowment—graduated bonuses from the third child, rental and tax concessions, special rations.

SOVIET FOREIGN POLICY

Net content with wholesale misrepresentation of domestic conditions in the Soviet Union. Mr. Maloney goes on to disclose his real motives by presenting that country as a menace to world peace. He accuses Russia of a new imperialism.

MALONEY—

"Russia was an aggressor nation and would take advantage of the present turmoil to further her own imperialistic expansion, said Mr. Maloney, M.L.C., in an address at the Institute of Journalists' Luncheon."—SYDNEY MORNING HERALD, 25/5/46.

This is a popular theme with our newspapers just now, but recollect how unreliable these same papers proved in their estimate of the Soviet Union (and Hitler Germany) in the years before and during the war, and consider these more responsible opinions:—

ALEXANDER WERTH, special correspondent in Russia of the London SUNDAY TIMES and Allied Newspapers during the war, and author of two critical books on the Soviet Union, wrote recently in "INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS":—

"... the thing the Russian wants most today is to be able to settle down peacefully to the job of developing his own country, and to make it 'the wonder of the world.' In the long run, he wants his country to be such a success from the point of view of prosperity and efficiency that the whole world will want to imitate it."

JOSEPH E. DAVIES, former U.S. Ambassador to the Soviet Union, and author of "MISSION TO MOSCOW," whose despatches to President Roosevelt were proved so sound by subsequent events; in a recent article, "OUR SOVIET ALLY":—

"I am convinced that the Soviet Union does not intend to extend either its domination or its ideology, and is sincerely devoted to the establishment of a decent world through co-operation with democratic nations and free peoples.

"Any objective study of the actual facts and performances, as well as professions, of the Soviet Union during the past fifteen years, will sustain the opinion that for ideological reasons, as well as practical necessity, the Soviet Union will contribute as high-mindedly as any of the great nations in the great enterprise of securing a durable and decent post-war peace. This, of course, is conditioned upon their confidence in the good faith, sincerity, and reliability of the western democracies."

SOVIET FOREIGN POLICY

H. V. EVATT,—Australian Minister for External Affairs, in a statement on foreign affairs to the House of Representatives, 12/3/46:

"While the British Commonwealth can fairly be said to have saved the Soviet Union in 1939 and 1940, equally the Soviet can be said to have saved the British Commonwealth in 1942 and 1943.

"It is particularly easy to concentrate upon points of differences... In my view, this is a most dangerous attitude of mind, and can lead only to disaster if it is unchecked.

"The real question is, not whether the Soviet Union territory and zones of influence have expanded, but what is the underlying intention and purpose of the Soviet Union. Is it to secure the political domination of other countries, or is it merely to protect Russia against any repetition of the so-called cordons sanitaires which united all reactionary influences in Europe against her during the period between the two great wars? Is it aggressive in substance, or defensive in substance? That is the great question. It will not be forgotten that in the Munich era of appeasement of Hitler and his Axis associates, there was the greatest inclination on the part of some Western democracies to isolate the Soviet Union and hail Hitler as the savior of civilization against the so-called Bolshevik horde. It is important to note that some of those who, between 1933 and 1939, first endured, then patted, and, finally, embraced Hitler and most of his works, are now to be found amongst those who are prepared to join forces at once against the Soviet Union without any important investigation as to whether its policy is aggressive or defensive in intent.

"A second factor in the situation is the very recent application of atomic energy to war-like purposes. An agreement was made between Britain and the United States in relation to the new discovery and in that arrangement, the Soviet Union was not included. Therefore, suspicion amongst the three major Powers is not confined to suspicion of Russia, but it includes also suspicion by Russia.

"Having no clear evidence to the contrary and having during the last four years, come to know some of Russia's greatest statesmen, I take the view that the Soviet Union's policy is directed towards self-protection and security against future attack. In my opinion, her desire is to develop her own economy and to improve the welfare of her peoples."

REPORT ON THE RUSSIANS

By William L. White

A few years ago it was much easier for a prejudiced propagandist like Mr. Maloney to operate successfully. Certainly he has been given generous facilities by the newspapers and radio stations in recent weeks, and has no doubt been handsomely paid for his articles and talks, but the world is not so ignorant about Russia now as it used to be, and it is much harder to "put across" the old myths.

An American counterpart of Mr. Maloney, the journalist William L. White, discovered this last year. After six weeks in Soviet Russia, touring the country with Eric Johnston, president of the U.S. Chamber of Commerce, he wrote his "REPORT ON THE RUSSIANS." This book is often quoted in Australia by anti-Soviet propagandists and was fully and favourably reviewed by the Melbourne "Herald" and other papers.

REPORT ON WILLIAM L. WHITE

By Eric Johnston and the Correspondents

ERIC JOHNSTON President, U.S. Chamber of Commerce.—

"Because William L. White accompanied me to Russia, I have had many inquiries about his new book on that country. They call for an answer in general terms at least.

"I do not, for a moment, question White's right to say what he chooses, but I frankly disagree with him as to the significance of many things we both saw.

"As in all countries, there is good and bad in Russia. In my judgment, White over-emphasizes the bad, minimizes the good. He does not take sufficiently into account the incredible sacrifices of the Russian people to defeat the Nazis.

"Moreover there is a generous dash of fiction in the book which is not labeled as such."

THE CORRESPONDENTS.—

"The undersigned foreign correspondents, who have worked in the Soviet Union during the present war, wish to express their disagreement with the views and observations set forth by William L. White in his "REPORT ON THE RUSSIANS." None of us is satisfied with the limited facilities extended to us as reporters by the Soviet Government, and none denies the truth of certain statements in Mr. White's book.

At the same time such a book has to be considered as an organic whole, and for the totality of its effect, and viewed in this light we feel it contains far too many inaccuracies to serve as a proper interpretation of a great nation and a great people.

"Written on the basis of a very brief trip through a country where White was ignorant, not only of the language, but evidently of the history and culture as well, its peculiar but fundamental dishonesty lies in the total absence of either foreground or background detail. It presents a miniature static picture of a vast and complex land which can only be understood in terms of change and historical perspective. Appearing at this time, the book has to be linked with the significance of ignorant and inimical groups here and in Europe, who seek to sharpen distrust and suspicion among the Allies.

"We, therefore, have no hesitation in saying that for Americans seeking understanding on the basis of real knowledge of Russia, in the hope of finding a common ground for living at peace with our neighbors, White's book must rank as a highly biased and misleading report, calculated to prolong the oldest myths and prejudices against a great ally, whose sacrifices in this war have saved us incalculable bloodshed and destruction."

James Aldridge, North American Newspaper Alliance.
Raymond Arthur Davies, Canadian Broadcasting Co.
Jerome Davis, The New Republic.
John Fisher, Allied Labor News.
John Gibbons, Daily Worker.
John Heesey, Time and Life.
Alexander Kendrick, Philadelphia Inquirer.
Richard Lauterbach, Time and Life.
Robert Magidoff, National Broadcasting Co.
David Nichol, Chicago Daily News.
Ralph Parker, New York Times, P.M.
Quentin Reynolds, Collier's.
Edgar Snow, Saturday Evening Post.
Edmund Stevens, Christian Science Monitor.
Alexander Werth, London Sunday Times, Reuter's.
Ella Winter, New York Post.

We invite you to read again the correspondents' last paragraph, substituting "Australians" for "Americans," and "Maloney's articles" for "White's book."

Richard Gordon
Print, Brisbane Road, Brisbane, E.I.

AUSTRALIA-SOVIET HOUSE

236 FLINDERS LANE, MELBOURNE
Phone: Central 3711

AUSTRALIAN RUSSIAN SOCIETY

To further Cultural Relations with the U.S.S.R.

17 O'CONNELL STREET, SYDNEY
Phones: B 1210, B 4411

114 ADELAIDE STREET, BRISBANE
Phone: B 7820

7 HOWARD STREET, PERTH
Phone: B 4659

***REPLY TO
MALONEY***

THE REAL FACTS ABOUT

RUSSIA