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NEW WORLD *Review*

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Danger Spots in East and West

by JESSICA SMITH

WITH THE terrible shadow of the H-bomb hanging over humanity, all the efforts of those concerned with peace must be directed toward the basic problem of securing the abolition of nuclear weapons, and at the same time toward the prevention of new wars in which they might be used.

The two main centers of danger are in the Far East, where U.S. policies threaten war to prevent the reunion of Taiwan (Formosa) with China, of which it is an integral part, and in Europe, where the United States is attempting to revive the Nazi Wehrmacht as the base of a military alliance directed against the Soviet Union and the Eastern European Democracies.*

Formosa and SEATO

The efforts of Secretary Dulles to mobilize more military support for Chiang Kai-shek on his trip to Bangkok followed by his visits to other Southeast Asian capitals, and Formosa itself, only served to heighten further international tensions in relation to that area.

The SEATO conference at Bangkok highlighted again how

little the Manila Pact has to do with the real concerns of the Asian people. It was attended by such "Asian" powers as Great Britain, the United States, France, Australia and New Zealand. Missing were India, Burma, Indonesia, Ceylon and Indochina, not to mention China itself, the greatest Asian country, against which SEATO is directed. Pakistan and Thailand, with their corrupt imperialist-serving governments, were the only mainland Asian countries present. No steps were taken to further the economic aid which is the real concern of the Asian people. The chief emphasis in the final communique, insisted upon by Secretary Dulles, was on fighting "subversion," which means simply all democratic and liberation movements.

Press reports revealed that Mr. Dulles' real purpose at Bangkok was to draw the SEATO powers into the defense of Chiang Kai-shek, which he had not been able to accomplish in the Manila Pact itself. Cyrus Sulzburger wrote in the *New York Times* for February 26, that the ultimate plan of Mr. Dulles is to tie together all U.S. pacts in the Pacific, bringing Japan into SEATO, and interlinking with it the U.S. mili-

* For detailed background material on Formosa, see NWR for March; on West German rearmament, NWR for January.

tary pacts with Chiang Kai-shek and Syngman Rhee. Apparently there was strong resistance to this effort. Sharp differences are reported to have arisen between Dulles and Foreign Secretary Eden in their side discussions on the question of Formosa.

Obstacles to the Dulles plan were made clear in the February elections in Japan, where all political parties were forced by the peace sentiments of the people to campaign on a platform of negotiations with the USSR and China, with Hatoyama winning 185 seats as against 112 from the more pro-United States Yoshida, and the largest gains won by the socialists on a straight anti-rearmament program. Hatoyama said, after the elections, that the proposed moves to amend the Constitution to provide for rearmament must be deferred for some time, since it would not now be possible to get the necessary two-thirds majority.

Regarding the visits of Mr. Dulles to the various Asian capitals, Max Lerner wrote in the *N. Y. Post*, March 4, "Secretary Dulles seems to have an infallible nose for doom." His visit to Burma, Lerner said, "left that country more glacial than ever to America," and after that, "his visit to Cambodia was followed with unerring swiftness by the fall of the Cambodian king and his pro-American regime."

Doom-laden too, however warm the welcome of Chiang himself, was the Dulles visit to Taipei,

Formosan capital, to exchange instruments of ratification of the U.S. - Formosa military pact. What a spectacle for the world that our great and powerful and once forward-looking country should make a compact to attempt to turn back the wheels of history with this corrupt and discarded dictator, thrown out by his own people, a symbol to all Asia of the reactionary forces that have sought to block their road to human dignity and progress.

Rushed through the Senate, as was the special resolution giving President Eisenhower authority to use the armed forces of the United States to "secure and protect" Formosa and the Pescadores, the meaning of the pact with Formosa is becoming more clear to the American people. The treaty was approved by the Senate 64 to 6. However, the numerous reservations proposed on the Senate floor indicated misgivings not reflected in the final vote. Since then Senators Lehman, Morse and Langer have inserted hundreds of letters in the Congressional Record, received from constituents, praising them for their opposition. While the big labor organizations have not yet spoken out, sharp opposition in labor's ranks has been reflected in a number of trade union papers, and part of the CIO leadership is said to be opposed to the Formosa policy. Religious groups and leading Negro newspapers have expressed opposition.

In his statement at Taipei,

Secretary Dulles assured Chiang Kai-shek that the United States would go all-out in defense of Formosa and the Pescadores, and also indicated all-out defense of the off-shore islands of Quemoy and Matsu "if deemed necessary" for the defense of Formosa, while on the same day Chiang blustered about his mission "to recover the mainland." (The day before, at his press conference, President Eisenhower denied that he would aid Chiang in such an attack.)

While the Churchill government, despite its diplomatic relations with the Chinese People's Republic, has perforce gone along with the U.S. position on Formosa, it has met the sharpest opposition from the Labor Party it has encountered on any international issue, and Churchill and Eden are themselves uneasy about U.S. policy especially with regard to the offshore islands.

Echoing a proposal by Labor Party leader Clement Attlee that Chiang be exiled, Harold Wilson, President of the Board of Trade in the former Labor Government, suggested that Chiang and his chief lieutenants be "safely stowed away" on St. Helena, and the U.S. Seventh Fleet be sent to guard them. Wilson declared, according to the *New York Times* of February 21, "that the danger of war in the Far East arose not from Chinese but from United States aggression."

A recent issue of *U.S. News and World Report* quoted Ian Makardo, Labor M.P., as saying

in a speech at Liverpool Feb. 13:

American behavior over Formosa and the Chinese islands is worse than criminal. It is just plain stupid. When they say that an island which is 100 miles from China and 6,000 miles from America is of no concern to the Chinese, but is a part of the American defense system, they just make a laughing stock of themselves all over the world.

After a visit with Premier Nehru at New Delhi, following the Bangkok parley, Foreign Secretary Eden expressed hope for renunciation of force in the Formosa Strait and settlement by "conciliation and negotiation." In a speech before the House of Commons on March 8, Mr. Eden suggested that a cease-fire might be achieved by withdrawal of the Nationalists from Quemoy and Matsu Islands and that "consideration could then be given internationally at an appropriate stage to the problem of Chinese representation in the United Nations and to the future status of Formosa." This contrasted with the bellicose tone of Mr. Dulles' statements.

The surest guarantee for such a settlement would be recognition of the right of the Chinese People's Republic to occupy the seat in the United Nations now usurped by Chiang Kai-shek.

Meantime, the alternative proposal of the Soviet Union remains open. On February 4, Soviet Foreign Minister Molotov proposed to Britain and to India the convening of a ten-power conference

of Britain, the USSR, France, India, Burma, Indonesia, Pakistan and Ceylon, along with the People's Republic of China and the United States to consider the question. The United States has sharply rejected the idea of participating in any conference without Chiang Kai-shek. Britain indicated a similar attitude, but less

sharply. Premier Nehru supported the Soviet proposal.

But whether a solution can best be found through this or some other form of negotiations, the American people must step up their opposition to a warlike course and insist on a peaceful settlement in the Formosa Strait and the whole Pacific area.

Opposition to German Rearmament

All Europe is seething with opposition to the rearming of Germany under the Paris Pacts.

All fourteen NATO nations must complete ratification before the pacts go into effect. At this writing Canada, Norway, Greece, Turkey, Portugal, Iceland, Britain and Italy have ratified. Denmark, Holland, Belgium and Luxembourg have not yet ratified. In France and in Germany the lower houses of the legislature have voted for ratification, but the upper houses must act before it is completed. The American people should begin now to make their voices heard to prevent ratification by the U.S. Senate.

While Chancellor Adenauer forced through the two-thirds majority necessary for ratification in the West German Bundestag (Lower House), this action did not represent the will of the people of Western Germany. The rearmament and sovereignty pacts were approved by 320 to 150, the Saar agreement by the smaller majority of 263 to 202. Gaston Coblentz wrote in the *N.Y. Herald Tribune*, Feb. 28:

... The size of the majorities disguised the depths and possibly the ominous nature of the internal disputes the treaties have caused in Western Germany.

On the eve of the vote, Erich Ollenhauer, leader of the West German Social Democratic Party, asserted that the Bonn Government had no mandate from the people to re-arm, since there had been "massive United States intervention in the West German parliamentary elections." He cited a West German public opinion poll in January showing that at least half of those who had voted for the Adenauer policies in 1953 now oppose them.

New Soviet Proposals

The new Soviet offer for negotiations on January 16 gave a powerful impetus to the West German movement for unification. Once again the USSR warned sharply that unification between the German Democratic Republic and a German Federal Republic that had been militarized and drawn into military alignment with the West would be im-

possible, but made clear that until ratification is completed, the way is still open. The Soviet statement supported free elections along the lines proposed by Sir Anthony Eden at the Berlin conference, with full freedom for nominations and electioneering for every democratic party in both East and West Germany, and accepted the idea of international supervision. The USSR urged new four-power negotiations to this end, and declared its readiness to normalize its relations with the German Federal Republic. On January 25 the Soviet Government ended the state of war with Germany.

On February 12 the Warsaw conference attended by parliamentarians of fifteen European countries, including the Soviet Union, also proposed German unification through free elections on the basis of the Eden plan, and a neutral Germany guaranteed by other European states and the United States. It also proposed simultaneous withdrawal from Germany of all occupation forces, adding that in this event the USSR would withdraw its forces to its own territories, including those in Poland.

West German Campaign

In response to the Soviet statement, Erich Ollenhaner, who has led the Social Democratic Party in a massive campaign against rearmament since last fall, issued an Open Letter to Adenauer urging new negotiations with the USSR for unification.

During January and February all Western Germany was swept with mass demonstrations, meetings, petition campaigns and strikes against rearmament. These involved labor, the middle class, women, youth, religious and other groups—all sections of the population except the industrialists, the bankers, the Hitler military groupings and former officers, and all those in whom the Nazi spirit is still alive. The Social Democrats alone held 6,000 meetings during February.

The conservative, six million strong West German Trade Union federation intensified its mass campaign launched last October, and on February 17 its Executive Committee passed a new resolution urging postponement of ratification. Underlining the shame of the American labor movement in the AFL effort to get German workers to accept rearmament, M. S. Handler wrote from Bonn in the *New York Times*, Feb. 18:

The Executive Committee's decision was made despite an urgent plea from union leaders in the United States to withdraw German labor's opposition to the agreements.

In January 870,000 Ruhr coal miners and steel workers called a one day protest strike, representatives of nearly a million Bavarian trade unionists unanimously called for a plebiscite. In Hamburg, Nuremburg and other cities workers demonstrated.

On January 30 a great rally was held in Frankfurt backed by the trade unions, Social Demo-

crats, youth and women's organizations, Protestant leaders and even some Catholics. Ernest Lan-ger, a young pastor, spoke for millions of German youth when he declared:

We believe we have the right to speak and be heard. Many of us bear the traces of the last war on our bodies; all, young and old, carry them in our hearts. . . . We see the old bad spirit spreading among us again. We see the old faces in the papers and films. We read the same slogans in the papers, and we ask ourselves how far it will go when uniforms are once again in the street.

As the Bundestag debate began, upwards of 40,000 people demonstrated in Munich against the Paris Pacts, joined by many thousands in other cities. In Bonn, thousands of people marched on Parliament, "Never Again!" the banners proclaimed. "Don't send our sons to die," plead the mothers. The demonstrators were driven back by motorized police.

The massive opposition of all sections of the West German people from left to right was reflected in the heat and bitterness of the Bundestag debate, which the *N. Y. Times* reported was punctuated by "hoots, howls, sharp attacks and scornful rejoinders." It opened with the Social Democrats demand that consideration of rearmament be postponed pending new talks with the USSR. Adenauer's unscrupulous tactics lined up the votes, but not the support of the German people.

The debate on the Saar split

Adenauer's own coalition wide open. Dr. Thomas Dehler, Free Democrat leader, assailed the Saar accord as a "tawdry sell-out to France." Forty of the forty-eight Free Democratic deputies voted against it. The All-German bloc deputies also opposed it, only the German party of the four-party coalition supported Adenauer.

The Bundestag debate, and its resolution reasserting the German character of the Saar, exposed the diametrically opposite views held by France and Germany on the meaning of the Saar agreement, which provides for its "European" status and economic attachment to France. Adenauer insisted that its detachment from Germany can be changed by the peace treaty. His ace card in the debate was his announcement that

. . . he had received assurances from 'competent sources' that once the agreement giving international status to the Saar had been approved, the United States and Britain no longer would continue their support for the French claim to the territory.

NY Times, February 26

This brought immediate repercussions from the French Government, vigorously claiming U.S. support for its own position.

The violent discord in the coalition places in sharp question Adenauer's ability to carry through the rearmament policy. He needs the coalition votes to put through the 30 to 40 constitutional amendments and enabling acts, including the conscription law, without which rear-

mament cannot be accomplished.

Furthermore, Ollenhauer announced after the vote that his party would continue the fight against the Chancellor's foreign policy and to demand priority for negotiations with the USSR, so the campaign will continue even if the Bundesrat also votes for ratification.

The Bundestag debate made clear that it is the American people who will have to foot the bill for the revival of the Wehrmacht which carries such a threat to our own security and world peace. When fears were expressed by some deputies that rearming would mean higher taxes and lower living standards for the West German people, they were cynically assured by Economics Minister, Ludwig Erhard, "Then we shall let the Americans pay."

Meantime, Robert S. Allen reports in the *New York Post*, March 2, that German industrial and military leaders are balking at accepting the arms and other military supplies stockpiled by the United States in Germany. What they want is U.S. grants and loans so they may rebuild their own powerful war potential, their own guided missiles, and "have access to atomic weapons."

The People of Europe Speak Out

Support by Mendes-France of the Paris Pacts was of course the real reason for his downfall. The new premier, Faure, is faced with rising opposition to his program of completing ratification in the

French Council of the Republic, (Senate). Daniel Mayer, Socialist Chairman of the Assembly Foreign Affairs Committee, has declared that if the Council should send the Agreements back to the Assembly, many deputies would refuse to vote for them a second time.

A mighty nationwide campaign is going forward in which French Catholics and conservatives have joined with socialists and communists in town and village councils, the factories and departments. At the end of January women workers throughout France, at the call of the CGT, took part in a national women's day for disarmament. February 6 was a national day of struggle against the pacts. The French peace movement organized a week of action, February 14-20, during which workers downed tools for brief periods in many localities, signatures were collected, and deputations and letters flooded the Paris Senators. Flowers were placed on the graves of thousands of victims of the Nazis. Over 2000 rural mayors have urged rejection by the Senate of the Paris Pacts.

In England hundreds of Labor Party, trade union, women's, co-operative and peace bodies have carried on an active campaign since the New Year for negotiations with the USSR. The movement for a recall conference of the Labor Party to reverse the decision to support the pacts passed by a narrow margin last

fall, has gained wide support among leading trade unions.

On January 25 a great national lobby against German rearmament was held under the initiative of the British Peace Committee, with the aim of forcing a new discussion of the Paris Pact in Parliament. Some 17,000 people from all over England marched on London for the day's events, described as the most impressive mass lobbying seen since the end of the war. In the House of Commons Tory and Labor M.P.'s were bombarded with demands and petitions from constituents representing every section of the British people. Orderly crowds voicing the central demand "No Arms for the Germans!" met police interference and violence.

In Italy public opposition has been growing, especially since ratification by the Chamber of Deputies, and the debate in the Senate has been characterized by violent disagreement. Workers in Rome, Turin, Florence, Venice, Genoa and many other cities have passed resolutions against the resurgence of German militarism and are mapping new forms of struggle. March 6 was designated as a special day of opposition to German rearmament by the General Confederation of Labor, and was marked by meetings in many towns, work stoppages, and delegations to the Senate.

So powerful is the movement against German rearmament sweeping Denmark, involving masses of people of all classes

and political views, that final date for consideration of the Paris agreements has been postponed by the Social Democratic government.

In Belgium there is a national movement, with anti-rearmament rallies and demonstrations, and numerous trade union resolutions. In Holland action committees have sprung up and an extensive signature campaign is under way. In Sweden the trade unions and other groups are in action.

Jewish Communities throughout Western and Eastern Europe are issuing sharp warnings against the return to power of the fiends who were responsible for the murder of six million Jews.

In January, Rabbi S. M. Shlifer, President of the Jewish Religious Community of Moscow, called on Jewish believers everywhere not to forget the fascist crimes, of which "Heaps of ashes in the cemeteries of Maidanek and Oswiecim, millions of widows, orphans and cripples, thousands of devastated communities are a terrible reminder for our people."

In this country a number of Jewish publications and Jewish leaders have spoken out. On January 5 Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver warned that rearming the Nazis will not help peace, but only "a democratic, disarmed, neutralized and united Germany, as envisaged in the Potsdam agreement."

Where is the mass protest of the American people against the policies of our government which

World Campaign Against Atomic War

Too little is known by the American people of the greatest single movement in the world today—the world peace movement that embraces hundreds of millions of people in 85 countries.

The Bureau of the World Council of Peace, which met in Vienna January 17-19 issued a stirring call to the peoples of the world on the new threats to peace that face us all today in the plans for the remilitarization of Germany and the obstacles placed by SEATO in the way of peaceful solution of the problems of Asia.

It warned especially of the measures taken by NATO to regularize the use of atomic weapons, which could lead to the automatic unleashing of atomic war in Asia as well as in Europe.

The Bureau issued an appeal to the peoples of Europe to multiply their efforts to prevent ratification and implementation of the London and Paris agreements and oppose with all their strength the revival of German militarism.

It appealed to the peoples of the world to organize a great signature campaign to stop the use of atomic weapons, under the slogan "We demand the destruction of all stocks of atomic weapons wherever they may be and immediate stopping of their manufacture." Such a signature campaign is already under way in many countries.

Finally, it repeated the call issued last November by the Stockholm peace conference for a great World Assembly "to bring together representatives of all tendencies and organizations for peace." This World Assembly will take place at Helsinki, Finland, May 22-29, and preliminary work for wide representation from many countries is afoot.

are being so strongly opposed by the people who will bear the first brunt of the results, and which will inevitably boomerang against ourselves? Almost any ordinary American, faced with the facts, will agree as to the dangers of rearming Germany. Yet too many accept the policy of "situations of strength" as one that can save the peace, and believe that negotiations can still take place to prevent war after rearming of West-ern Germany is under way.

An increasing number of individuals are speaking out. Progressive groups have taken a strong stand. The Quakers and other religious groups have expressed opposition. The Women's Interna-

tional League calls for a Four-Power Conference to negotiate an agreement for a reunited, neutral Germany as an alternative to the Paris agreements.

There needs to be a powerful, united, national voice for this course. No matter what other issues may divide them, the American people are faced with a common danger in the rearmament of Germany. This effects us as closely as the wars in Korea and Indo-China. As the voice of the people was heard by Congress and the Administration in these actual shooting wars, it will be heard and can still prevent this new threat, if expressed with sufficient strength.

China's Currency Reform

by ISRAEL EPSTEIN

Peking, Feb. 22
(By Air Mail)

A CHANGE in China's monetary unit has just been announced by newspapers throughout the country. Beginning March 1, ten thousand of the present *yuan* are being exchanged for one new *yuan*.

By the simple process of knocking off four zeroes, one will now be paying 10 new *fen* (cents) instead of 1,000 old *yuan*, for a bus ticket. Medium-quality cigarettes will now cost 25 Chinese cents a packet, a substantial lunch or a pound of good steak 50 or 60 Chinese cents, a shirt about 2½ *yuan* and a pair of leather shoes of high quality about 20. It took 1,000 old *yuan* to buy a bus ticket; 1,000 new *yuan* will buy a brand-new motorcycle, with enough to spare to lay in plenty of gasoline.

The big face values of the banknotes in use up to now might lead one to think that the present change comes in the midst of inflation. Nothing could be further from the truth.

ISRAEL EPSTEIN spent many years in Old China as correspondent for the United Press, "New York Times" and other U.S. papers. He is the author of "The Unfinished Revolution in China." He returned to China in 1951 and has been living and working in Peking since.

During almost five years, China's currency has had a rocklike steadiness any nation might envy, and the cost of living has actually fallen. The high denominations of the old notes are merely a reminder of their origin in the storms of revolutionary battle. They were issued in 1949, before all parts of the country had been liberated, several months before the inflation inherited from the Kuomintang, though even then sharply braked, had been totally halted.

The new notes thus appear at a time when the people have a solid faith, rooted in long experience, in their national money. Even in appearance, they reflect the unprecedented unity and prosperity of the country. With inscriptions in the four main languages—Han (Chinese), Mongolian, Tibetan and Uigur, which uses the Arabic script—they are handsomely engraved, durable and almost impossible to counterfeit.

It might be asked why, if the currency was stabilized so long ago, this logical step was not taken earlier. One answer is, I believe, that it was thought necessary to do it on the basis of proved performances, not promises. The Kuomintang had constantly harried the Chinese people with frequent so-called "currency reforms"—really a series

of robberies. Then, in the midst of the galloping depreciation of one currency, another would be issued with loud pledges of stability, to depreciate even more rapidly and be replaced by yet another. The Kuomintang *yan* of 1936, taking all these depreciations into consideration, was worth 170,000 million (yes, 10 zeroes!) times the Kuomintang *yan* of 1949. The last ones to be issued were in astronomical denominations but did not even bear serial numbers—they were run off the presses without any reckoning at all. Such "currency reforms" were not the least of the methods by which Chiang Kai-shek and other members of the "Big Four Families" of the Kuomintang acquired personal fortunes totaling 20,000 million U.S. dollars, much of which they sent abroad.

But how different things are now. Not only is the state in the people's hands, but one can see the results. The Kuomintang budget was one great yawning deficit. The budget of the People's Republic of China, as well as its balance of foreign trade and international payments, has shown a surplus for some years. The debased Kuomintang money had no backing whatsoever—literally it was worth less than the paper it was printed on. The currency of the People's Republic of China, which is in the third year of its first plan of socialist industrialization, is fully secured, not only by gold reserves eleven times as great as in 1950 but also by vast state stocks of agricultural and industrial goods—created by the labor of the people and used for their benefit. Such backing insures real stability, because commodity production is going up all the time and even changes in the world price of gold can produce no domestic fluctuation.

As for the foreign exchange quotations, it took 98,900 old *yan* to buy one pound sterling in 1950 but requires only 68,930 (or 6.89 new *yan*) today. The U.S. dollar stands at less than 2.40 new *yan*. The prices cited earlier in this article show that China's money has a higher, not lower, buying power than these exchange figures indicate—several times higher, in fact, in terms of food and articles of everyday use.

It might be of interest to mention the procedure by which the new currency shift is to take place. Old currency will be exchanged for new in any amount with no variation of rate. Bank deposits and government bonds will be re-valued automatically. Prices of all goods will be adjusted simply by moving the decimal point.

As distinct from mandatory Kuomintang "reforms" where exchanges were carried out in lightning fashion with unchanged notes cancelled out of hand, the present process is very leisurely. Old notes of higher denominations will continue to circulate, together with the new, throughout March; and will be changed by banks, state shops and cooperatives throughout April as well. Small notes will go on for longer, to give time for every peasant in every far-flung village to turn them in. The people are urged not to hurry; but on the contrary to take their time.

Since all wages, salaries and government purchases will be paid in new notes from March 1 on, very many people in practice will not need to change anything; they will either have spent all their old notes in the time allotted, or deposited them, as savings, in banks or credit co-ops.

As I write, through the complete system of popular organizations, that is the most vivid example of

China's struggle today, meetings to discuss all this are going on in factories, farms and offices, in street housewives' committees and among herdsmen in the nomadic regions. As in every other matter, domestic and foreign, the government takes the citizens fully into confidence in People's China.

Mr. Dulles may huff and puff and wave atom bombs around, and the New York stock market may shoot up and down with every inflection of his voice, but China is not in the least hesitant to exchange a whole national currency in the midst of it all; though a nervous people would certainly make for a "nervous" mar-

ket. This is because nobody at all is nervous here.

Under these conditons the adoption of a new currency is not just an administrative measure. It becomes an occasion for each and every person to review the tremendous achievements of the past few years in economic progress, democracy, and overall national strength. It does not appear to the people as something from above, even a fine thing from above. Instead they may well feel as they look at the crest of the People's Republic of China, their own crest, on each new bill: "This is the fruit of our own efforts; and it is good."

INDIAN-SOVIET AGREEMENT ON ERECTING STEEL PLANT

AN AGREEMENT between the governments of the Soviet Union and India for the setting up in India of a modern, integrated iron and steel plant with an annual capacity of 1,000,000 tons of steel, was signed at New Delhi on February 2.

In an interview following the signing of the agreement, Indian Production Minister K. C. Reddy declared that it "would give a valuable opportunity to the Indians to learn self-dependence, and that their experience in erecting the plant would enable them to put up their own plants in the future without much dependence on foreign help."

The USSR will design, manufacture and deliver the necessary equipment to India, at the same time providing for maximum use of Indian industries to produce part of the equipment. The USSR has also undertaken to exercise technical supervision and to train Indian personnel, both in India and the Soviet Union so that Indian technicians as well as workers may man the plant to the maximum extent possible from the beginning. Indian organizations will carry out administrative supervision.

The Soviet Government will grant the Government of India a credit to be repaid in rupees in 12 years in equal annual installments, with interest at the rate of 2.5 per cent per annum.

The entire plant is to be commissioned by December 31, 1959, but some of the main departments will be ready a year earlier. The Government of India reserves the option for the final acceptance of the plan. Mr. Reddy told the press that he was confident the plant would be erected and both countries were working in harmony.

To the Virgin Land

by RALPH PARKER

IN AN OFFICE of the Ministry of State Farms hangs a map dotted with flags of various colors. One color denotes farms existing for many years, another the 124 state farms organized last year on virgin land in Siberia and Kazakhstan. Recently another 300 flags were pinned to the map—to denote new grain farms.

Each of these new state farms comprises between twenty and twenty-five thousand hectares (one hectare is 2.47 acres). These new state farms are intended to take the main burden of the task of bringing the grain area in the virgin lands up to between 28,000,000 and 30,000,000 hectares in 1956.

The immensity of this task may be judged from the fact that in 1954 some 3,500,000 hectares were sown and more than 17,500,000 were plowed up for the 1955 crop. Thus, to the task of plowing up another 10,000,000 to 12,000,000 hectares during 1955 and 1956 is being added that of sowing and reaping crops almost ten times the size of last year's.

RALPH PARKER, who formerly represented the "New York Times" in the USSR, is a veteran Moscow correspondent whose on-the-spot reports are well known to our readers.

This January tens of thousands of additional people volunteered to go to the new farms; and, as in 1954 when 150,000 were selected, the number of applications has been far greater than places available. During February these volunteers are attending preparatory courses, without interrupting their present jobs; and then, sometime in March, they will leave for Kazakhstan and Siberia.

I recently met a number of these volunteers. They were a small part of the 7,000 that are going to the virgin lands from Moscow. As I listened to these young people telling of their plans, I recalled talks I had had with volunteers a year before. Then, the Altai Territory and North Kazakhstan were for many of them a *terra incognita*. Now, with thousands of Muscovites settled there, writing letters, speaking on radio programs, returning to their homes for their holidays, those areas have, as it were, drawn much closer to Moscow. The journey out is now something entirely different. Some volunteers, in fact, will be going there this year to join members of their families, others will find friends with whom they worked together in Moscow in the past.

And yet . . . it is no good pretend-

ing that the decision to leave a home and a nice job in Moscow and settle for good on undeveloped land is an easy one to take. But these Moscow youngsters are in no way compelled, directly or indirectly, to exchange life in this great city for that of the steppe.

Take, for instance, Maya Glazkova, 19-year-old cashier in a branch of the State Bank. Maya is the youngest of three sisters. Her mother with whom she lives is a widow. Maya is fond of her family and, from what she told me, I have the impression that she has a happy home life. Petite without being frail, her eyes are her best feature: they are grey, large and wide-set under perfectly arched brows. Her fair hair has a pretty, natural wave. The small, firmly modelled chin expresses determination.

Maya was wearing a plain rust-red knitted woolen dress with a large green lizard brooch at the throat. Her nails were polished and she wore lip-stick.

She told me that she had left school at 17, a year and a half ago. Since then she had been working at the State Bank and receiving good wages. Meanwhile she has been studying in her spare time in an extra-mural course at a college of accounting. She is an active social worker, being a bureau member of the Komsomol (Young Communist League) at her branch of the bank.

Early in January this year a functionary from the district committee of the Komsomol called at the bank and told the bureau that groups of girls were again volunteering for the virgin lands. Maya told me that the idea of volunteering herself entered her head at once but that she decided to say nothing until she had discussed it with the family.

Maya, her mother and her two elder sisters sat up most of the night discussing her proposal to go to the Altai.

"What made you decide to go?" I asked.

"I suppose what really made me decide to go was the example of my sisters. One of them, you see, helped to build Komsomolsk-on-Amur, a new town in the Far East; the other was at the front. So there's a tradition in the family. I wanted to do something . . ." she hesitated, "... something patriotic."

"And what do you mean to do in the Altai?" I asked Maya.

"I hardly think they'll let me drive a tractor because I'm small, you see," she replied. "I'd like to learn to drive a combine harvester, though."

"And are you going to drop accounting altogether?"

"Oh, no," she said firmly. "I've made inquiries about that. I can go on studying by correspondence. Then, later, I may be able to work as an accountant at the farm."

Sitting beside Maya was a 27-year-old turner, Yuri Strelkov, who holds a job at a tool works. He told me that he was going to North Kazakhstan to join his two brothers; they had left Moscow in 1954 and were working at a new machine and tractor station. Yuri had received many letters from them and planned to take his mother with him. A house had been built; there was a good job waiting for Yuri at the machine and tractor station; the whole family would soon be settled in Kazakhstan.

A 19-year-old cook, Anatoli Borzov, was also going. Anatoli works at a restaurant on Gorky Street in Moscow. Like the others, Anatoli at present has a job with good prospects.

Sitting a little apart from the others were Maria Agafonova and Klavdia Ruskakova—two quiet looking girls of about twenty, rather self-conscious and sensitive. They were obviously bosom companions and I was not surprised to learn that they had been born in the same house, played together in childhood and went to the same schools. Maria was a controller in a cable works, Klavdia worked in a watch factory. They had made application together, stipulating that they would like to be on the same farm.

I asked whether they felt themselves to have been worked upon by propaganda to go to the virgin lands. No, said Maria, there had been no agitation at their works where about twenty young people had volunteered. Klavdia said the only person who had propagandized her was her friend Maria.

Conversation turned to plans for the future. These young people have clearly been impressed by the scale of the construction work in the steppe. Urban standards are being taken to the countryside by this great resettlement program. Indeed, it may be that the movement of these

hundreds of thousands of educated, skilled workers from town to country will provide the most important factor in bridging the gap between urban and rural standards of living that still exists.

A day or two after meeting with these young people I happened to be viewing a televised program from the Club of the Art Workers where a group of concert performers who had been touring the new farms were giving their impressions. Over 1100 performances had been given during the tour of the Altai Territory and of Kazakhstan.

"The strongest impression we bring back," said the leader of the group, "is of the high level of the young people's cultural requirements. We were constantly having to improve our work as the result of audience reaction."

These demands were stated forcibly by a young woman tractor driver who said: "We people of the virgin lands invite Moscow to send us its best theater troupes; we want to see ballet dancers from the Bolshoy, actors from the Moscow Art Theater, the best circus performers. We demand the best."

PRIVATE HOME BUILDING IN POLAND

WAR DEVASTATION in Poland created a tremendous housing problem, which is being overcome by big investments in reconstruction and new building. During 1954, capital outlays for public services and housing were increased 21 per cent over the preceding year.

This year the Polish Government has earmarked 100,000,000 zlotys (\$25,000,000) in credits for the construction of private, one-family homes in leading industrial centers, in addition to the building funds provided by industrial establishments for their own workers.

The government provides the land for such private building free of charge. Prospective home owners may borrow funds from building cooperatives at an annual interest rate of one per cent with amortization up to twenty years. Building plans, technical assistance and materials are furnished through the cooperatives.

Slovakia in Transition

by GEORGE WHEELER

FOR A LONG TIME Slovakia must have been a rewarding place for tourists to visit, with its rolling hills and sharp mountains, its peasant cottages and patchwork fields, its colorful costumes, songs and dances, its spas, good food and wine.

But the fascination of Slovakia today lies primarily in the sharp contrasts between the primitive and the modern and the opportunity to observe a society in the process of quick transformation. We saw pitch forks with wooden tines in Male Karpaty, and twelve miles away on the plains near Bratislava, huge self-propelled Soviet combines. We saw potters' wheels, the same kind that had been used for thousands of years, and automatic Kaplan turbines, most efficient in the world.

Not only the economy, but all aspects of Slovak cultural, religious and political life are undergoing transition. This process is speeded by a combination of the incomparably higher efficiency of the new society and by the striving of the new

society to preserve and develop all of the best in the old society, while discarding the evil and the brutal.

Industrialization

The liberation of Slovakia (the tenth anniversary of which was marked last year) paved the way for its economic and cultural development. And industrialization of this once backward area is at the base of the economic growth.

During the First Republic an official assignment to work in Slovakia was regarded as banishment to a dull and stagnant life. Today, the new industrial developments carry with them the excitement of boom-town construction.

In the Presov area, which lies in the sub-Carpathians and has many Ukrainian-speaking peoples, there were before the war only two industrial establishments—a small brewery and a salt mine. Today, there are 17 new factories, ranging from food processing plants and clothing factories to a giant steel mill.

In Zilina, which lies to the west, there had formerly been a large textile and some woodworking and processing mills. Now there are 19 new factories, while the old mills have

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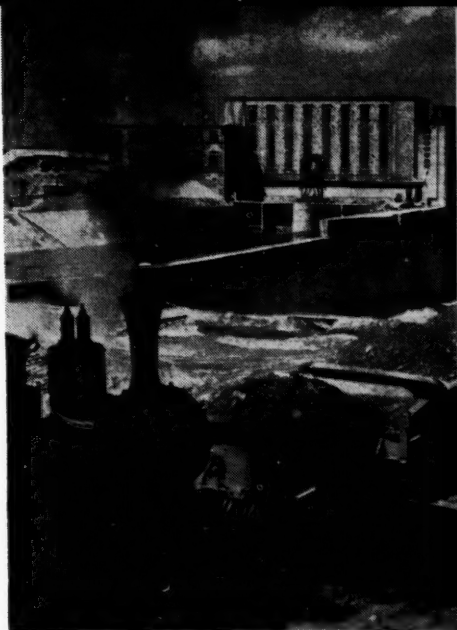
been modernized and work on a full-time schedule.

At the head of the Orava River valley—equally noted in the old days for its beauty, its castles and its dire poverty—is the new Orava dam. This is part of the integrated Orava-Vah River development program. The dam creates a vast reservoir which holds back the spring and fall flood waters and rations it into the power, transport and irrigation system lower down on the Vah. Before the water reaches the Danube, it passes through turbines eleven times, and in addition facilitates barge transport along the stream. The Orava-Vah development program illustrates the care with which the industrialization of Slovakia is being planned.

Who would have expected to find a great ultra-modern shipyard in land-locked Czechoslovakia? Yet that is exactly what you will find in Komarno, once a malarial-ridden fortress with a small barge repair shop on an island in the Danube. It was otherwise without industry.

Komarno remained unchanged until 1947, when the Soviet Union indicated that it needed tugs and river boats, and that if these were built on the Danube, they could be sent down river, across the Black Sea to the vast river and canal system which the USSR is developing. The tugs now built at Komarno are streamlined, fully automatic diesel-electrics whose four-foot twin propellers testify to the power of their engines. The passenger boats develop nearly 14 miles an hour cruising speed and have cabin accommodations for 300 passengers. They are complete with dining rooms, dance floors, and even a kindergarten.

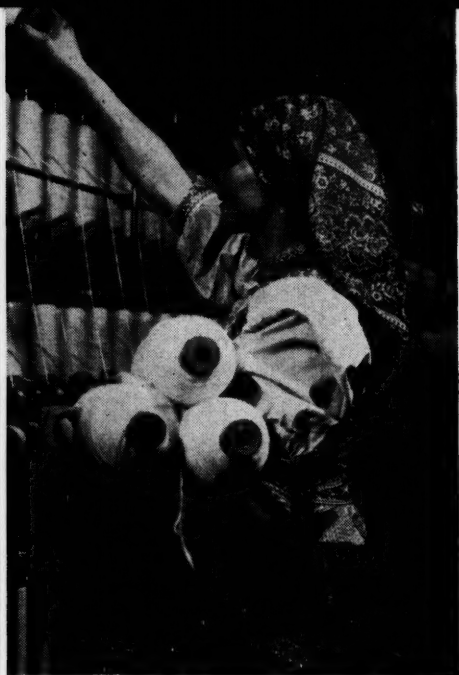
It is in the areas with the new mines and mills and dams that the greatest changes have taken place



One of the electric stations, taken just before completion, that is part of the Orava-Vah development project

in the life of the people. But even in areas such as Trencin, where there had been mills in the First Republic, a transformation is in progress. This change is in steady employment and improved work relations. One weaver told us that in the past she had been unemployed as much as three weeks out of a month—now work is steady and her job secure. With such stable industrial conditions nearly every town in Slovakia can boast of new schools, new cultural halls for the trade unions, new recreational facilities and new housing.

The success of socialist economic planning in Slovakia may be judged by the fact that at the end of the First Five-Year Plan in 1953 industrial production was 4.25 times that of 1937. This has meant not only the repair of war damage to exist-



Cotton mill in Ruzomberok. Here 50 per cent of the workers live in apartments or houses built since 1945

ing plants, such as Bata, but the construction of new projects of every kind, including new railroads and highways.

Agriculture

High in the Tatra Mountains is the village of Zdiar, its log houses in a lovely setting. They now have electric lights, but aside from that the houses have not changed much in the memory of man.

Inside the house of the Vavercaks it was spick and span and Mr. Vavercak was applying a coat of white paint to the door frame. Mrs. Vavercak was working at a very primitive hand loom, weaving beautiful patterns for the traditional linen costumes. She was one of the first to join a producers' handicraft cooperative, and she did so because she could sell

all she wove at prices high enough to earn more than some factory workers.

Mr. Vavercak was content with this arrangement and with the twelve acres of land they farmed. When we asked about mechanization and cooperatives, he shrugged his shoulders and said that he hadn't thought about it.

In the village of 1500 there are only 15 Communists and although they tried to talk the others into trying cooperative methods, it was certain that no talk, but only *demonstration*, would ever convince farmers such as Vavercak to join.

Such demonstrations are being given by cooperatives like Radvan on the outskirts of Banska Bystrica, which we visited. Here the cows give an average of nine liters a day, low, perhaps by Danish standards, but more than double the amount Vavercak was getting from his cows and about 12 per cent higher than last year. The Radvan cooperative had begun to apply scientific methods of breeding and feeding and the distance between their output and that of private farmers, like Vavercak, will steadily widen until even the most stubborn will be convinced.

About ninety per cent of the village land is now in the Radvan cooperative, and it is only a matter of time before the others will want to join. The reasons can be shown by the example of Pavel Chovanec and his wife.

Chovanec was formerly a hired hand receiving only 200 crowns a month and 12 metraks of wheat a year (a metrak is 220 pounds). He and his family lived with another family, making a total of ten persons, in one room—and they had to cook in the same room.

Now Chovanec and his wife and two children have two rooms and a kitchen—but they are not satisfied with this and they are one of the ten families (out of fifty) at Radvan building themselves new houses. The house will cost them around 50,000 crowns, the amount that they earned last year as milkers and dairy hands. They will get a loan from the state to finance the construction and will repay it at the rate of 300 crowns a month out of earnings of more than 4,000 a month. Chovanec does not need anyone to argue with him about the advantages of the cooperative way of life.

An interesting story is told about the methods whereby even the most stubborn peasants are convinced of the merits of the new ways. In Nitra, one of the most important of the farming districts, an old peasant was persuaded to join the cooperative. But he argued hotly against the use of combines to harvest the grain. He was out-voted, and after the harvest admitted that he had been wrong.

"The geese," he said, "came back from the fields hungry, and that proves that the combines do a cleaner job that I could do by hand." It was not the saving of hours of labor that impressed him, but the fact that no grain was left in the field.

There has been so much self-criticism here of Czechoslovak agriculture that some readers abroad have the impression that it is in a disastrous state. It isn't. From 1945 to 1952 farmers' productivity increased by 36 per cent and the gross value of farm production rose 12.4 per cent. Output per acre per man-hour now compares quite favorably with pre-war and with many West European countries. But Czech and Slovak agriculture still has a long way to go to achieve what is now possible through application of scientific methods to cooperative and state farms. Agriculture has made much progress, but far less than industry, and it is now the area where expenditure of more capital and better organization can bring immediate results in higher living standards.

Combine operators at the Sala Machine and Tractor Station, Nitra Region, Slovakia, go over the day's tasks with the engineer in charge of the work

—Pictures for this article from Eastfoto



This is why Czech and Slovak agriculture are now scheduled to receive so many more trained agronomists and mechanics, so many more tractors and combines. It will not be many years before the peasant Vavercak of Zdiar will welcome the tractor and wonder how he ever got along without it.

Housing

Everywhere in Slovakia, in towns and villages, new housing has been built or is under construction. In the little hamlet of Volaska Dubrova, for example, six of the eighteen houses were new. The old villages were often picturesque, but too often the houses were crowded together, very dark and frequently unsanitary since the barn was directly attached and the water supply polluted. The new village houses are usually built with plenty of space for air and sun, and electricity, which now reaches most villages, brings comfort and convenience that only those who have lived without it can appreciate.

Around new factory sites, of course, most of the housing is new. But even in such old settled areas as Ruzemberok, we learned that 50 per cent of the workers in the textile mill were living in apartments or single houses built since 1945.

In the past, with the exception of the upper class, the Slovak people lived under conditions of terrible overcrowding. Workers one after another told us that they had lived six, eight and sometimes twelve to a room. Bathrooms and inside toilets were almost unknown in the countryside.

Nearly all the housing is being built with the assistance of low-interest government loans or sponsored by a particular factory or enterprise

for its workers. Rentals vary from 10 per cent to less than 5 per cent of wages. In the Zilina area, in one project, rent for two rooms, kitchen and bath is 50 crowns. The renovated Svermove Steel Works at Podbrezna, one of the oldest enterprises in Slovakia, had constructed 450 new apartments for its workers since the war, and two large blocks of apartments are under construction. In Banska Bystrica, 1088 additional apartments will be completed by the end of 1955—in addition, 360 houses are being constructed privately in the area. One group of two- and three-room apartments, plus kitchen and bath and heat, are to rent for 30 to 60 crowns a month—a nominal amount that any worker can afford. Money no longer determines who can have an apartment—the distribution is on the basis of need and merit as a worker.

Education

Under the new school law, no student is limited in education because of financial problems. Tuition and living expenses are paid, and advance depends upon the student's merit. As a result of the demand for more highly trained people and the financial assistance given to their training, the number of university students in Slovakia has doubled in the past five years and the number of students in technical high schools has increased sixfold. You meet these young students everywhere in Slovakia now, because there are so many fine vacation spots.

In Banska Bystrica's new railway station we stopped to talk to two young girls. There was nothing unusual for Slovakia in their stories. Both Hana Kotikova and Milena Hudcova were twenty and students

of architecture in Bratislava. They were with a group of about 100 students headed for a 10-day vacation at Lubietova, where there was swimming, hiking, sports and dancing. All expenses were paid, including their fares. They had had a similar 10-day winter vacation in a ski resort. After vacation, Milena was going to southern Slovakia to help survey the site of a new factory, and Hana to her grandfather's farm in Bohemia to help with the harvest. One had five and the other six more years of study and work ahead—and both seemed pleased with the prospect.

The Slovaks have prized education for a long time, though schooling was limited, higher education was possible only for the well-to-do, and there was serious discrimination against the language minorities.

Today education is available to all, and the educational process literally starts from the cradle and runs right through the nursery, kindergarten, grade school and on up through the night courses and correspondence courses for adults.

Culture

With this vast thirst for education there has been a vivid flowering of all aspects of culture in Slovakia.

Before the war there were only two theaters in Slovakia (the one at Kosice went bankrupt three times, the other at Bratislava was constantly in difficulties and its actors often unemployed). Today there are eleven theaters, and the demand for tickets is so great that they must be ordered long in advance.

Slovakia is now producing its own films for the first time, in studios at Bratislava-Koliba, and the Slovak people have a rich variety of film

fare from other lands. Typical was the schedule the month we visited the small town of Brezno (population 8,000). The films, in order of their showing, were: Goodbye Mr. Chips (Britain), Helsinki Olympics (Czech), Fellow From Our Town (USSR), Dark River (Argentine), Glory to Sport (USSR), Two Acres of Land (India), True Friends (USSR), Merry-Go-Round (Czech), From Argentina to Mexico (Czech), Bread of Charity (USSR), She Danced One Summer (Swedish), Childhood of Gorky (USSR), The Circus Is Coming (Czech), On the Threshold of Life (Czech) and Without a Roof (German Democratic Republic). In addition, there were five special Czech and Soviet films for children.

One of the finest things about the cultural activity in Slovakia is the eagerness to save and develop the best of their old culture. This is true in all fields, from hand-painted pottery and hand woven cloths to the songs and dances. The old songs were sung chiefly in the homes and among small groups, and the dances for special occasions. Now they are part of the everyday life of the Slovak people, and amateur cultural groups (there are 809 of them in Banska Bystrica alone) perform them before large audiences.

This full participation, especially by the young people, in the cultural life of their country has resulted in the practical elimination of juvenile delinquency. Again referring to Banska Bystrica, there has been no crime of violence by 16-year-olds or younger since 1949, and there has been no property theft reported in that age group in the last five years. And this is in an area that had suffered all the disturbing effects of war and fascist occupation.

Soviet Foreign Policy

by CORLISS LAMONT

It is welcome news that a second edition of Dr. Lamont's book *Soviet Civilization* is being published this month by Philosophical Library, and has been chosen as a Liberty Book Club selection. The article below, with the exception of the two final paragraphs written after the recent changes in the Soviet Government, is taken from Dr. Lamont's epilogue to the new edition.

THE dynamic new society of Soviet socialism, based on nationwide economic planning, the public ownership of industry and the collectivization of agriculture, has gone through major changes since *Soviet Civilization* was first published in November, 1952. Changes in human affairs are often for the worse. But in the USSR over the past two years they have been for the better, with considerable improvements in both domestic affairs and foreign relations. These developments tend to corroborate, I believe, the main conclusions of this book.

On March 5, 1953, Joseph Stalin died at the age of 73. He had been Premier of the Soviet Union since May 1941, shortly before the Nazis invaded the USSR. As this volume has already made clear, the Stalin

regime, tough-minded, ruthless and relentless in pursuing its aims, provided the initiative and leadership for many great achievements during a period of repeated crisis in Soviet and world affairs. Constantly subject to enormous pressures, it inevitably committed blunders from time to time; and during the post-war years Stalin did not always seem to be aware of what some of his subordinates were doing.

Georgi M. Malenkov, who for many years had worked closely with Stalin in both the Communist Party and the Government, succeeded him as Premier. He was born in 1902 of Russian origin. V. M. Molotov returned once more to the position of Foreign Minister; Marshal Kliment Voroshilov became "President" of the USSR as Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet; and Nikita S. Khrushchev took over the important post of First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party. Soon after they took office, Mr. Malenkov and his as-

CORLISS LAMONT, philosopher, teacher and writer, is well known to our readers.

sociates started to correct some of the mistakes that had been accumulating. The new regime quickly showed itself to be relatively more conciliatory and flexible than Stalin's, and effected a marked relaxation in both domestic and foreign policies.

In March, 1953, in one of his first speeches as Premier Mr. Malenkov stated:

At the present time there is not one disputed or undecided question that cannot be decided on the basis of the mutual understanding of interested countries. This is our attitude towards all states, among them the United States of America.

The viewpoint that the USSR is not plotting aggression has gained wider and wider acceptance. In the *New York Herald Tribune* of November 3, 1953, the always lucid Walter Lippmann wrote:

Reduced to its simplest elements the governing assumption of American policy is still that of 1950—that Western Europe is threatened by a Soviet military aggression, and that all policies must be directed, must be pinpointed, to the objective of resisting that aggression. . . . This assumption is, however, no longer that of any West European government, including the British, or of any important section of opinion in Europe.

In other words, while the idea of a Soviet Russia poised for attack is still central in U.S. Government circles, the Europeans, who are infinitely more vulnerable to such aggression than the Americans, do not harbor such a delusion.

Premier Malenkov, like Stalin before him, has repeatedly expressed his belief in the possibility of peace-

ful coexistence between the capitalist and socialist states, and in the advisability of a special conference between highest officials of the big Powers in order to reach a general international settlement. Prime Minister Churchill has gone on record at least twice as favoring such a meeting between the heads of the leading Powers, but because of American opposition has soft-pedaled the project.

Then on November 16, President Eisenhower, Secretary of State Dulles and Secretary of Defense Wilson all took specific issue with Senator William F. Knowland's warning against the Soviet "Trojan horse of coexistence." The President said in a speech that a "modus vivendi," a means of living together, must be reached with the Russians.

A week later at a press conference, Mr. Eisenhower talked in a conciliatory tone about the Russians and returned to the theme of coexistence.

At last this idea, so long denounced in America as a Soviet propaganda device, was becoming respectable among the leaders of the Western bloc of nations. A significant factor in this change of attitude was the easing of international tensions through the armistice in Korea in July, 1953, and the armistice in Indo-China, a year later. Probably most important of all, however, was the growing recognition during 1954 that the latest atomic bombs and, above all, the development of hydrogen bombs by both the United States and Soviet Russia made a third World War suicidal for both sides.

On March 31, 1954, Rear Admiral Lewis L. Strauss, chairman of the United States Atomic Energy Commission, revealed that the recently tested U.S. hydrogen bomb was powerful enough to destroy any city on

the face of the earth. Experts in the field of nuclear energy further pointed out that the radioactivity released by dropping a number of such bombs in an international conflict might exterminate not only the urban population of the belligerent powers, but threaten the survival of the entire human race and all living organisms on this earth.

In March of 1954, Premier Malenkov warned that a new war which brought into operation the terrible arms invented since the end of the last war would mean the "destruction of world civilization." In April the Soviet Government announced that it was making a 10 per cent cut in its defense budget for 1954. In June it revealed that a 5,000-kilowatt electric power station using atomic energy had been built in the USSR and was providing electricity for industrial and agricultural needs in neighboring regions. The announcement added that work on a far bigger atomic power station was under way.

In October the late Andrei Vyshinsky, Deputy Foreign Minister of the USSR, again presented to the United Nations General Assembly a concrete plan for the general reduction of armaments and the abolition of atomic weapons. He agreed on behalf of his Government that such a treaty was to be drafted on the basis of proposals made by France and Great Britain in June, 1954, and rejected by the Soviet Union at that time. Mr. Vyshinsky suggested in part:

The complete prohibition of atomic, hydrogen and other types of weapons of mass destruction is implemented with a cessation of the manufacture of these types of weapons and their complete elimination from the armaments of states; all existing atomic

materials are to be used for peaceful purposes only.

In January, 1955, the Soviet Government stated that at the coming United Nations conference at Geneva on the peaceful uses of atomic energy it would hand over the scientific and technical experience gained in the operation of its atom-driven industrial plant. It also announced that it would offer aid to China, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Rumania and East Germany for the designing, building and equipping with necessary fissionable materials of one atomic power station with a 5,000-kilowatt capacity.

The Berlin Conference early in 1954 between Great Britain, France, Soviet Russia and the United States, was unable to achieve anything even approaching a settlement of the German question. But on the initiative of the Soviet delegation headed by Foreign Minister Molotov, the Four Powers agreed that they should invite the Chinese People's Republic and other interested nations to a conference later in the year at Geneva to try to discuss and act upon the critical Far Eastern situation.

The Geneva Conference, April 26-July 21, succeeded in arranging an armistice in Indo-China after seven years and seven months of warfare between the opposing forces in that unhappy country. In this truce the Vietminh regime, under the leadership of Communist Ho Chi Minh, received the northern half of Vietnam and the pro-French regime the southern half. The Soviet Government played a mediating role in these crucial negotiations. This was in contrast to the negative role of the United States Government whose plan for direct military intervention by American bombers just before the

Conference started failed to go through mainly because Prime Minister Churchill and the British chiefs of staff refused to support it.

During the Geneva negotiations there was no sign that the Chinese Government, represented by its Premier and Foreign Minister Chou En-lai, was acting, according to the familiar thesis of the U.S. State Department, under the control of the Kremlin. True, Mr. Chou found himself in accord with Mr. Molotov on the fundamental issues, but it was agreement between co-equals.

Confirming my opinion that the Chinese and Soviet Republics cooperate on the basis of parity is the fact that at the end of 1952 the Soviet Government relinquished its partnership in China's 1,500-mile Manchurian railroad line and gave over complete control to the Chinese.

Even more important are the seven agreements which the Chinese and Soviet Governments made in October 1954. One of these agreements provided for the evacuation of Soviet military units from the Chinese naval base at Port Arthur (a zone which includes the Free Port of Dairen) and for the transfer to China without compensation of all installations in the area. Another accord dissolved four Chinese-Soviet joint stock companies which had operated for several years in developing certain sectors of the Chinese economy. The Soviet Government agreed to transfer all of its shares to the Chinese Republic, with some compensation in the form of export goods to the USSR.

If the settlement of the explosive Indo-China crisis was the major victory for world peace during 1954, the major defeat was the decision of the American-led bloc to permit, or rather to stimulate, the rearmament

of Western Germany, with its strong resurgent Nazi elements. Although the European Defense Community (E.D.C.) collapsed in August, 1954, when the French National Assembly shelved the project, the Western Powers evolved a new plan for Western European Union and Bonn rearmament, announcing it in treaty form at Paris in October.

The Paris Pacts provide that the West German Government shall have at its disposal a mechanized army of 12 divisions, an air force, a navy and a General Staff. The total armed forces will amount to at least 500,000 men, five times the number allowed Germany under the Treaty of Versailles and from which evolved the fearful and ferocious Wehrmacht of Adolf Hitler.

Under tremendous pressure from its Western allies the French National Assembly, flouting the feelings of the overwhelming majority of the French people, ratified the Paris accords late in 1954.

Throughout these diplomatic maneuverings the Soviet Government has maintained its position in favor of a Four-Power conference to withdraw all occupation forces and reestablish Eastern and Western Germany as a unified state holding free, all-German elections and not entering into any military grouping directed at other nations.

At the same time the USSR has warned that ratification of the Paris undertakings will result in prolonging the unnatural division of Germany, will constitute a serious threat to the peace of Europe and may lead the Soviet Union to abrogate its treaties of mutual military aid, in case of aggression, with Britain and France.

Considering the record of three major German aggressions in Eu-

rope since 1870, we must admit that Soviet Russia is justified in its misgivings.

In another part of Europe—the Balkans—the regime headed by Premier Malenkov took effective steps to repair the unfortunate rift with Yugoslavia dating back to 1948. In 1953, the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia restored diplomatic relations; and since that time the Russians have shown their desire to resume normal, friendly relations all along the line. At a reception given last November by the Yugoslav Embassy in Moscow, Premier Malenkov, Foreign Minister Molotov, and Secretary of the Communist Party Khrushchev gathered around the Yugoslav Ambassador, Dobrivoje Vidic, and drank a toast to President Marshal Tito of Yugoslavia.

Other acts of conciliation in the international sphere on the part of the Malenkov regime were the restoration of diplomatic relations with Israel; the signing of an agreement with Turkey for the joint use of waters controlled by an important dam in Soviet territory; entrance into UNESCO (United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization) after a long period of boycott; and the granting of exit permissions to the Russian wives of American newspaper correspondents and of visas to an increasing number of Americans wishing to visit the USSR.

During 1953 and 1954 the Soviet Government also did its best to establish normal trade relations with other countries and to break through the commercial boycotts organized against it under the initiative of the United States. In 1953 it signed 26 foreign trade pacts and in 1954, 32.

The over-all record, then, of the Soviet Government in international

affairs during the almost two years of Malenkov's premiership was impressive. It improved its relations with the rest of the world, including America, and helped measurably in making a Third World War less of a possibility. It worked steadily to make more stable the peaceful co-existence which the United States and Russia, Tsarist or Soviet, have shared for close to 180 years.

January 24, 1955

DESPITE all the wild speculation in the American press, which habitually views with alarm any important change in Soviet affairs, the new Soviet administration, of which Marshal Nikolai A. Bulganin became Premier on February 8, 1955, following Premier Malenkov's resignation, will in my opinion pursue substantially the same foreign policies. Since the Soviet Union has always been determined both to defend itself and to aid in the achievement of world peace, there has been a continuity and consistency in its international attitude throughout all developments whether at home or abroad.

Owing primarily to the re-armament of Western Germany, the Government headed by Premier Bulganin will undoubtedly tighten up on the military defenses of the USSR, and will further develop its mutual defense pacts with its allies in Eastern Europe. Such measures, however, will take place within the general framework of the long-established Soviet foreign policy of seeking peace with all the other nations of the earth, of bringing about normal trade and cultural relations with them, and of instituting drastic universal disarmament, including now of course the permanent banning of the horrible atomic and hydrogen bombs.

The Ninth UN Session

by ESLANDA ROBESON

IN LOOKING back on the 9th session of the United Nations General Assembly, (September 21 to December 17, 1954), several events immediately come to mind:

The loss of two of the most celebrated, effective and universally respected members by tragic sudden death within a few weeks of each other. Dr. Mahmoud Azmi, leader of the Egyptian Delegation and Chairman of the Human Rights Commission, died on November 3rd, following collapse during a speech in the Security Council.

Mr. Andrei Vyshinsky, leader of the Soviet Delegation, died on November 22 following a heart attack, after working long hours in preparation of a speech he was to deliver in the Political Committee that morning. His loss is immeasurable, as testified in the numerous tributes paid to Mr. Vyshinsky at the UN memorial meeting.

The next event which comes to mind is the strengthening of the position of the Secretary General, from his traditionally administrative role to a vigorously active role as the personification of one of the prime purposes of the Charter—negotiations. For the first time in the history of the UN the Secretary General was given a personal specific assignment by the Gen-

eral Assembly. He was asked to seek the release of 11 U.S. fliers and other captured UN Command personnel now detained by the Peking Government. Mr. Hammarskjold immediately got into communication with Peking, was as promptly assured of a welcome by that Government, and proceeded forthwith, with a minimum of staff and a maximum of good will, to Peking, for direct personal discussion with Mr. Chou En-lai, the Chinese Foreign Minister. Thus direct contact has been established between the UN and the People's Republic of China, which contact, says the Secretary General, will be "continuing."

The most important concrete achievements of the session were undoubtedly the widely heralded *unanimous* agreements by all members on Peaceful Uses of Atomic Energy, and on continuing talks on Disarmament.

It was decided to establish an International Atomic Energy Agency for cooperation in developing the peaceful uses of atomic energy, and to call a conference of scientists and technical experts from all countries, this year (August, at Geneva), to explore and encourage international cooperation in the practical application of atomic energy for the benefit of mankind.

The Assembly decided to make a new attempt behind closed doors to reach an agreement on the question of progressive disarmament and the prohibition of nuclear and mass destruction weapons. This was made possible by the new resolution offered by Mr. Vyshinsky which went a long way toward meeting Western objections to previous Soviet proposals. (See NWR, for November 1954, p. 35.)

Eight major items dealing with colonial matters, including two new ones, were discussed during the 9th Assembly. The two new ones were: the status of the islands of Cyprus in the Mediterranean, and of West New Guinea in the Pacific.

In the case of Cyprus, Greece challenged the maintenance of continuing sovereignty by Great Britain over the island on the grounds of her interest in the large Greek population there. Greece declared that her concern was not possession, but self determination for the people of Cyprus. Britain maintained that on political, historical, geographic, strategic and legal grounds, Greece has no claim on Cyprus, and that the question was not one for the UN. Turkey, supporting Britain, vigorously opposed discussion of the item, on the grounds of her interest in the large Turkish minority in the population of Cyprus. The Assembly finally decided to postpone consideration of this item.

In the case of West New Guinea (called West Irian by the Indonesians) Indonesia continues to challenge Dutch sovereignty over this island, which the Netherlands for many years had administered as an integral part of Indonesia, following Dutch conquest and occupation of the area. When Indonesia won her independence from the Netherlands,

the latter suddenly and arbitrarily declared that West Irian, which she calls "Dutch New Guinea," was separate and different and distinct from Indonesia. Indonesia continues to point out that the Netherlands never hinted at this "difference" during her long rule of the area, and now only claims separateness in order to cling to the island, so that she can keep her foot in the Pacific, and maintain her Government officials and armed forces there. Indonesia asked the General Assembly to request the Netherlands to turn West Irian over to be administered as an integral part of the neighboring and now independent Republic of Indonesia, rather than as a colony of distant, completely foreign Netherlands, which has maintained it as one of the most primitive, backward and undeveloped areas in the world. An extremely mild, inoffensive Resolution "expressing the hope that Indonesia and the Netherlands will pursue their endeavors to find a solution to the dispute" was adopted in Committee by a roll-call vote, 34 in favor, 14 opposed, 10 abstentions. But after intensive campaigning in the corridors by the Dutch, some members reversed their votes, and the Resolution failed to get the necessary two-thirds majority in the General Assembly.

The other six colonial items, now familiar on the Assembly's agenda, concerned some important, still unresolved problems in Africa: The protests of Morocco and Tunisia in North Africa against repressive French rule; the request by the UN that the Union of South Africa turn over the Mandate of Southwest Africa to the Trusteeship System; the questions of discriminatory treatment of Indians, and of Race Conflict (Apartheid) in South Africa; and

the question of the unification of French and British Togolands in West Africa.

No real progress was made toward the solution of these colonial questions, because of strong united opposition by the colonial powers. The items were postponed or continued.

But in the comprehensive discussions, especially around Cyprus and West Irian, a new and very important factor emerged, namely that there is a powerful and dangerous new kind of colonialism rapidly developing in the world today. This can be described as *strategic military colonialism*, which insists that certain peoples and areas, even when admittedly "capable and ready" for self-determination, must be held in subjection for the present because the Western Colonial Powers say they need them for their strategic military defense and/or for the defense of the "Free World." And never mind the noble principles of freedom, self government and independence to which all have subscribed under the UN Charter.

This emerged very clearly in the case of West Irian. Indonesia's claim was vigorously opposed by the Dutch, of course, but also by Australia and New Zealand, who brazenly insisted that it was important to their own security, and to the security and stability of the Pacific, that this neighboring and "strategically vital territory" and the non-white population of West Irian, be controlled as a colony by the Netherlands, a white Western Colonial Power thousands of miles away in Europe, rather than become an integral part of nearby independent, non-colonial, non-white Indonesia.

It was very clear that Britain wanted no nonsense about any interference with her important military

installations on Cyprus, and that the United States wanted no interference with her expensive military bases in North Africa, which she had negotiated with the French, not with the North African people.

The regularly recurring question of the seating of the representatives of the Peoples' Republic of China met with increasingly important and significant support at the 9th session of the Assembly. James Barington (Burma) and Krishna Menon (India) both spoke for the admission of Peoples' China on the very practical ground that it was the only lawful government of China. Joza Brilej (Yugoslavia) supported that position. Andrei Vyshinsky (USSR) and Stanislaw Skrzyszewski (Poland) spoke vigorously on the obviously urgent need for seating the representatives of Peoples' China. Dr. Sunarjo (Indonesia) felt that having them would add to the stability of Asia. Abba Eban (Israel) and Halvard Lange (Norway) both felt that the unresolved controversy of Chinese representation was a great anomaly. Sir Pierson Dixon (U.K.) agreed that representatives of Peoples' China would have to be seated at the UN "before peaceful relations could be re-established between the various governments with interests in the Far East" (never mind the rest of the world), but stated that his government believed that now was not the time to debate the question. (When, then?) The United States led the fight to postpone the issue as long as possible.

The Resolution: "The General Assembly decides not to consider at its 9th session during the current year, any proposals to exclude the representatives of the Republic of China, or to seat the representatives of the Central Peoples' Government of the

Peoples' Republic of China" was adopted 43 in favor, 11 opposed, 6 abstentions. (Opposed: Burma, Byelorussia, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, India, Norway, Poland, Sweden, Ukraine, USSR, Yugoslavia. Abstentions: Afghanistan, Egypt, Indonesia, Saudi Arabia, Syria, Yemen.)

Of very grave importance was the failure of the General Assembly to discuss thoroughly, and pass resolutions on, the most urgent and dangerous situation in the world today,—the mounting tension in the Far East, especially in the area of Taiwan (Formosa) and the China Seas. Although three major items concerning the Far Eastern situation were on the agenda, only one of these, the least important, can be said to have been discussed. The items were:

1. Complaint of Violation of Freedom of Navigation in the Area of the China Seas, submitted by the USSR.

2. Complaints of Acts of Aggression Against the Peoples' Republic of China, submitted by the USSR.

3. Complaint of Detention and Imprisonment of UN Military Personnel (11 U.S. fliers and others), submitted by the U.S.A. and other UN Command Nations.

In the first complaint, the Soviet Union asked the General Assembly to condemn the increasing number of piratical raids on peaceful merchant ships carried out in the China Seas by naval vessels based on Taiwan and controlled by the U.S. authorities. Noting that such piracy was a gross violation of the universally recognized principles of freedom of navigation, and a serious obstacle to international trade, as well as a factor tending to increase tension in the Far East, the Soviet Union

asked the Assembly to "request the United States to take steps to prevent such violations in future." The United States, with the help of Cuba and the Philippines, succeeded in getting this complaint shelved by a resolution referring the whole "general question of Freedom of the Seas, Territorial Waters and Related Problems" to the academic International Law Commission.

In its Complaint of Aggression the USSR called attention especially to the continuing unprovoked attacks on the coastal towns on the mainland of China by armed forces on Taiwan under U.S. control. It was pointed out that these attacks create a threat to peace and security in the Far East, and the Soviet Union asked the Assembly to request the United States, which has arbitrarily assumed responsibility for the situation in the area, to put an end to such acts of aggression. The accusation was denied by the United States which in turn charged that the Soviet Union and Communist China were the real aggressors in Asia. As was expected, the U.S. influenced other countries and the Assembly to reject this complaint. It was interesting to note that 12 nations in the Committee, and 13 in the Assembly, did not exonerate the United States of the charges.

The complaint about the detention of the eleven U.S. fliers by the Peking Government was a very different cup of tea. The Assembly requested the Secretary General "to make, by means most appropriate in his judgement, continuing and unremitting efforts to securing the release of the fliers and all other captured UN Command personnel still detained."

In a press conference at UN headquarters on his return from Peking,

Secretary General Hammarskjold declared that his mission was successful in achieving what he had hoped to achieve, and that he felt "the door has been opened and can be kept open, given restraint on all sides."

The U.S. State Department, however, turned down the invitation of the Chinese authorities for relatives to visit the flyers, which had been interpreted by many as a step toward their release, indicating the journey would be a risky one. Mr. Hammarskjold thereupon issued a statement that he "has no doubt about the safety of those members of the families wishing to visit China to see their men."

Many people in many places feel that the overriding Number One Question in the world today is the tense situation in the Far East, and regret that the 9th Assembly failed to cope with this increasingly dangerous matter. They feel that this

issue will have to be faced and negotiated in an international conference, perhaps within the framework of the UN, or, if necessary, outside the UN, where the Chiang Kai-shek group and its supporter, the United States, will not be able to exert undue influence.

Summing up, it must be said that at the 9th Session of the General Assembly, the UN scored its greatest failure in the field of colonialism, and repeated the worst mistakes of the past by its ineffective handling of the tensions of the cold war. On the other hand, it has left an open door for negotiations on the Chinese issue and, in the long view, has come to grips with the cold war by reactivating talks on disarmament. And, finally, in a quiet, solid, unspectacular way, has continued its steady work of building the peace by means of technical assistance and an increased appropriation for children, the population of tomorrow's world.

WOMEN IN THE SOVIET UNION

IN CONNECTION with International Women's Day, March 8, the Soviet press has printed data indicating the important achievements of women in every sphere of Soviet life, in fulfillment of Constitutional guarantees for their full and equal rights.

Many Soviet women occupy the high post of minister and deputy minister. Maria Kovriginia is Minister of Public Health of the USSR. Women head the Ministry of Culture and the Ministry of Social Maintenance of the RSFSR, and hold similar high positions in the other Union Republics. In the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, there are 348 women deputies. Hundreds of thousands of women are members of the Supreme Soviets of the Union and Autonomous Republics and the local Soviets.

Over 400,000 women are engineers and technicians in industry; 46 per cent of the agronomists are women; many thousands of women head collective farms.

More than 2,700,000 women are employed in scientific, educational and cultural institutions, more than 2,000,000 in public health and physical culture, more than a million are teachers. The title of Stalin Prize Winner has been conferred on 741 women for outstanding activities in the field of invention, literature and the arts.

The high award of Hero of Socialist Labor and Hero of the Soviet Union has been conferred on 2,346 women, and about 900,000 have been awarded various orders and medals.

RE-FORMING THE VOLGA

by NIKOLAI MIKHAILOV

THE reconstruction of the Volga, now in process, is of especial interest and therefore I want to discuss it in some detail.

The Volga crosses the entire country from the forests in the North to the deserts in the South. The factories that have arisen on its banks since the inauguration of the Five-Year Plans require electric power. But there are no coal deposits on the Volga. Hence, it was decided that the Volga itself should generate that electricity and not spill more than 900 billion gallons of water a year into the Caspian Sea to no purpose.

A second aspect of the reconstruction problem is transportation. Water from the snow which melted in the spring was rapidly dissipated through the spring flood, and very little remained for the Volga in summertime. The shallows made navigation difficult. It was necessary to make the Volga a deep-water river.

And third: the middle and lower reaches of the Volga cross a droughty zone. The river must be made to irrigate the arid Trans-Volga.

This was the triple task of reconstructing the Volga: It had to be made to do three things—generate

electric power, irrigate the land and become a good waterway.

Not long ago I sailed the entire river from the upper reaches to the mouth. I saw that towns of one-story wooden houses, smoking side-wheelers and floating timber rafts were becoming things of the past. Along the banks I saw huge factories with first-rate machinery, and large cities with blocks of tall buildings, and now and again I came across motorships and self-propelled barges plying the river. The rafts of timber are not floated today as they used to be, but are towed. And they are immense, sometimes a train of them stretching for well-nigh a third of a mile. At the river docks, powerful cranes and conveyors speed the loading and unloading of vessels.

Such economic developments have further accentuated the need for a complete reconstruction of the river, and Soviet scientists have worked out a plan, its main outlines as follows.

On the Volga and its tributaries, the Kama and the Oka, there will be a chain of large hydroelectric stations to produce a tremendous amount of electric power, sufficient

not only to enable the Volga area to have even larger industries than at present and to afford electricity to agriculture and transport, but to flow also to the Urals and the country's central industrial areas.

The dams of the hydroelectric stations will retain the water and convert the Volga into a chain of long lakes—each one a deep reservoir. One head will reach the next, the water rungs forming a solid ladder. The dams in the upper reaches will retain the spring water and release it in summer when the river is shallow. The flood waters will be caught and distributed so that the Volga will become deep in the summertime, too. The cargoes it will carry will equal the freightage of 40 railway lines.

This is important, for here is the economic heart of a vast area—more than a quarter of all Soviet people live in the Volga basin.

Reconstruction of the river began in the upper reaches, not only because it is narrower and easier to build stations there, but also because the designs of the lower stations are based on the existence of the upper. For it is the upper stations that will retain the bulk of the spring water and, gradually releasing it, will regulate the entire drainage of the river. By letting water down in summer, it will be like pouring more water into the river, facilitating the operation of the lower hydroelectric stations.

In implementation of the plan a relatively small station was erected before World War II on the river at Ivankovo, where the canal from the Volga to Moscow begins. Behind the dam the large reservoir, the "Moscow Sea," was formed.

A larger station was erected, also before the war, below the other, at Uglich. And in November, 1941, when the war was already on, the

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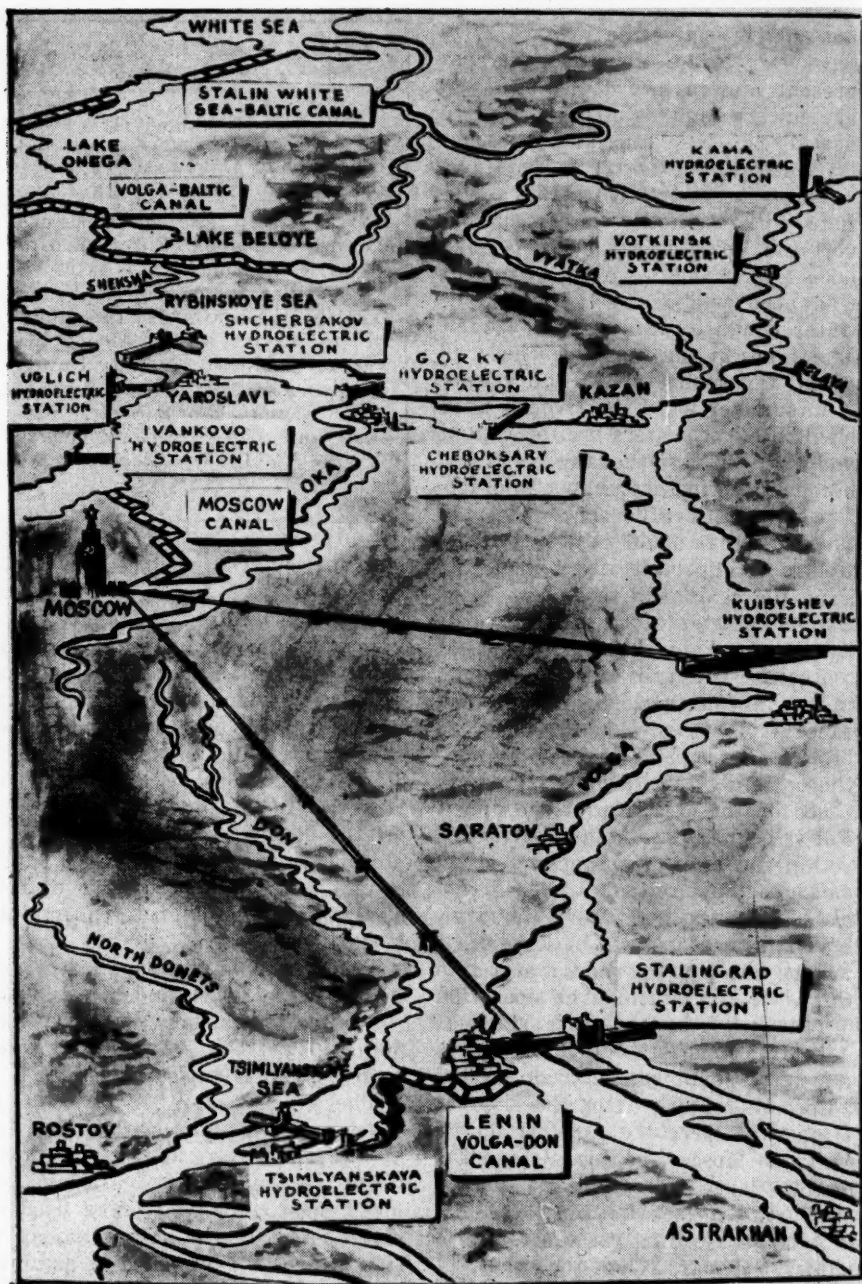
Nikolai Mikhailov is a well known Soviet geographer and writer. He is a member of the editorial board of the magazine *Soviet Union*, and his books are known throughout Europe and to American readers. He is extremely popular in the Soviet Union and has been awarded the Stalin Prize for his works. Among his books published in the United States are *Land of the Soviets*, *The Russian Story*, *Soviet Russia*, and *The Sixteen Republics of the USSR*.

first current was produced by a station still lower down, at Shcherbakov, formerly Rybinsk. That was a giant station, the rotors measuring nearly 30 feet in diameter. Flooding all of the lowland between the Sheksna and the Mologa, both tributaries of the Volga, lies the "Rybinsk Sea." It is eight times as large as Lake Geneva. I once had occasion to be on the Rybinsk reservoir during a storm. From the center the banks cannot be seen, and the waves rise six to ten feet high. It certainly looks like a sea.

Before the land was flooded, the forests were felled, and houses were taken apart and removed. More than 600 villages and six towns were moved to different locations.

The Shcherbakov hydrotechnical development retains vast quantities of spring water and keeps down floods. In the past, at Yaroslavl, below Shcherbakov, the Volga used to rise 32 feet in the spring; today it rises 10 to 13 feet. And in summer the river is deeper by three feet.

Although only the upper reaches



Schematic map of the Volga River development

of the river had been reconstructed, the central power system to which the Volga hydroelectric stations supply their current had already added more power. And deep-draught river boats were able to reach Moscow. But it was necessary to descend still lower and get busy on the middle reaches of the Volga where it is wider and the current is stronger. Then the "yield" would be more generous, more substantial. Industry had grown, demanding more power all the time, and the old ships did not have enough room for all the cargoes.

As soon as the war ended, construction began at the city of Gorky of a hydroelectric station that was even larger than the one at Shcherbakov. At Gorky, where the Volga merges with the Oka, the current is approximately as strong as that of the Dnieper at the Dnieproges dam. This project would mean billions of kilowatt hours of power, a new head of water, a new trap for the spring floods, and greater depth for the Volga. The struggle to subjugate the Volga had moved farther downstream.

A movement also began from the flank: a hydroelectric station was erected on the Kama, the Volga's largest tributary, in the foothills of the Urals. The design of this station is unique: the units are installed in the dam and a sluice has been put up for floating timber.

There remained but to administer the decisive blow—to harness the Volga at the crest of its power, still farther downstream where, receiving the Kama, it reaches its widest point. The problem of the reconstruction of the Volga would then be solved in the main.

Economic development enabled the Soviet Union to undertake this too.

Construction began of the Kuibyshev and Stalingrad hydroelectric stations, the largest in the world, each one with a capacity three or four times that of Dnieproges.

Before putting up the wall of a dam three miles long, before piling up this incredible load on the soft Volga bottom, every step had to be felt out. To sound the river, hydrologists punched over 40,000 holes through the three-foot thick Volga ice in one winter. And geologists drilled a total of some 60 miles through the earth's crust.

And then began the job of the builders: to lay out railway sidings, string an aerial way over the Volga, construct new towns, drive a steel fence into the bottom of the river and under its protection to go down in excavators deep below its bed to pour a mountain of concrete, to fill a wall of earth across the entire river and drive automobiles and trains on the top, build locks and mount units each the height of a ten-story house. Five years of work never ceasing for an hour, combating the pressure of the current, the winter ice, the seeping subterranean moisture, the loose or cracked rock.

The Kuibyshev and Stalingrad stations will retain a nearly equal discharge, producing practically the same amount of electricity. Yet the capacities of the Kuibyshev station's turbines are 2.1 million kw. and Stalingrad's slightly more than 1.7 million kw. This means that the upper, Kuibyshev, dam will help distribute the Volga discharge even more uniformly with reference to time, and the Stalingrad turbines with a smaller total capacity will yield relatively more power. The efficiency of the Stalingrad station has been fixed in advance by the existence of the other Volga stations.

Construction of the Kuibyshev station began in 1950. Under the plan the station is to be put into operation at full capacity in 1955. This means that the largest hydroelectric station will have been erected in only five years. Work on the Stalingrad station will be completed shortly after construction of Kuibyshev. All of pre-revolutionary Russia did not produce as much electric power in ten years as these two stations together will produce in one.

Cheap electric power will help develop electric metallurgy in the Volga area, the chemical processing of oil, machine manufacturing, and the production of consumer goods. Electric locomotives will pull trains, and fields will be cultivated and harvested by electric tractors and electric combines. But the Volga will be such a rich source of power that the Volga area alone will be unable to absorb it all—there will be electricity to spare for other areas.

Transmission of electric power in the USSR is ensured by an extensive ring of interconnected electric stations. The rings are immense. The network in the center penetrates the entire area between the Volga and the Oka—from Moscow to Shcherbakov, Ryazan and Gorky. An integrated network links the industrial Urals from north to south over a distance of more than 600 miles. Connected in a ring are the electric stations of the Kuznetsk coal basin in Siberia. The electric power system of the Dnieper area is united with the system in the Donetz coal basin—extending over practically half of the Ukraine.

The electricity of the already existing rungs of the Volga power ladder, as has already been stated, merges into the central electrical system. Working for this system will

be also the Gorky hydroelectric station, the construction of which is soon to be completed. The central power system will also get generous help from the Kuibyshev station and, later, from the Stalingrad. This ring of electric current, joined with the southern ring of the Dnieper-Donets coal basin will become a single high-voltage chain in the middle of the European part of the country.

To transmit electric power to Moscow from Kuibyshev and Stalingrad, some 600 miles, the voltage will be brought up to 400,000. Appropriate transmission lines are already being put up.

Dams will hold up the Volga 80 to 85 feet, and new "seas" will stretch for miles on end with surface dimensions surpassing those of the "Rybinsk Sea." The site of the City of Stavropol, which has been removed to an eminence, will go under water. Saratov will find itself on the shore of a wide lake, and the Volga will come flush up to the houses in Kazan, which today is three miles away from the river. Deep-draught ships will carry full cargoes, sailing right on top of inundated meadows. And powerful ice-breakers will clear the way for them in early spring and perhaps in winter too. Valuable fish will be placed in the new lakes and for those which used to swim up the Volga to spawn, artificial spawning grounds are being constructed in the upper reaches of rivers below the dams.

It is enormously impressive to watch the construction of the Kuibyshev hydroelectric station from the deck of a Volga steamer. On one side of the river rise the beautiful Zhiguli Mountains, overgrown with deciduous and coniferous forests, and jags of bare limestone rocks rising now here and now there. And

to the left along its course lies a vast plain, partly hidden by the overgrowth of the willows near the shore. And everywhere on both sides of the river there is seething activity. Huge machines dig pits; long cables resting on high towers have been strung across the wide Volga; trucks scurry along the banks; and all over you sense the intense activity of the construction job.

The Kuibyshev and Stalingrad electric giants are a decisive step in mastering the Volga. Decisive but not final. To wrest everything the Volga has, the chain will have to be filled in with the missing links: a hydroelectric station has to be built at Cheboksary, between Kuibyshev and Gorky, and one at Bala-kova, between Kuibyshev and Stalingrad, and perhaps another below Stalingrad. Then the rungs of the water ladder will be complete, the lower head will reach the next upper head and the river in the old sense will disappear, becoming instead a string of lakes with a slow current and without spring floods. Construction of the Cheboksary station has already begun.

From a narrow winding ribbon, as it appears on a map of the world, Europe's largest river is being converted into a blue necklace of lakes. I dare say this change in the physical geography of the earth could be seen also from another planet.

In the course of the Fifth Five-Year Plan period (1951-1955) the USSR will about double the capacity of its electric stations. This means that in five years as many power

units will be built in the country as were built throughout all the years prior to 1951. Moreover, in the power system of the Soviet Union the role of hydroelectric stations is growing greater all the time. Whereas the capacity of all electric stations will approximately double during the Fifth Five-Year Plan period, the capacity of hydroelectric stations will be tripled.

By 1954, the Soviet Union had already produced more electric power in a week than pre-revolutionary Russia produced in a year.

Besides large electric stations, many small, rural ones are being built in the USSR. The country is now solving the problem of the speediest advancement of agriculture, and no small part in solving this problem is to be played by the electrification of collective-farm production.

As is generally known, there is no private ownership of land in the USSR nor of the means of production. No electric station in the country belongs to private individuals or to companies. The socialist state can easily select the best spot for building an electric station. And it can allocate the needed money for building the station. For the purpose it can make the best use of water resources, peat or coal. It can put up transmission lines in the direction offering the greatest economy. And it can include any industrial enterprise in the line. Planned economy facilitates the country's electrification and makes it possible to do so at the greatest speed.

The next article in this series by Nikolai Mikhailov tells how the great Volga and Don rivers were joined.

Don't Offend the Religious, Party in USSR Demands

ALL PARTY organizations in the Soviet Union have been ordered to adhere to long-standing Party policy in conducting scientific-educational propaganda in such a manner as "to avoid offending the feelings of believers in any way." The instructions, issued as a decision of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the USSR, were signed by Nikolai Khrushchev, the Secretary, on November 10.

The decision points out that instead of developing scientific-educational propaganda so as to spread knowledge of natural sciences and instill an ideological struggle against religion, some newspapers and some lecturers have resorted to insulting attacks against the clergy and believers. In some cases members of the clergy and believers "are depicted without justification as people unworthy of political trust. In a number of areas there have been cases of administrative interference by local organizations and individuals in the activity of religious associations and groups, and also of a rude attitude toward the clergy."

Lashing out at such practices, the decision says "Such errors in anti-religious propaganda are fundamentally at variance with the program and policy of the Communist Party toward religion and believers, and they are a violation of the Party's repeated instructions on the impermissibility of offending the feelings of believers."

Commenting on the conduct of scientific-educational propaganda "of the materialist world outlook," which is directed toward the constant raising of the consciousness of the people "and toward their gradual liberation from religious convictions," the decision points out that in conducting this program "the Party has always considered it necessary to avoid offending the

feelings of believers in any manner."

The decision castigates press articles and reports by "people who are ignorant in science and in questions of atheist propaganda, and sometimes even by hack workers who mainly know only anecdotes and tales about clergymen." It terms such approach "irresponsible" and harmful "to the educational, cultural, enlightening work being conducted."

The decision states that all Party organizations "be required resolutely to eliminate errors in atheist propaganda and in no event to permit future offending of the feelings of believers or clergymen or administrative interference in the activity of the church. It must be born in mind that actions insulting the church, clergy and citizens who are believers are incompatible with the policy of the Party and state in the conducting of scientific-atheist propaganda and are contrary to the Constitution of the USSR, which grants freedom of conscience to Soviet citizens. The Party has always demanded and will continue to demand a considerate, mindful attitude toward believers" who actively participate in the life of the country and honorably fulfill their civic duty to the motherland.

Declaring that proper anti-religious propaganda is essential, the decision says: "The Central Committee reminds us that the basis of scientific-atheist propaganda should be elucidation in popular form of the more important phenomena in the life of nature and society, of such questions as the formation of the universe and the origin of life and man on earth, of discoveries in astronomy, biology, physiology, physics, chemistry and other sciences which confirm the correctness of materialist views on the development of nature and society."

Music Breaks the Cold War Barrier

by SIDNEY FINKELSTEIN

PHONOGRAPH record purchasers now have an opportunity to hear Soviet opera. It is Dmitri Kabalevsky's "The Taras Family," available in considerably condensed form on two long-playing records, as performed by members of the Kirov Theater in Leningrad (Classic Editions CE 3004). The libretto is based on the novel by Boris Gorbатов, published here under the same name, and deals with the ordeals and heroism of the Soviet people during the anti-fascist war.

In style, Kabalevsky has looked back to the operatic methods of Glinka and Tchaikovsky. He has written a stirring, melodious and dramatic work, which strengthens the fine impression it makes with every hearing. One thought that emerges powerfully from hearing this work is how broad, rich, and profound a portrayal of their nation and people during this terrible war has been collectively presented by Soviet musicians, novelists, painters, and artists of every kind. Although the war touched practically all the world, no other country has equalled this artistic portrayal. Modernistic artists, musicians and writers, avidly engaged in plundering primitive cultures or exploring their own "unconscious," regard this devotion of artists to their people and to the real events of their time, as a terrible "backwardness." To this writer, however, as to most ordinary people, it seems a good deal like a liberation of art.

A popular newspaper cartoon series, satirizing radio programs, calls itself "The Unseen Audience." Twisting this around a little, we can call a phonograph record "The Unseen Performer." Our State Department's cold war policy keeps any living cultural interchange between United States and Soviet Union

musicians in a state of deep freeze. But Soviet musical artists are being heard, if "unseen," on phonograph records by a constantly growing audience. It finds in these performers not only a remarkable technical mastery, but also a deep attention to the human and "poetic" qualities of a musical work. The result is a recreation of the "grand manner" of musical performance.

The Angel company has recorded the great Soviet pianist, Emil Gilels, in Paris, in the Beethoven Third Piano Concerto (Angel 35131), and also announces some forthcoming recordings, made in England, with the fabulous violinist David Oistrakh.

One of the greatest piano performances ever put on records is that of Gilels in the Saint-Saens Second Concerto, coupled with the Liszt E Flat Concerto (Vanguard 6015). On a record of songs by Mussorgsky and Rachmaninoff (Vanguard 6023), fine singing is done by members of the Bolshoy Theater, such as Reizen, Lemeshev and Pirogov, but the most stunningly beautiful singing is by an artist new to this writer, Boris Gmirya. And still new names appear. A thirty-year-old violinist, Leonid Kogan, turns in an absolutely electrifying performance of the Tchaikovsky Violin Concerto (Kingsway KL 241). He is a very different kind of violinist from Oistrakh, less suave, and with a rhythmic bite and attack reminding one of the old great violinist, Bronislaw Hubermann. And a remarkable woman pianist, Tatiana Nikolayeva, is heard in Tchaikovsky's Second Piano Concerto, Op. 44, which has been overshadowed by the famous First Concerto, but deserves to be known for its sweet and lyrical qualities (Classic Editions CE 3008). Among orchestral performances, the finest reading

on records of Prokofiev's Seventh Symphony, his last work in this form and one full of the buoyant and tender spirit of youth, is that of the State Radio Orchestra of the USSR, conducted by Samosud. It is coupled with Prokofiev's "Classical Symphony" (Kingsway KL 251).

These recordings or performances from the Soviet Union by the above-mentioned American record companies are issued through arrangement with the authorized representative of Soviet music in the United States, the Leeds Music Corporation in New York, and are so marked on the records.

However, Soviet performances can be issued also in unauthorized ways, by one company simply copying a record that another has put out, or by one having a European friend tune in on and record a performance from the Soviet radio. As a result, the very popularity of Soviet music and artists in the United States has resulted in some peculiar examples of dollar patriotism.

Thus one company, Colosseum by name, practically specializes in issuing Soviet works and musicians, and boasts that these are unauthorized, by putting the following on its record jackets: "No part of the proceeds from this recording enures to the benefit of the Union of Soviet Socialistic (sic) Republics, or any of its agents or representatives."

It is apparently patriotically permissible to let Soviet music be heard far and wide, so long as one nobly keeps the resulting cash in one's own pocket. As an American citizen, I do not feel that such an attitude embellishes my country's honor, nor do I feel better protected. I do feel protected, however, when I hear how a Prokofiev, Shostakovich and Kabalevsky in their compositions, an Oistrakh, Kogan, Gilels and Nikolayeva in their performances, touch the hearts of people here, speaking of a common humanity which can melt the cold war and its ice barriers to peaceful coexistence.

Exposing a Journalistic Hoax

THE REAL RUSSIA, by Joseph Clark.
New Century Publishers, New York,
1954. Ten Cents.

THIS PAMPHLET is an answer to slanders and distortions that appeared in the articles written by Harrison Salisbury in the *New York Times* on his return from Moscow. It is indispensable reading not only for those who read the series, but for all who are exposed to the daily barrage of misinformation that is poisoning the well springs of public information about the USSR today and intensifying the war and fear hysteria.

Mr. Clark was in Moscow at the same time that Mr. Salisbury was there and he counters the Salisbury sins of omission and commission with the actual facts. He shows how the fantastic horror tapestry woven by Salisbury to

"explain" events in the Soviet Union are based on speculation alone, and carry their own contradiction. More importantly, by careful comparison of what Mr. Salisbury wrote in Moscow and his completely contrary statements on his return, he shows that, whichever version one wishes to accept as the truth, the other must be completely false, thereby exposing the gigantic journalistic hoax which has been perpetrated. While the *New York Times* attempted to explain these discrepancies by censorship, Salisbury himself makes clear that while certain material was deleted from his dispatches, nothing was ever added. With the publication of Salisbury's book based in part on his series, the pamphlet gains new timelessness. It is must reading for all concerned with the truth about the Soviet Union.

Two Countries in Transition

A review by MARGARET SCHLAUCH

TRANSITIONAL ECONOMY SYSTEMS: The Polish-Czech Example, by Dorothy Douglas. Routledge & Kegan Paul, Ltd. (*International Library of Sociology and Social Reconstruction*). London, 1953.

THIS CONTRIBUTION in the field of contemporary economics deals with two countries that are doing pioneer work in a planned transition from war-wrecked capitalist regimes to socialism. The study is written by a distinguished American scholar who, like others refusing to be stampeded into the camp of Soviet-baiting jingoism, must perforce publish in a more sober England what American university presses will not touch today. For this careful and informing analysis is outstanding, not only by reason of its exhaustive documentation, but also by reason of its illuminating picture of the environment in which economic changes are taking place. Though primarily an economist, Professor Douglas never forgets the politics and sociology which are so closely interwoven with her facts and figures about production, distribution, investments and re-investments. Repeatedly she reminds us, for instance, of the feudal survivals and economic backwardness characteristic of Poland before 1939; she indicates the extent to which past capitalist governments in both countries (although in different ways and in differing degrees) were answerable for the policy which sped their doom at Hitler's hands. She points out in many connections how the Nazi storm that passed over both countries served to destroy most of the foundations for large-scale capitalism, along with many other things, thus unintentionally simplifying the first steps to be taken by governments of people's

democracy, after liberation, in working towards a collective system of society.

The book is crammed with information. The author not only visited both countries concerned and interviewed planners and directors on the spot; she has also used original sources in the Polish and Czech languages. Her equipment alone is exceptional, and her handling of the materials is most lucid. We must regret that so valuable a study may escape the attention of many progressive Americans who would otherwise gratefully make use of it, because it has been published abroad.

Indicative of the speed of advance in the people's democracies is the fact that even sound, up-to-date figures are quickly outdated, and even optimistic forecasts are exceeded in reality. The data given by Professor Douglas cover a period ending about 1950, or in some cases 1951. Last year the Second Congress of the Polish United Workers Party (held in March, 1954), provided an occasion for fresh appraisals and estimates. A few items taken from Bierut's general report at that time will indicate the most recent developments. For instance:

Production of steel increased from 2.3 million tons in 1949 (the end of the Three-Year Plan) to 3.6 million; of hard coal, from 74.1 million tons to 88.7; of cement, from 2.3 million to 3.2 million. In consumer goods, production of cotton textiles increased from just over 400 million meters to a little under 500; of woolen textiles, from about 50 to 70 million meters; of pairs of leather shoes, from 7.3 million pairs to 20.8 million; of tons of sugar, from 745 thousand tons to 1,105 thousand. In the period between 1950 and 1953, 7,800 new cooperative farms were started and are in operation today. And as

Mr. Ochab recently reminded a meeting of the Polish Writers' Union, the advance in cultural activities is keeping pace with the economic progress. For example, 1,037 new schools were opened in the past three years; and it is significant to learn that in the same period of

time, as many copies of books were published here in Poland as in the entire 24 years of capitalist rule in the same country. Such additional statistics merely serve to broaden the perspectives opened up by Professor Douglas's excellent analysis.

Why Don't They Answer?

A review by **HAROLD I. CAMMER**

FEAR, THE ACCUSER. *By Dan Gillmor, Abelard-Schuman, \$3.* New York, 1954. 308 pp.

THIS is a lively and readable book on the modern inquisitors McCarthy-McCarran-Jenner-Velde style. It does two things, both very well. First, it convincingly explains, in lay and practical terms, why Mr. Smith claims the Fifth Amendment as a protection for the innocent. Second, it exposes, in a derisive, but still masterful analysis, the fraudulent claims and ruthless and cynical objectives of the rowdy and professional patrioteers who have degenerated the democratic instrument of the legislative inquiry into a star chamber instrument of deception, terror and destruction so that only the voice of reaction might be heard.

The book recalls earlier melancholy chapters in our history and combines them with yesterday's headlines to remind us that inquisitions into the realm of opinion, ideas and associations are instruments of suppression and that investigations into the "loyalty" of others are the product of treason to our traditions. Thus the pre-Civil War Congressional investigations into the "loyalty" of the abolitionists were instigated and run by those who shortly thereafter were leaders of the effort to destroy the union by force and violence. The book points out that not only do they not "answer" today, but that historically they have never answered.

"They" are the dissenters and far-sighted of their times: the colonial opposition to the British King, the abolitionists, the (Lincoln) Republicans, and in our time, the Socialists, the Communists, the progressives, liberals and others to the left of McCarthy.

The best part of the book is the able way in which it deflates the frequent and horrendous "spy" and "espionage" exposures which the inquisitors regularly regurgitate, particularly as election times approach.

Inquisitorial committees flourished briefly before the Civil War when Southern congressmen led investigative forays into the "loyalty" of New Englanders. The revulsion to these investigations, as to the alien and sedition laws some fifty years earlier, was so strong that they were soon ended. It was thereafter taken for granted that such measures were repugnant to our constitutional system of government. They have achieved a reincarnation within recent years, reaching a crescendo of activity during the first two years of the Eisenhower administration in the 83rd Congress. Signs of revulsion are again emerging. One may compare the frenzied, unscrupulous activities of the inquisitors one and two years ago with what they are at the present time.

This book makes a magnificent contribution to alerting the people to the fraud and to the danger. It does it brightly and it does it well.

SPRING SONG, 1955

*Dedicated to Soong Ching-ling (Mme. Sun Yat-sen)
for International Women's Day*

Arising early, clad in silken Spring
Simplicity and the color of joy
I gaze on ancient California oaks
And gravely remember your youngest child
Women in all lands, and your new-won pride.
Your lives of death-defying labor sing
Like these fertile curves of home hills, Sisters,
Your lives arrive in beauty like this scene.
For you, too, acacias stand like gold pools
Till sun and wind make of them gold fountains.
In Spring all the facts shine. Tough yet rhythmic
As these oaks, love will withstand all weathers.
We will hold fast, climb mountains, bridge the seas,
We will safeguard all labor, life, and love.

ISOBEL CERNEY

The Light, Vulgar Touch

ME AND MY RUSSIAN WIFE, by Eddy Gilmore. Doubleday and Co., New York, 1954, 313 pp., \$3.75.

QUESTIONS from our readers regarding the author's very superficial and often vicious commentaries about the Soviet Union in this book and in speeches he has made around the country, are the only justification for mentioning it at all.

First of all, this is a book about the author and the foreign colony, and, as the British would say "is nothing to do with the USSR," really, although Gilmore spent almost twelve years there as Associated Press correspondent. In the process he got himself a very beautiful Russian wife and two darling looking children, judging by the pictures on the jacket. One can sympathize with

his difficulties in getting them to the United States, and rejoice that the policy which created these difficulties has been reversed.

But there are quite a lot of other women in the story too, of various types. By his own account, Gilmore has quite a way with the ladies, and as he is a kiss-and-teller there are a lot of details about his amorous experiences if anyone is interested in them.

Gilmore is also quite a name dropper, and the book is full of names of ambassadors and potentates and run-down aristocrats and accounts of drinking parties and brawls engaged in by Gilmore and other correspondents. And while, as noted above, one can sympathize with certain things, one also gets a glimmer of why, whether the

policy was justified or not, the Soviet authorities looked askance at having Russian women inter-marry with such people, and hasn't always made it easy for correspondents and foreigners.

Mr. Gilmore devotes several pages (181-188) to some particularly choice examples of the behavior of foreigners in Moscow. Here are some samples:

During a pitched battle among correspondents preceding a wartime press conference with Vyshinsky, Gilmore "shook off" a girl translator with such vigor that "she flew across the room and banged into the glass panel of a door" which "shattered and came down with a great crash." A British subject once "smashed up 28,000 rubles worth of crockery and glassware" in the Metro-pole Hotel. An American sergeant felled a Russian waiter with a fifteen pound vase. A Frenchman knocked a Soviet policeman cold. An American sailor smashed a pile of plates at the Ambassador's residence. A State Department clerk "incensed at a Soviet Colonel for bumping into his automobile . . .

knocked two side window glasses out of the Red Army man's car and then slugged the towering colonel." An American army captain wounded an American major who had angered him, with a .45 automatic. At a Labor Day picnic, an American hurled an iron stake at one of his house mates and hit the piano player by mistake. Nice?

The author disclaims being a profound man or attempting to write a profound book. No one could object to the light touch—but that doesn't excuse the vulgarity of this performance. Nor does it explain how an American could visit the Stalingrad Front in 1943 without mentioning the fact that the victory that occurred while he was there turned the whole tide of the war in favor of the Allies, recording instead as his main impressions a drinking party, his shock at a Red Army man leading a Rumanian prisoner on a leash and commenting on the German captives . . . "They had been through quite an ordeal." He does not mention the ordeal of Stalingrad's defenders. —J. S.

Powerful Novel of America Today

A review by ISOBEL CERNEY

MORNING, NOON AND NIGHT, by Lars Lawrence. G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York, 1954. 340 pp. \$3.95.

HERE is an American author writing with the pride, compassion, anger and originality of a Gorky or a Martin Anderson Nexø. This first volume of a long masterpiece, *The Seed*, came out last fall and the conservative publishers promised on the flyleaf that we are to have another big chunk of the book this spring. The story could and should have been printed between the covers of one book. *Morning, Noon and Night* presents the first twenty-four hours of the struggle between about 300 miners' families and the mine-agents, deputized citizens, state officials and politicians in a town whose realities are

like those of ten thousand American towns. The miners' families have been evicted; violence is thrown against the people by the town authorities; mass jailings and the threat of mass executions on typical frame-up charges follow.

You will weep, laugh, and pace the floor over the life and death struggles of these miners, their wives children and old people. Very vividly the author contrasts the bold strength to remake all life, the tenderness, solidarity and pride in struggle of these Indian, Mexican-American and foreign-born workers with the corruption and squalor of the lives of the leading citizens. Great love and pride in the magnificent American earth and sky and in the true bearers of our rich and many-sided

traditions fill you as you read this book.

And you share the full fury of the author as he powerfully creates the detailed portraits in action of the various types of native fascists. There are especially notably convincing portraits of women.

Lars Lawrence's *The Seed* draws beauty and power directly from the brave, resourceful, tender and witty working people who know that—united, organized, well led—their power is greater than the jails, guns, laws, and

hired agents of entrenched groups who no longer believe in themselves or in America.

Those of us who care for writing that keeps faith with the American people will have to see to it that both volumes of *The Seed* by Lars Lawrence get into libraries, and that they are reviewed, read aloud and discussed. On the West Coast, workers, farmers and intellectuals have responded enthusiastically to readings from *Morning Noon and Night*. We are impatiently awaiting the next two volumes.

Let Us Have YOUR Opinion

We wish to call our readers attention to the following letter because it has raised basic points. We welcome such constructive criticism, and are eager to meet the wishes of our readers. We would like other readers to write and tell us what they think of the suggestions made in this letter so that we may have a cross section of readers' opinion to guide us. While our reduced space has compelled us to omit our former Letters to the Editor section, we shall report further on responses to this inquiry—THE EDITORS.

THE EDITOR, NEW WORLD REVIEW:

While I realize that you are trying to do a most important job under difficult circumstances, rarely do I pick up an issue of *NEW WORLD REVIEW* without a feeling that it falls far short of doing what it might do.

Do I need NWR to tell of the dangers of German rearmament, or the facts about the situation on Formosa? Certainly not—the *National Guardian* provides a brilliant analysis of this sort of thing, and on a weekly basis. Do I need NWR for speeches that are given before the UN by delegates from Socialist countries? The *New York Times* publishes such speeches quite fully.

When my copy of NWR arrives, I look for those exciting articles by Ralph Parker, Margaret Schlauch and other of your fine correspondents in the new world. But, alas, such articles are far too few and too condensed.

As a progressive and a New Yorker perhaps I am not one of your typical readers. It might be interesting to hear the opinion of others.

As a supporter of NWR, I am keenly interested in its effect, if any, on non-progressives. Is it not true that editorials by the Editor, and speeches by Socialist officials, generally convince chiefly those who are already convinced? Others say "more stuff." On the other hand, live, straight-forward news articles—preferably with illustrations—can do wonders in opening the eyes of all sorts of people.

With best wishes for the continued success of NWR,

F. HARTE

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