To discuss whether we should have communication among peoples would, of course, be absurd. We have it on a scale that defies imagination. Every minute of every hour of the day the ether is alive with words and pictures conveying news and opinion, and the sky is crowded with planes carrying bearers of tidings to the far corners of the earth. As with so many of the political and economic problems that beset us today, we are dealing in communication, not with a theory but with a condition. It is not a question of arguing about the facts but of catching up with them.

To those in government service, and particularly those of us concerned with foreign policy, this is an immediate and urgent question. I know of no better statement of that question than the way Archibald MacLeish put it recently. I quote: "How will we prevent war and preserve peace and attain the other basic objectives of our foreign policy in a world in which the substantial foreign relations of peoples are direct relations...? How will we realize the tremendous promise of common understanding and mutual confidence which that world holds out? How will we avoid its dangers of bickering quarrels, whispered suspicions, inspired panics, fear?"

How indeed! These challenging questions suggest two answers which I should like to submit for your consideration. The first answer is that we must find a way of preventing from now on and at all costs the perversion of the channels of communication for base and selfish ends. Never again must a tyranny be permitted to mislead and befuddle a people and to betray men and women into mob violence, aggression and national suicide. Never again must we allow the greatest instrument for mutual understanding and confidence to be perverted into a weapon for the strategy of terror. I saw this happen, at first hand, during my years in Japan. I watched the slow deterioration of the mental and moral fibre of a people, and I can tell you it is a terrifying spectacle. Those who were in a position to observe at close range the, in some respects, even more subtle and corrosive effects of the Nazi propaganda machine will, I think, agree that this kind of warfare—for it is warfare—must, like the use of force, be outlawed in the future.

If this should happen again, if we should fail in our resolution to prevent it, we shall fail also to remove the threat of war, and we shall deny the pledge of the Charter of the United Nations, "to practice tolerance and live together in peace with one another as good neighbors," and to promote and encourage "respect for human rights and for fundamental freedoms for all..."

The other answer consists in the progressive freeing of the lines of communication so as to increase the volume and speed the flow of information among nations. There are people in our own country who find this suggestion almost as alarming as the systematic and official suppression of information under tyranny. They maintain that in a democracy the people should somehow be protected against themselves. To this there is only one democratic answer, only one answer that is honest and satisfactory to those who believe in the good sense and sound judgment of an informed public opinion. If the people wish to protect themselves, they will find the means to do it through their responsible leadership in private enterprise and representative government.

Self-regulation of industry in the public interest is essentially a democratic process, and we have already taken some tentative steps in that direction. One example is the formulation by the Broadcasting Industry of its own codes designed to keep the ether free from racial or religious hatred. Another is the consistent policy of self-discipline practiced by the responsible press in the communications here at home, how much greater is its wisdom and need in the vastly broader field of international communications after the war.

In wartime the flow of ideas between peoples has been impeded by censorship, by blockade, by shortages of shipping and paper. In peacetime you can no more block a vastly developed flow of ideas than King Canute could stop the tides. International communications should and will expand beyond all recognition in the years to come, and it will be our responsibility as a people to see that this expansion will be a force for good and not a force for unmitigated evil as it would have been in the hands of the Nazi or Japanese enemies.

As one who has spent forty years in the field of international relations, I am all too conscious of the tremendous impact of international communications on the minds of men. Unless a foreigner has visited the United States, his entire picture of America and its people is what he sees on his screen, what he hears on his radio, what he reads in his newspaper and where this country, and the few Americans he may happen to meet.

It is, of course, within the power of our agencies of international communication to give a cynical, distorted and unworthy impression of the United States. It is within their power to cheapen the picture of our country abroad that foreigner will again think, as the Nazis and Japanese thought, that we are decadent and soft and pleasure-loving, that we are not only unwilling but unable to fight for our way of life against our challenge.

But it is also within the power of the communications industries to give a true picture of America, one that would show the integrity and strength of our people, the character and free institutions that have made us great and enabled us to put forth such a mighty effort in the war. If the Nazi and Japanese tyrants themselves had allowed their people to get a true picture of America I doubt very much whether they would have been fatuous enough to challenge us or our friends. It is, in my opinion, a supreme opportunity and responsibility of the communications industries to get such a truthful picture of America that the outside world will never again doubt our power and our devotion to the ideals which we believe.

Indeed, the whole fabric of international peace and understanding can be strengthened by the facts and ideas that will cross international frontiers in the years to come. The San Francisco Charter will be only as strong as the people of the world make it. It can be weakened fatally if a traffic of lies and of lies should once more cross and re-cross the frontiers. It can fulfill its great promise if we and other peoples honestly resolve that there shall be a traffic of truth flowing from the radio transmitters, the printing presses and the motion picture projectors of the world.

We in America hold an advanced position in the field of international communications. The world already sees our motion pictures; I hope that it will also come to listen to our radio programs and read our books and publications, to a degree never known before.

I hope, too, that we in America will listen to what our friends abroad may say, and develop the good habit of reading foreign publications as well as our own. International distrust can flourish only in a world in which the traffic of truth is blocked at any part of it. It is for us to resolve—and for the agency of communications most of all to resolve—that the facts and the liberal and progressive ideas which travel overseas from America shall be worthy at all times of the country we love and honor and serve.

Department of State.

U. S. S. R.

Stalin on Victory

The text of Premier Stalin's speech broadcast from Moscow, May 10, 1945, follows.
Comrades, my countrymen and women: The great day of victory over Germany has come. Fascist Germany has been brought to her knees by the Red Army and the troops of our Allies, has acknowledged herself beaten and has declared her unconditional surrender.

On May 7 the preliminary act of capitulation was signed in Kaunas. On May 8, in the presence of the staff of the Russian High Command and in the presence of representatives of the Supreme Command of the Allied Forces, the final act of capitulation, which came into force at 2400 hours May 8, was signed in Berlin.

Knowing the wolflike actions of the Germans, who consider treaties and agreements as so much paper, we have no reason to believe their word. However, since this morning German troops, in fulfillment of the act of capitulation, began laying down their arms and surrendering to our troops.

That is no longer an empty scrap of paper. That is the real capitulation of Germany's armed forces. It is true, one group of German troops in the area of Czechoslovakia still avoids capitulation, but I hope the Red Army will succeed in bringing it to its senses.

We now have all the ground for declaring that the historic day of the final rout of Germany has come—the day of great victory of our people over German imperialism.

The great sacrifices that we have made in the name of the liberty and independence of our motherland, the innumerable exertions and sufferings that our people had to bear in the course of the war, the strenuous work in the rear and the front that they have brought to the altar of the fatherland, have not been in vain. They have been crowned by complete victory over the enemy.

The centuries-old struggle of the Slav peoples for their existence and their independence has been concluded by victory over the German invaders and over German tyranny. From now on, over Europe will fly the banner dear to us—the banner of victory of the peoples and of peace among nations.

Three years ago Hitler publicly declared that his plans included the carving up of the Soviet Union and depriving it of the Caucasus, the Ukraine, White Russia and the Baltic States and other districts. Hitler said openly that "we shall destroy Russia so that she will never be able to rise again."

That was three years ago. But Hitler's insane ideas were not destined to be fulfilled. In the course of the war they were blown into dust. In actual fact, the opposite happened to that which the Hitlerites threatened. Germany is completely destroyed. German troops are capitulating and the Soviet Union triumphs in victory, although it does not intend either to dismember or to annihilate Germany.

Comrades: The great patriotic war has ended in our complete victory. The period of war in Europe has ended. The period of peaceful development has begun.

Glory to our heroic Red Army, which has defended the independence of our motherland and achieved victory over the enemy! Glory to our victorious people!

Eternal glory to the heroes who fell in battle against the enemy and gave their lives for the freedom and happiness of our motherland!


PUBLICATIONS

THE UNITED NATIONS CONFERENCE ON INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION at SAN FRANCISCO

In view of the extent of the documentation of the San Francisco Conference, UNIO decided to issue material in different forms to meet the wide demand, as follows:

DOCUMENTATION OF THE CONFERENCE:

The DOCUMENTS of the UNITED NATIONS CONFERENCE on INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION at San Francisco, will be published by the United Nations Information Organization, New York, in cooperation with the Library of Congress, in approximately 16 bound volumes, amounting to about 12,000 pages, reproduced by photo-offset, in the two working languages of the Conference, English and French, on alternating pages. The material includes: the Journal, and verbatim minutes of all plenary sessions; verbatim minutes of commissions and agenda, reports and press of technical committees; working papers for commissions and committees and drafting document of sub-committees; comments, proposals and amendments relating to the Dumbarton Oaks Proposals submitted by participating governments; special documents submitted by delegations for distribution to all delegations; secretariat notices or communications distributed to all delegations. The cost, for orders received in advance of publication and accompanied by remittance, will be $75. for the set. Orders not accompanied by remittance will be filled at $90. a set and billed for on publication.

This is the only reproduction of the full Conference Documents available to the public.

STORY OF THE CONFERENCE:

An illustrated booklet in popular language of the workings of the Conference. 18 pages of photographs, including portraits of the chairmen of the delegations, scenes of committees at work, etc. Price: 30c.

ANALYZED COMMENT:

Excerpts of comments on specific issues dealt with at the Conference classified under the proper headings will appear in WAR AND PEACE AIMS No. 6, September, 1945, issued by UNIO.